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(a) MEN CROSSING A RIVER IN NORTH-CENTRAL ARNHAM LAND WITH THE AID OF THE SIMPLE SWIMMING LOG



(b) BARK RAFT USED IN ARNHAM LAND TO FERRY YOUNG CHILDREN, FOOD AND POSSESSIONS ACROSS WIDE RIVERS
The raft (tjuta) is made entirely from sheets of paper bark (Melaleuca) piled one on top of the other and held together by sharpened sticks driven into the sides. It is used mainly by women.

PRIMITIVE WATERCRAFT OF NORTHERN AUSTRALIA

Photographs: D. F. Thomson

NOTES ON SOME PRIMITIVE WATERCRAFT IN NORTHERN AUSTRALIA*

by

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I Reference to the use of tree-trunk floats and log rafts by the Australian aborigines contained in an account by the late Mr. James Hornell (*J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXII (1942), pp. 33-44) draws attention to the scarcity of really critical information on the use of various types of rafts and even bark and dugout canoes and on their distribution in many parts of Australia. The areas in which the natives are still living under tribal conditions are already greatly reduced and depopulation is proceeding rapidly even on the far northern coastline of Australia. It is of great importance therefore that as much information as possible should be recorded not only of the social organization of the aborigines but also of their material culture, including water transport. The purpose of the present short communication is to describe the use of floats and rafts and their distribution, as well as that of canoes, in Arnhem Land and Cape York Peninsula in north-eastern Australia.

The Aborigine as Navigator

In his survey of the use of floats in primitive transport Hornell (*loc. cit.*) refers only briefly to Australia, and remarks (p. 41): 'On the north-west coast of Australia a few instances of log-riders have been recorded (Thomas, 1905), but as various supplementary parts have been added to the log in order to reduce instability, craft of this description must be classed with log-rafts, of which they constitute an early evolutionary stage.'

I did not know whether Thomas possessed any first-hand knowledge of the watercraft of the Australian aborigines of which he wrote, but much of the information contained in his paper 'Australian Canoes and Rafts' (*N. W. Thomas, J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XXXV (1905), pp. 56-79), quoted by Hornell, as well as in his *The Natives of Australia* (1906, p. 83), is diffuse and inaccurate and is merely a summary of the existing literature on Australian watercraft. In that book he expresses a view which is fairly general when he writes: 'The native of Australia is not a navigator. Such canoes as are capable of keeping the sea when the weather is unfavourable have come to him from New Guinea; those which we may regard as his own invention are both rude and fragile.'

Although the aborigine is best known as an inhabitant of the inland country and as a bushman, as a hunter and collector of food, a number of coastal people, particularly in north-eastern Australia, are seafarers, and even those of the north-west, in the neighbourhood of the Gascoyne River and elsewhere in Australia (particularly about the Edward, Coleman and Mitchell Rivers on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula in North Queensland), who originally possessed no canoes and had to depend on rafts, were skilled watermen. But of these coastal people

very little is known, probably because no comprehensive account of the life of an Australian seafaring group has yet been published. The natives of a number of tribes on the eastern seaboard of Cape York Peninsula whose territories extend northward from Princess Charlotte Bay are grouped together under the name of *Mälukänidji*¹ or 'Sandbeachmen,' to distinguish them from the more strongly nomadic groups of the interior of the Peninsula. Because their culture is so distinctive these people of the eastern seaboard are also known to their neighbours—the Kandju and other interior tribes—as the *Kawadji*—lit. the people of the east (*kawai*). The *Mälukänidji* were a fine bold people; but they are now on the border of extinction. They were all canoe-men and seafarers, people who gained much of their living from the sea as fishermen, and as harpooners of turtle and dugong. They built good seagoing dugout canoes which often exceeded 20 feet in length, and in these craft they made extended voyages to outlying reefs for turtle and dugong, and to islands inside the Great Barrier² in quest of the eggs of turtles and sea birds. The *Mälukänidji*, however, have been much influenced by waves of culture bearing an unmistakable Papuan stamp, accompanied by cults of masked dancers, which brought with them the practice of mummification of the dead. This Papuan culture has entered Cape York by way of Torres Straits and extended down both sides of the Peninsula.

The natives of coastal Arnhem Land, lying in the north-east corner of the Northern Territory, are also seafarers, but they are a rather different people, with a culture in many ways distinct from that of the people of Cape York Peninsula. Throughout the entire coastline of Arnhem Land the natives build canoes from the heavy bark of one of the stringybark group of the Eucalypts (*Eucalyptus tetradonta*). More recently (probably only within the last two centuries) the wooden dugout canoe, called *lippa lippa*, was introduced into Arnhem Land by seafarers who visited this coast from Indonesia. We know that seafarers from the Gulf of Boni in Celebes were in Arnhem Land in force at the time of Matthew Flinders' voyage in the *Investigator* in 1803. These dugout canoes, which today have no outriggers, are used for long and daring voyages in the open sea, and I have known at least one journey of about 350 miles to be carried out in recent years along the coast from Cape Stewart, on the north coast of Central Arnhem Land, to Darwin.

The natives of the north-west of Western Australia were also good watermen, and although they lacked canoes and possessed only floats and rafts, they used these to reach outlying islands, taking full advantage of the set of the tides and direction of the currents.

The people of the coastal areas of Cape York Peninsula, the Gulf of Carpentaria and Arnhem Land are skilled and experienced watermen. Even in those areas—especially on

*With Plate A, a map and two text figures

the western shoreline of Cape York Peninsula between the Kendall and the Mitchell Rivers—where neither dugout nor bark canoes are found, they are strong swimmers and regularly swim across wide rivers and inlets of the sea, sometimes making use of simple tree-trunk floats in crossing very wide stretches of water, particularly the lower reaches of rivers and river estuaries. These facts will suffice to disprove the statement that the aborigine is no seafarer; and even if it can be proved that dugout canoes are of comparatively recent introduction, the aborigine has certainly been an apt pupil in the building and use of these craft.

The Australian aborigine, whose food supply and movements are largely dictated by seasonal conditions, lives in very close relation to his environment and has an intimate knowledge not only of food plants but also of the occurrence and properties of a wide range of materials which he uses in his technology. This applies to the fishing people, the 'sandbeachmen', as much as to the bushmen. There is no space in this short paper to discuss canoe technology, but it may be mentioned in passing that the aborigines not only select carefully certain trees known to be suitable for the manufacture of canoes, or the bark of which provides ropes for lashings and for harpoon lines, but also use gums and resins obtained from plants for the caulking of canoes, and for repairing leaks and cracks, which are patched skilfully.

Cape York Peninsula

The distribution of the principal types of watercraft in the areas of north-eastern Australia to which reference has been made is shown on the map published with this article.

Dugout canoes. Wooden dugout canoes were in use on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula from a point some distance south of Cooktown, their range extending northward to Cape York. Claremont Point, at the northern end of Princess Charlotte Bay, marks the division between the two forms of outrigger: southwards, the canoes have a single outrigger; to the north, double outriggers are used right up to Cape York. The practice of using two outriggers extends into the Gulf of Carpentaria to Janie Creek, a little south of Port Musgrave, which was the southern limit of the use of the wooden dugout canoe on that coast up to the time of the arrival of the white man in Australia. The single-outrigger canoe is generally of better build, and shows some refinements of construction not seen in the double-outrigger type. The float or outrigger is used generally on the weather side of the craft and is attached by a series of pegs set in the outrigger in such a way that they cannot readily pull out under stress. In the case of the single-outrigger canoe of eastern Cape York the float is attached to the hull by a series of slender double arms, which again, like those of the double-outrigger type, do not pass directly through the hull, but through a strake or washboard which is lashed on the outside of the gunwale. The space between the gunwale and the hull is caulked with tea-tree bark rolled to form a pad, which assists in keeping the joint fairly watertight.

The double-outrigger canoe possesses no such refinements. It is primarily a craft for the hunting of dugong and

turtle and possesses a long flattened forward-projecting spoon-like bow which serves as the harpooner's station on which he stands when on the lookout for dugong or turtle. The outriggers, which are called *tjippi* by the Koko Ya'o and Ompela people, are generally constructed of the wood of *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, stripped of bark and charred. These floats are roughly pointed at the bow ends and are secured across the posterior two-thirds of the canoe by two cross arms or booms (*punta*). These booms are never carried through the hull as stated by the late W. E. Roth³ (followed by Haddon and subsequent writers). Instead, they rest on the top of the gunwale of the canoe and are then secured by lashing with light rope of *Hibiscus* fibre to a single short peg made from ironwood or *Acacia* wood⁴ which is driven into a hole in the gunwale about two inches from the top and immediately below the boom. Only four short pegs are therefore used to secure the booms to which the outriggers are attached in the manner shown on the map. In this double-outrigger canoe, which has been called the Claremont type, the outriggers are not secured to the booms by pegs as is the practice both with the single outrigger of Princess Charlotte Bay and the double-outrigger type which occurs on the west, or Gulf of Carpentaria, coast of Cape York; they are, instead, lashed directly to the cross arms.

The outrigger canoe of the west coast of Cape York Peninsula—of which the form shown on the map is typical of the craft used by the Tjungundji⁵ of Port Musgrave—differs considerably, though it also carries two outriggers, from the double-outrigger type of the east coast of the Peninsula. The hull lacks the projecting, flattened harpooner's platform and has instead a sharp, narrow, pointed bow. In the Tjungundji canoe the outriggers are also placed farther forward than in the canoe of the eastern seaboard and are held by two booms secured to the outrigger by pegs, instead of by lashings alone as on the opposite coast. The attachment of the two cross arms to the hull is also different. In place of two short wooden pegs, a single long piece of wood is passed through holes in the sides of the canoe under each boom projecting outwards for a few inches on each side, and to this the arm is lashed by means of pliant liana. On the west coast of the Peninsula, outrigger canoes occurred only as far south as Janie Creek, a few miles from Port Musgrave on the lower Batavia River, although the range of these craft has extended considerably since the coming of the white man and dugouts are now in use as far south as the Archer River.

Other watercraft. From the Batavia River to the Kendall, bark canoes were in general use, as well as swimming logs, floats and rafts. But whereas on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula bark canoes were unknown south of the Kendall River, the use of log floats and composite rafts extended southward to the Mitchell and was probably general all along the coast. Rafts of triangular shape have been described by Roth (*North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin 14, p. 5) from the Wellesley Group of islands in the south-eastern corner of the Gulf, and the use of some form of raft probably extended right along the southern shoreline of the Gulf of Carpentaria into Arnhem Land.



To illustrate MAN, 1952, 1; drawn by Miss Joan Clark

On the west side of the Gulf the practice of using swimming logs and floats, with improvised rafts of various kinds for emergency use, is general, and extends along the entire coast of Arnhem Land.

Arnhem Land

Dugout canoes. The seagoing wooden dugout canoe is the craft most extensively used in Arnhem Land today. Its range extends throughout the whole coast from Limmen Bight, in the south-western corner of the Gulf, westwards at least as far as Darwin, including Groote Eylandt, and the Wessel and Crocodile Islands. As I have said, this canoe is of comparatively recent introduction, and was certainly brought to the area by visiting seafarers from Indonesia,⁶ who made regular visits to Arnhem Land for trepang or *bêche-de-mer*, tortoise-shell and pearls.

Bark canoes. Bark canoes, probably indigenous to Australia, are also much used in this area. These are of two main types. The one in common use is a seagoing craft used on big rivers and estuaries, and in voyages to off-lying islands such as those of the Crocodile Group. The other, a very specialized type of bark canoe, is used only in one restricted area, the Arafura Swamp, where it has been developed in adaptation to peculiar local conditions. This canoe, the most distinctive type found in Australia, had remained undescribed and unknown until 1939 (see my 'The Tree Dwellers of the Arafura Swamps: A New Type of Bark Canoe from Central Arnhem Land,' *MAN*, 1939, 109, and 'Arnhem Land: Explorations among an Unknown People,' *Geog. J.*, Vol. CXIV (1949), pp. 55ff.).

The bark canoes of both Cape York Peninsula and Arnhem Land, of the types used on the estuarine reaches of the rivers and in coastal waters, are made from the same kind of material, the bark of *Eucalyptus tetrodonta*, although they show some minor differences in the details of construction.

The bow and stern of the bark canoe of western Cape York are of identical form, each end having an upward rake (see map). In the Arnhem Land canoe the bow and stern are different and the bow is shorter and much blunter than in the type from western Cape York. Most of the seagoing bark canoes of Arnhem Land are constructed from a single sheet of bark, but in some cases two or more sheets are joined, the joints being sewn, and caulked to render them waterproof, a fact that was noted as long ago as 1803 by Flinders (*Terra Australis*, p. 198). These canoes also have a light sapling or strake along the gunwale for reinforcement, which is lashed in place with split *Flagellaria* cane (*bäkkü*). Reinforcement of this kind was not used in any of the bark canoes seen on western Cape York, and the method adopted for spreading (and holding together) the sides of the canoe differs considerably in Arnhem Land and on Cape York Peninsula. On the Peninsula a simple but ingenious device is used, consisting of lashings of bast fibre, supported by two forked sticks placed crosswise. The methods of strengthening and spreading, as well as the forms of bow and stern, in each of these types of canoe are shown on the map, together with cross-sections of the craft.

A large canoe made from a single sheet of bark, which I saw at Rolling Bay on the north coast of Arnhem Land in 1943, had an overall length of 15 feet, and measured 12 feet 9 inches along the keel. This canoe had a beam of 3 feet and a maximum depth inside the hull of 1 foot 11 inches. It carried a crew of four men comfortably and made journeys at least two or three miles out into the open sea even under choppy conditions without any difficulty. One such bark canoe of Arnhem Land under actual test made better time in a choppy sea than a ship's dinghy driven by two experienced men each using two oars. In former times much larger specimens were made and in these the natives made extended journeys to outlying islands, where the large wooden dugout canoes (*lippa lippa*) are now used.

The natives state that the wooden dugout canoes, which are in use today along the entire coastline of Arnhem Land, are of recent introduction and were first brought by the visiting praus from Celebes. They say also that they did not themselves make the wooden canoes nor would they have been able to do so, until they had obtained not only the pattern from the Macassar trepangers, but also the iron tools which are needed to cut them, for they did not possess the adzes of stone or shell which were used by many other primitive people to cut dugout canoes. Previous to this they had used only the bark canoe, called *bärwän*, the manufacture of which did not require efficient cutting tools.

Floats. The people of the coastal region of Arnhem Land are, then, expert in the use of watercraft. In addition to the wooden *lippa lippa* and bark canoes of two types, each of which is suited to special conditions, they make use of floats and rafts. Although these are often employed, and whilst there is an approved form and material for their construction, they are chiefly for emergency and are used only when more seaworthy craft are not available.

Floats are made from the very light wood which is said to originate in the mangrove zone, and called, in the Kopapoingo 5 dialect, *wurdoko*. When thoroughly dry this wood is extremely light and buoyant and an actual test of one float showed that it weighed some 15 lb. per cubic foot. It is used for floats of two kinds, both called *wurdoko*, like the wood from which they are generally made. The two kinds are (i) a short piece of wood, generally circular in cross-section, which is attached by a slip knot to the harpoon line, and thrown overboard when a turtle or dugong is harpooned (fig. 1); (ii) a simple log, which may be anything from 4 to 12 feet in length, without the modifications 7 (fig. 2) to which Hornell refers in the case of tree-trunk floats in Western Australia; this is generally used only for a single journey and is then abandoned.

When a wide river or an estuary has to be crossed in the absence of a canoe, the natives search for the light wood from which floats are made. This may be circular in section and almost straight, but preferably a trunk is selected which is about 4 or 5 inches in thickness and often more or less curved, with a slight upward lift at the thicker (basal) end. This lift may be increased by trimming with a tomahawk (an implement which the native always carries

when hunting, to cut out opossums, and 'sugar bar' or wild bees' nests); but more often the float is used without any preparation. As shown in Plate Aa, in which seven men are seen crossing a river near Cape Stewart in north-central Arnhem Land, the swimmer lays one arm (normally the left) along the float, upon which he then rests the weight of his body so that the leading end of the float is just clear of the water. If, as often happens, the swimmer has a bundle of spears and fire sticks, there are held above

mäma-mämapänaui ('*wurdoko* having been put together'). Another, more elaborate, form of raft in which the basal part is built of light logs with a platform of bark around which sticks are erected, is also used sometimes on the Arnhem Land coast; this type is often known as *tjutu*, a name which is properly applied to a raft of a distinctive type, made entirely from tea-tree bark without any foundation of wood. In the *tjutu*, sheets of tea-tree or paper bark (*Melaleuca leucadendron* var.), which is very light and

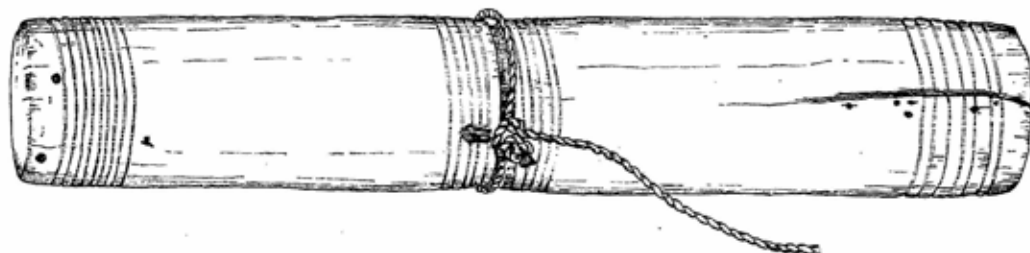


FIG. 1. TYPICAL HARPOON BUOY (ABOUT ONE-QUARTER ACTUAL SIZE)

These floats (*wurdoko*), used on the coast of Arnhem Land, are secured to the end of harpoon lines by means of a slipknot and are grooved in the centre to prevent the rope from slipping. They form part of the ordinary equipment of the turtle-hunter and are often decorated, as in this specimen, which carries three series of simple incised lines. Holes and pits in the surface of this float have been carefully plugged with wooden dowels, apparently to prevent waterlogging.



FIG. 2. SIMPLE SWIMMING LOG (ABOUT ONE-SIXTEENTH ACTUAL SIZE)

Used in Arnhem Land and other parts of Northern Australia, as seen in Plate Aa. Such logs are generally selected from a pile of driftwood, used without modification and abandoned after use.

the surface of the water, in the free hand, the legs alone being used for swimming.

The use of these swimming logs is, however, a little different from that understood by Hornell (*loc. cit.*); he refers to the users as 'log-riders,' whereas, as Plate Aa shows, they are employed to give partial support to the swimmer rather than to carry him or his possessions. Harpoon floats are normally carried in the *lippa lippa* as part of the paraphernalia of the turtle- or dugong-hunter, and although they are made from the same material that is used for swimming logs, I have never seen them employed as swimming floats. The harpoon float in fig. 1, a typical example, measured 21 inches in length and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and weighed 21 ozs.

Rafts, of several types, are also used for the crossing of relatively long stretches of open water and especially for transporting young children, as well as food and implements. They are pushed across the stream by a party of swimmers. Although, being employed for casual or emergency transport, they are necessarily constructed from the materials available at the time, these are generally of a kind approved by tradition and known to be effective. Rafts are often constructed from pieces of the light wood (possibly driftwood) called *wurdoko*, or from other light buoyant wood such as dry trunk of the screw pine (*Pandanus*), lashed together in a bundle. A log raft is likewise known as *wurdoko*, or more specifically *wurdoko*

buoyant, are piled up to form a platform into the sides of which pointed sticks are driven obliquely, to hold the layers together. A photograph of this type of raft (which does not appear to have been illustrated or described previously), in use by a group of women on an Arnhem Land river, is shown in Plate Ab. The *tjutu* is not capable of carrying big loads, its chief use being for the transportation of young children and food (generically *ngäta*) or possessions (*gerri*), across rivers or estuarine reaches. In tidal rivers where the tides are flowing strongly, these light rafts make much leeway and the people often wait for the lull which occurs at the turn of the tide, either at low water or on the full tide, to enable a good landfall to be made on the opposite bank or shore.

The *tjutu* has a special place in Arnhem Land mythology, which records that this type of bark raft was first used by two ancestral women, the Wagilläk sisters, who arrived in far eastern Arnhem Land from the Gulf of Carpentaria on a *tjutu* and thus established a tradition, a pattern and a charter, backed by mythology, for its use, especially by women.

Conclusion

It will be apparent, even from this brief survey of watercraft of the coastal areas of Cape York Peninsula and Arnhem Land, that these show a considerable amount of variation, that there are numerous minor local differences

in the types of craft used, and in the techniques employed in making them, which have become traditional, and that the aborigines of the coastal tribes are seafarers and water-men of no mean order.

Notes

¹ *Mālnkāna*, 'sandbeach,' -*idji* (suffix), 'belonging to.' The sound represented in this paper by *ā* is similar to that of the vowel in the English word 'sun.'

² For some account of these people see my articles 'The Hero Cult, Initiation and Totemism on Cape York,' *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXIII (1933), pp. 453-537, and 'The Dugong Hunters of Cape York,' *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXIV (1934), pp. 237-262.

³ W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin 14, pp. 12f.

⁴ Ironwood (*Erythrophloeum labouchei*) or lancewood (*Acaciathor*) are generally employed. These woods are much used in technology for the manufacture of spear-throwers and spears respectively.

⁵ The *ng* is pronounced as in 'singer.'

⁶ The somewhat vague term 'Indonesia' has been used in this connexion because definite evidence as to the region from which this canoe originally came, or the means by which it first reached Australia, is lacking. We know, however, that voyagers from Macassar and Celebes were present on this coast when Flinders first visited the area and he was told that there were 80 praus on the coast of Arnhem Land at that time. But although Flinders was informed by one Pobassoo that these visits had commenced only about 20 years before, there is no proof for his statement, and wooden dugout canoes may have been known to the Arnhemlanders for a much longer time.

⁷ Certain modifications to a log of this type from the north-west coast of Western Australia are described by Professor Radcliffe-Brown (*MAN*, 1916, 4), who states that two types of raft were used in that region. One type consisted of a simple log of light wood to which a second log was sometimes added. But even where only a single log was used a row of wooden pegs was driven in on each side.

THE SOUTHERN MONGOLOID MIGRATION

by

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2 It has generally been agreed that the Indonesian migrations have proceeded from the Asiatic mainland (Benedict, 1942). The evidence from physical anthropology supports a classification that ties most Indonesian and Further Indian populations together racially as Southern Mongoloids. The distribution of gene *q* for blood type B (see Table I) indicates such a relationship, as does the

TABLE I. BLOOD GROUP FREQUENCIES (after Wiener, 1943)

	Total	p	q	r
China:				
Peiping . . .	1,000	20.0	25.8	54.8
Indochina:				
Annamites . . .	1,261	14.5	20.0	66.5
Muongs . . .	504	17.3	21.2	61.2
Tho . . .	572	13.3	19.0	67.3
Indonesia:				
Javanese . . .	1,346	17.1	19.1	63.0
Malays, Celebes . . .	412	21.8	21.3	56.4
Sumatra, Tobas . . .	2,000	12.6	20.0	67.2
Mentawai . . .	1,862	13.7	14.5	71.8
Melanesia:				
New Guinea . . .	753	16.4	10.3	73.3

frequency distribution of shovel-shaped incisors (Dahlberg, 1945) and other genetic characters. Various small groups of Negrito and Veddoid peoples, unrelated to the Southern Mongoloids, have been regarded as surviving remnants of the older population (Evans, 1937).

South-East Asia has been defined by Kroeber (1947) and others (Bacon, 1946) as a culture area. Two main blocks, the Mon-Khmer and the Indonesians, form the general substratum, and show great similarity to each other. Superimposed on these are the intrusive Annamese and Thai peoples in French Indochina and Siam respectively, with

obvious relations to historic China. All these groups are Southern Mongoloids—culturally very advanced peoples, practising intensive cereal agriculture, usually united in large political structures, with a written history, etc.

In the following an attempt will be made to arrive at some of the forces behind the Southern Mongoloid migrations, in terms of population pressures, cultural innovations, and natural and cultural areas. The assumption is made that North China was in prehistoric times the all-important centre of cultural diffusion from which new innovations reached South-East Asia. The late arrival of agricultural traditions in southern and eastern India (Worman, MS.) suggests that no important stimuli reached South-East Asia from the West. The cultural setting is then reduced to a contact situation between two major traditions: the Chinese and the Hoabinhian (see below).

Underlying any distributional situation are geographical and ecological factors. South-East Asia may be defined, following Cressey, 1944, as a natural area, characterized by tropical vegetation and generally heavy rainfall. Some areas, such as central Borneo and the interior parts of Indochina, grade into a drier savannah. To the north is the Chinese light subtropical and temperate area with deciduous forest cover.

The cultural adaptations to these contrasting environments must be very different, especially for primitive peoples with little control of their environment. The ecological border between a tropical and a more temperate area would then be expected to function as a barrier to cultural distribution. The border between these areas in Eastern Asia is variously drawn by authorities but generally runs somewhat north of the China-Indochina political border. As indicated by the archaeology, this line has indeed represented a barrier to distribution (see below). Thus the main event in the spread of the Southern Mongoloids was

the effective crossing of that ecological barrier. Once they were able to compete in one place in the tropical area, that whole area was in fact open for invasions.

The Indochinese archaeological sequence is moderately well established. Lying immediately south of the ecological border, Indochina was the first area to receive the various stimuli from the north, and shows most clearly the role of the barrier in the development and interaction of the various traditions.

Two indigenous post-Pleistocene traditions have been defined, the Hoabinhian (Colani, 1926) and the Bacsonian (Mansuy and Colani, 1924). The distinction between these two parallel and closely related traditions need not concern us here—for this purpose, they may be regarded as one. They are clearly the result of genetic growth from the earlier chopper—chopping-tool traditions of the Pleistocene, retaining the rough percussion technique on large pebbles.

There is a general developmental sequence from early Hoabinhian to late Bacsonian, the latter characterized primarily by unpainted pottery and polished stone implements, but also retaining many elements of the old pebble industry. Associated with the early Hoabinhian and Bacsonian, usually in shell middens, is a general 'Melanesian' physical type, five identifiable skulls being all non-Mongoloid (Huard and Saurin, 1938).

Pottery and polished stone implements appear first in the late Hoabinhian—middle Bacsonian, and it is often assumed that this introduction was correlated with the adoption of tuber-planting agriculture, similar to that found in many Melanesian communities today (van Stein Callenfels, 1936, second entry). The Southern Mongoloid physical type also appears at this time. Of 26 skulls associated with this 'early Neolithic,' 11 are Mongoloid, 15 non-Mongoloid (Huard and Saurin, 1938). It is thus indicated that Southern Mongoloids brought the new techniques of stone-polishing and pottery-making into the local cultures. There is further an indication of a higher concentration of Mongoloid physical type and intrusive cultural elements in north-eastern and interior Indochina, and a stronger persistence of Melanesian physical type and more conservative cultures in the coastal area and the south—the area of denser tropical rain forest (Fromaget and Saurin, 1936).

The ecological barrier thus seems to have functioned at this time as a sieve, breaking up cultural complexes from the north and letting through some elements: pottery techniques but not painting, tuber agriculture but not millet or rice. In the really dense tropical area, the influence of diffusion from the north seems to have been even less. On the Malay peninsula, a Hoabinhian-like assemblage survived till quite late with the addition of some ground stone and pottery (van Stein Callenfels, 1936, first entry). Six skulls of Melanesian type are found associated with these assemblages (Huard and Saurin, 1936). On the east coast of Sumatra an industry of unifacially worked pebbles is found in large shell middens. It is related to the Hoabinhian, but clearly represents a local differentiation (van Stein Callenfels, 1936, second entry). No pottery is found

associated with this lithic complex, and of several thousand handaxes one is partly polished. There is stratigraphic evidence suggesting that this tradition was followed directly by advanced traditions using iron (*ibid.*). These and similar data make it probable that the general Hoabinhian tradition, associated with non-Mongoloid physical types, persisted in Indonesia up to the introduction of metals, probably by Indonesian invasions.

In Indochina, on the other hand, a 'late Neolithic' is found. It seems to be intrusive as a unit, since it shows no clear connexions with earlier local assemblages (Colani, 1930). It can more easily be related to the Chinese traditions. The evidence for it is very scattered; the main site is Samrong Sen in the tropical rain-forest area of southern Indochina (Patte, 1932).

Because of the great similarity of the general complex with similar implement types in early metal sites (Karlgrén, 1942), one may assume the late Neolithic to be of fairly short duration. The most important single fact is that all the sites occur in the areas of densest tropical forest—areas that rather seemed to lag behind in development at previous times (Fromaget and Saurin, 1936).

This apparent concentration of the late Neolithic in the rain-forest zone agrees with other evidence. In the interior, several stratified sites show a development of fairly advanced ground-stone techniques, and then a degeneration of these skills. This has been explained as reflecting a movement of more primitive peoples into the interior (Worman, personal communication)—perhaps out of the tropical forests which were formerly a refuge area, but which were then being taken over by the late Neolithic peoples.

Another detail of the sequence may also make more sense in terms of this picture. A number of middens are found where iron, or evidence of iron-production, is associated with late Hoabinhian—Bacsonian assemblages (Colani, 1930). Colani dismisses much of this evidence as intrusive but is forced to admit the problem it poses. The distribution of these sites is in small calciferous massifs along the coastal strip, in the northern provinces of Annam (*ibid.*). They are in other words outside, but close to, the alluvial lowlands, and may represent surviving islands of more conservative groups which were not driven into the interior, and at a late date had some trade connexions with the peoples of the deltas. At any rate, the interior, formerly most advanced of the areas, becomes a marginal area culturally with the appearance of the late Neolithic assemblage, and the alluvial plains and coastal areas, the areas of most lush tropical forest, take over as leading centres of cultural growth. These late Neolithic and early metal assemblages clearly lead with no break up to the cultures of the modern agricultural Southern Mongoloid population of Indochina.

The cultural innovation enabling Mongoloid populations to cross effectively the ecological barrier and enter the tropical area, and, furthermore, the population pressure producing such a movement, must thus have been present at the time of the appearance of late Neolithic assemblages in Indochina. From that moment, the Southern Mongoloid

peoples and their cultures, rather than being an influence in the marginal, drier areas, actually invade the central tropical deltas and replace the former inhabitants.

We know then the time in the relative archaeological sequence when a combination of the necessary factors came into existence. Reviewing the development in the nuclear Mongoloid area, northern China, with this in mind, it should be possible to arrive at a more specific understanding of what the nature of these factors was.

(1) Population pressure in the Mongoloid area not only assumes growing populations within the area. It also requires, in terms of Malthusian dialectics, a losing race between increasing food-production and increasing population. With the introduction of agriculture to the Chinese area, any pre-existing population pressure must have been relieved. A growing population could be supported by an increase of agricultural production, primarily by clearing new land. But this led in time to very extensive use of the more fertile areas, and eventually to over-use. The result may be seen in the destructive erosion that has dissected most of the Chinese agricultural land. This erosion cycle must have set in when most of the arable land was cleared—when the area was filled and population pressure started building up. It must in fact have contributed to this pressure by partly destroying farmland already in use.

The Yang Shao (early painted pottery) materials of Honan were laid down in a period of deposition, and only later exposed by erosive action (Andersson, 1947). The city of Anyang, on the other hand, was built on the present-day land surface (*ibid.*)—no deposition, in other words, has taken place since its habitation. It thus seems that the erosion cycle must have set in at a time level between these two sites—that population pressure was established by Shang times. This was considerably before the late Neolithic of Indochina. A strong population pressure thus had time to build up at the threshold to the tropical area; as soon as the barrier was overcome, large numbers of people were ready to sweep into the southern area.

(2) The archaeological materials from China and Indochina give no clear evidence of what the cultural innovations were that opened the tropical area to exploitation by Southern Mongoloid populations.

Little is known of the economic developments in China. Bronze occurs for the first time in Anyang of the Shang period, already rather fully developed (Andersson, 1945). Iron was not known until the Chou period, c. 700 B.C. (Teilhard de Chardin, 1940). The important crop seems at first to have been millet (Wittfogel, 1936), although rice was known in Yang Shao times (Andersson, 1947). Grand-scale public works for irrigation were developed in the middle of the Chou dynasty (Wittfogel, 1936).

(a) In Indochina the archaeological sequence shows that the spreading Southern Mongoloids had a more advanced technology than that of the local peoples. The general assemblage is larger and more diversified, and the metal tools were undoubtedly more efficient than ground stone implements. The expansion starts in Indochina, however, before the introduction of metals (Samrong Sen), so some other factor must have been more important.

(b) Of the actual economic adaptation of the invading Southern Mongoloids, the archaeological material gives little indication. Other types of evidence must be used.

The basic adaptation of modern Southern Mongoloid peoples to their tropical environment is wet-rice agricultural techniques. Although a number of crops are raised, none approximate to rice in importance (Cressey, 1944). Certain small groups of Southern Mongoloids, such as the Yakun of Malaya, practise slash-and-burn agriculture, raising rice and millet. In dry-rice farming the cereal is treated much like any of the grains we are familiar with: it is sown in prepared plots, perhaps weeded, and reaped when ripe. Wet-rice techniques, on the other hand, utilize intensive sunlight and much water for intensive crop-raising. The amount of water in the fields is controlled through terracing and irrigation, the individual plants are usually transplanted, and an optimum environment is secured, as far as possible, for every stage of growth. In very wet climates, with varying wet and dry soil, the roots of the dry-rice plant will tend to rot. In wet-rice agriculture this is avoided by keeping the plant constantly wet, and the water is utilized for 'artificial' intensive plant culture. The whole question of wet and dry rice is thus one not of breeds of rice but of agricultural techniques (Adams, 1948).

A historical incident showing the importance of wet-rice agricultural techniques is offered by the Tanala of Madagascar (Linton, 1939). The result of recent introduction of wet rice here has been a drastic increase of population, a stabilization and enlargement of political units and a steady replacement of slash-and-burn neighbours. On a much smaller scale, the results seem to parallel what happened in late Neolithic times in South-East Asia.

The wet-rice technique is built on one of the major cereals of North China, but clearly represents a specialization made *necessary* only by humid conditions (though it may profitably be pursued also in other climates). It represents in fact the only known successful adaptation of cereal farming to a tropical environment, and thus seems to be the only innovation that can explain the Southern Mongoloid expansion.

The presence or absence of wet rice cannot be determined in the sites in South-East Asia. The question then arises when the first evidence of terracing and irrigation, necessary in wet-rice agriculture, is found in the nuclear Mongoloid area. As mentioned above, large irrigation projects do not appear in China until the middle of the Chou period. But some traces of embankments were discovered at Anyang, probably as a response to the problem of erosion. It thus may be that in combating erosion at home, they incidentally hit upon a solution that opened new areas for cereal agriculture. As soon as the embankment techniques were taken into use for agriculture, the tropical areas could be exploited.

An approximate date for the Southern Mongoloid expansion arrived at by comparative means must suffice, since we lack the absolute dating for the area that radio-carbon could offer. Teilhard de Chardin (1940), in general agreement with Andersson (1945), gives a sequence of

dates for the northern Chinese area. Karlgren (1942) demonstrates how the early bronze in Indochina appears with Han empire influence, c. 200 B.C. Iron appears in South-East Asia about the beginning of the Christian era (Worman, MS.). The Indonesian physical type is found associated with bronze implements on Java, and the general evidence indicates that the country was effectively taken over by Southern Mongoloid peoples by the Iron Age. As mentioned previously, the late Neolithic of Indochina, representing the first cultures of the northern Chinese tradition to invade the tropical area, was probably of short duration. The actual spread of Southern Mongoloid peoples was thus probably very rapid, starting shortly before the introduction of metals in Indochina and reaching Java before the introduction of iron. It cannot have lasted much more than a few hundred years, starting shortly before the year 500 B.C.

The historically documented movements of Annamese and Thai peoples into Indochina and Siam may be regarded as a continued overflow from the congested Chinese area. There has been a practically continuous stream of people out of the area of greatest population pressure, from the late Neolithic of Indochina until today. The physical type of the earlier invaders must have been strongly influenced by admixture with the non-Mongoloid peoples of the southern area, that of later invaders less so, as may in fact be seen in the blood-type frequencies listed above.

Summary and Conclusions

A suggestion of some of the forces active in the cultural and racial history of South-East Asia is furnished by applying the concepts of cultural and ecological areas. The role played by the ecological barrier between the temperate and tropical areas seems to have been important.

(1) Southern Mongoloid peoples are closely related to Chinese populations, and represent a late extension of the Mongoloid physical type into South-East Asia. This extension may be seen in the archaeological record in terms of two main patterns or traditions: the southern, Hoabinhian-like tradition, usually associated with a non-Mongoloid physical type, and traditions of the greater Chinese area, associated with Mongoloid peoples.

(2) The distribution of cultural traditions follows patterns set by ecology. We may today define a South-East Asiatic area on the basis of cultural and racial similarities between Southern Mongoloid groups. This culture area corresponds to an ecological area, and has been a culture area for a considerable time. These cultures, related to the Chinese tradition, are new in South-East Asia, but the assemblages preceding them may also be regarded as constituting a unified tradition. This tradition also had a distribution covering the ecological area. It is mainly defined by a Hoabinhian-like lithic complex, reminiscent of the Pleistocene chopper-chopping-tool traditions of the area, and probably derived from these.

(3) The ecological boundary between temperate China and tropical Further India long prevented grand-scale interchange of cultures and peoples between the two areas,

but was no barrier to the diffusion of many separate technological and economic traits, such as pottery and ground stone. Cultural complexes from the north were broken up, and the elements applicable in the local situation were readily incorporated in the southern cultures.

(4) The ecological boundary represented a threshold which the earlier Mongoloids were not able to cross at any scale. With the appearance of wet-rice agricultural techniques and metal implements, the tropical forests were, however, opened to advanced cereal agriculturalists. Population pressure from nuclear China pushed waves of peoples south, resulting in Southern Mongoloid invasions of Further India and Indonesia, commencing some time before 500 B.C. Cultural traditions of the Chinese area thus became established in South-East Asia, resulting in a major break in the local archaeological sequence approximately at the time of introduction of metals.

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SHORTER NOTES

U.N.E.S.C.O.'s New Statement on Race. Cf. especially MAN, 1951, 255

3 As was reported in the November issue of MAN, the Hon. Editor was at the last moment requested to suspend publication of the provisional text of the *Statement on Race*, 1951, which had previously been approved and confirmed for that issue by the Social Sciences Department of U.N.E.S.C.O. He is now able to amplify somewhat his observation on the reasons given him for the intervention by the Mass Communications (i.e. publicity) Department which led to the request for withholding of publication in MAN and in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*.

He gathered at that time (mid-October) that an early version of the draft Statement had already been published by Professor Ashley Montagu in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (an American paper devoted mainly to literature and humour), without the consent of or consultation with U.N.E.S.C.O., and moreover in a form which it was known that members of the drafting panel regarded as very far from definitive; and that it was this occurrence which led to reconsideration of release to scientific publications, on the ground that such release could not be confined to such publications, but would have to be general.

U.N.E.S.C.O. deserves great sympathy in this regrettable situation. Once again, and this time through no fault of its own, its campaign against racialism has gone off at half-cock. The Hon. Editor has now obtained access, not without difficulty, to the publication in question, dated 1 September, 1951, and finds that the version printed was an immature committee paper already out of date in important respects some time before that time. The meeting of the panel in early June did not last long enough to secure agreement on all points, and many were left open to be dealt with by correspondence; it follows that a number of passages were left in at that stage to which it was already clear that some members could not agree in that form. By mid-October, however, the most serious points had been dealt with, and the whole document had been vastly improved both in phrasing and substance—notably by the elimination of a whole paragraph (based on a semi-political *obiter dictum* of Charles Darwin in 1871), which had survived somewhat strangely from the Ashley Montagu Statement of 1950; it seemed, in fact, to be in a fit state for wide circulation among anthropologists and other interested scientists—a process which will have to be carried out, over a period of months, before the Statement can be regarded as in a condition to be released to the world as definitive. The publication in the *Saturday Review of Literature* would be unfortunate even if its only result were the postponement of the process for several months.

The published version is illustrated with a photograph of Professor Ashley Montagu and appended to a leading article which is mysteriously titled 'The Ascent of Man (1776-1951)', although it contains no further reference to the racial problems of the New World. There is no occasion to examine here the curiously inexact account which it gives of the history of the U.N.E.S.C.O. documents and the criticisms aroused by the 1950 Statement, which are attributed to racialistic bias and ignorance. It would, however, be a matter of grave concern if its publication in these circumstances were to give the impression that the 1951 Statement, in the drafting of which U.N.E.S.C.O. has been at such pains to secure representation of the best and most balanced opinion, is largely the product of any one person's pen or influence. The present draft does not in fact bear much resemblance to the earlier State-

ment; and all the passages which caused such an impression to become prevalent in 1950 have now been removed.

It may be respectfully suggested to U.N.E.S.C.O. that the present situation is unsatisfactory. The unauthorized version can of course be freely copied and quoted from. No doubt informed publications would, like MAN, see little point in reproducing a largely superseded draft; but it is unfortunately not the best-informed publications which are the most likely to copy from the *Saturday Review of Literature*. One course of action now open to U.N.E.S.C.O. would seem to be to announce firmly—with all the weight of the Mass Communications Department—that no draft has yet been authorized for publication, that the one that has appeared is largely out of date, and—it is to be hoped—that the Ashley Montagu Statement of 1950 is to be regarded as withdrawn in favour of the new Statement, which will be issued in provisional and later in definitive form as soon as possible. Better still, since one provisional draft has already leaked out, the latest draft might be at once issued to the scientific press and announcement made to the general press saying that this has been done, for purposes of consultation, and advising them to await the definitive Statement in a few months' time. Every effort should certainly be made to avoid and discourage any obscurantism about the relation between the first and the second Statements and to reduce confusion on the subject in the world.

XXX International Congress of Americanists, Cambridge, August, 1952

4 The first circular for the Cambridge meeting of the International Congress of Americanists has now been issued. The British Organizing Committee, appointed by the Royal Anthropological Institute, consists of: Mr. H. J. Braunholtz (Chairman), Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell and Mr. A. Digby (Joint Honorary Secretaries), Miss B. M. Blackwood, Mr. T. W. I. Bullock, Professor D. Forde, Professor M. Fortes, Mrs. L. E. Joyce, Mr. J. P. Mills, C.S.I., C.I.E., Dr. R. N. Salaman, F.R.S., Dr. J. C. Trevor; Mr. C. A. Burland is Assistant Secretary. The Congress will be held from 18 to 23 August, 1952.

The main subjects for consideration at this session will be the exploration and settlement, colonial history, archaeology, ethnology, social anthropology, languages, physical anthropology, human geography, folklore and contemporary social studies of the Americas. Titles and abstracts of papers to be offered to the Congress should be submitted to the Committee not later than 1 May, 1952, for consideration. They must be limited to 20 minutes, and members may not give more than three papers.

Scientific bodies interested in Americanist studies are invited to send delegates. The subscriptions are three guineas for full and one guinea for associate members. Various accommodation is available in colleges, hotels and lodgings. The address of the Congress is c/o University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Downing Street, Cambridge, England.

Blood Group Research. Cf. MAN, 1951, 254

5 The Hon. Editor of MAN regrets that, in the report on the foundation of the Nuffield Blood Group Centre of the Royal Anthropological Institute in the November issue, Dr. A. E. Mourant's title was incorrectly given as Hon. Director instead of as Hon. Adviser. He is also Hon. Secretary of the Institute committee which supervises the Centre.

The Centre is now in being, and Dr. Ada Kopeč has been appointed as statistician.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Notes and Queries on Anthropology. Revised and rewritten by a Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Sixth Edition. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Price £1 8s.

6 The new edition of *Notes and Queries* fulfils a long-felt need and will be welcomed by all anthropologists in the English-speaking world. Despite the great expansion of anthropological studies during the last 25 years this handbook and questionnaire, which was first issued by the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1874, has not been replaced by any comparable publication, and ever since the fifth edition went out of print there has been no guide to anthropological observation which could be obtained by students embarking on a first field trip or those who, without being professional anthropologists, have the opportunity of frequent and prolonged contacts with members of non-literate societies.

While the general scope of *Notes and Queries* has remained the same as in previous editions, the outlay and arrangement of the chapters have been considerably altered. Part I is still devoted to Physical Anthropology, and a brief chapter on Blood Groups has been added to the information on anthropometry. The comparative slenderness of Part I, which fills only 22 out of 368 pages of text, is justified in view of the highly technical character of anthropometric methods which virtually excludes the collection of useful data by amateurs.

Part II is entitled Social Anthropology and comprises sections on Methods, Social Structure, Social Life of the Individual, Political Organization, Economics, Ritual and Belief, Knowledge and Tradition, and Language. It is here that the new edition marks a most significant advance on all previous issues. Many of the more recent developments in social anthropology are reflected in the classification of concepts and the systematization of the methods of investigation. The chapters of this part contain concise and illuminating descriptions of the various factors and elements of social life as well as detailed guidance for the formulation of questions. Even the layman following the lines of enquiry here indicated should be able to gain a fairly good grasp of the society he is studying. The instruction provided for the use of the genealogical method will be found particularly useful, and many a student engaged in anthropological fieldwork would do well to check his material by running through the numerous questions suggested in these chapters.

While great skill has been used in packing vital information on numerous aspects of social life into the framework of Part II, there are some inconsistencies in the allocation of subjects between Part II and Part III, which bears the heading Material Culture. It is difficult to understand, for instance, why the section on Medicine and Surgery should have found a place in Part II, whereas Drama, as well as Games and Amusements, has been listed under Material Culture. Dramatic performances both spontaneous and traditional are undoubtedly an expression of social realities and their proper place would have been in Part II alongside the sections dealing with myths and stories.

Many of the chapters in Part III have been taken verbally from the fifth edition, and in most cases there was indeed no need for revision. This does not apply, however, to the chapter on Plant-Cultivation, which might well have been considerably amplified. An enumeration and brief description of the various methods of sowing and planting, for instance, would be at least as important as the catalogue of musical instruments, which in a later section of the same part fills no less than 12 pages. Agricultural methods are as a rule not well reported in anthropological monographs and it is in this field that even trained anthropologists might profit from a brief account of the relevant technical points. But the fifty-odd lines devoted to Plant-Cultivation are obviously quite insufficient to draw an observer's attention to such items as the methods of dibbling and broadcast sowing, the sprouting of paddy before sowing, preparation of nurseries, and the clipping of seedlings at transplanting time, or even to list the principal types of agricultural

implements. In a handbook containing such detailed instructions for other inquiries one would expect a reasonably full guide to the problems likely to arise in the study of agricultural methods and the processing of agricultural produce, and in this section there is scope for improvement in a future edition.

The brief part on Field Antiquities will serve its purpose if it impresses on social anthropologists the desirability of keeping their eyes open for archaeological remains and of collecting such surface finds as will arouse the interest of archaeologists.

The book list at the end of the book can necessarily not be more than a brief introduction to anthropological literature, and the choice of two or three dozen titles for every continent must obviously be largely arbitrary. Yet there are cases where a less important work of an author has been listed and a major work omitted. In the section on Asia, for instance, we find V. Elwin's *The Agaria* (1942), but not his *The Muria and their Ghotul* (1947), and W. V. Grigson's unobtainable and somewhat ephemeral Government report *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar* (1944) has been given preference over *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (re-issued in 1949), the standard work on the Bastar tribes. The list of recommended periodicals has been greatly enlarged and contains now several journals not primarily devoted to anthropology. It is therefore all the more inexplicable why such journals of international importance as *L'Anthropologie* and *Anthropos*, which were included in the short list published in the fifth edition, have now been eliminated.

However, criticism of a few minor points should not detract from our appreciation of a most valuable handbook which will henceforth form an indispensable part of every field anthropologist's equipment. Indeed the members of the editorial committee, who have undertaken the laborious and anonymous task of revising and rewriting *Notes and Queries*, are to be congratulated on the general excellence of the new edition. C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

Note

The Hon. Editor of MAN will welcome critical discussion of this volume in the correspondence columns, with a view to improvements in the next edition.—ED.

The Physical Basis of Life. By J. D. Bernal. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. 80. Price 6s.

7 This small book is essentially the Guthrie Lecture given to the Physical Society in 1947, together with answers to some criticisms of certain points made by other scientists. It deals mainly with the origin of life from inorganic matter rather than with an analysis of living matter, as the title might suggest. Professor Bernal does not attempt to define life, but discusses some properties common to all living matter. He deals first with the probable state of the earth's surface and atmosphere before life began and considers some of the ways in which complex compounds, with large molecules, might have been produced from this inorganic world. In particular, he suggests how proteins, essential constituents of protoplasm, could have been produced. He then deals with photosynthesis and the changes produced in the atmosphere by the presence of life, which made possible the utilization of oxygen for energy-production. He discusses briefly the complex nature of protoplasm and describes a theory of division of the nucleus based on the formation of fibrous protein molecules. He ends by considering the further development of cells into more complex organizations.

The whole treatment of a subject such as this must, of course, be highly speculative, but Professor Bernal, in developing his ideas, avoids all mysticism and bases his arguments on established data or on plausible conjectures, many of which could be checked by experimental methods. Although it is unlikely that all his guesses will be right, this book will remain, through its deep insight, brilliant speculation and clear exposition, a valuable contribution to the study of the origin of life. M. LUBRAN

Insects as Human Food: a Chapter of the Ecology of Man.

By F. S. Bodenheimer. The Hague (Dr. W. Junk), 1951. Pp. 352. Price 10 guilders

8 The author makes the important criticism of many descriptions of the diet of pre-literate peoples that these descriptions usually include only vegetable foods, and flesh of fish, birds, sometimes reptiles, mammals and, occasionally, men. These descriptions often speak of the diet as ill balanced, though the people concerned may be strong. He emphasizes the fact that locusts and related forms, termites (especially the winged sexuals), white ants, beetles and grubs of many kinds are eaten in Australia, Africa, Asia and America as well as here and there in Europe. The proportions of fat and protein in many insects are very high and in Africa a termite hill may be a valued family possession, the owner making a cover with a trap-pocket to catch the winged sexuals when they swarm. Gnats are made into a paste and sometimes bees too. Honey is of course widely valued and in most regions except Australia some kind of hive has been developed for wild bees. The paucity of the utilization of honey in China and Japan is remarkable. It is noteworthy that, as amongst ourselves in connexion with the eating of crustaceans, so, in many regions, individuals here and there are seriously allergic to insects. The author explains that manna is a secretion of certain insects and not, as was formerly stated, a growth of lichen. The author has made a notable collection of literary references, some very difficult to find, and asks for amplifications of it.

H. J. FLEURE

Les Grands Courants de la Biologie. By Jean Rostand. Paris (Gallimard), 1951. Pp. 272. Price 380 francs

9 This book consists of ten chapters each dealing with a different biological topic, the field covered being mainly genetics and related subjects. It is intended for the layman, with little previous knowledge of the subjects. The author starts each chapter, which is complete in itself, with a general survey of the field and then describes some of the recent work and its interpretation. There is a short bibliography.

Five of the chapters deal with genes, mutations and inheritance. There is a good discussion of neo-Lamarckism, with particular reference to the work of Lysenko and other Soviet biologists. The remaining chapters deal with hormones and their mode of action, 'organizers' and the developing ovum, genetical aspects of evolution, neoteny, and spontaneous generation. Much of the subject matter will be new to the general reader. The writing is clear and well informed, though somewhat repetitive, and the scientific matter is discussed critically.

M. LUBRAN

Culture and Personality. Edited by S. Stansfeld Sargent and Marian W. Smith. New York (Viking Fund), 1949. Pp. vi, 219. Price \$1.50

10 This consists of a collection of papers originally read and discussed at a conference on culture and personality held under the auspices of the Viking Fund in 1947 and attended by anthropologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and sociologists. Contributors include Fromm, Murphy, Kardiner, Kluckhohn, Klineberg, Linton, Sullivan, and the papers deal with four main themes: definition of terms, techniques, evaluation of studies and integration for future studies. The book may be viewed from two angles, as a record of the formal proceedings of an attempt at interdisciplinary collaboration, and as simply a collection of papers on the given topic.

As to the first, the attempt is not successful. There is no single concrete problem to which each paper contributes, many words are used on statements of policy or of positions already known, and collaboration does not get beyond exclamations of friendship and esteem. Some of the discussion following the papers is printed, but this does not serve to unify them.

As to the second, I am not competent to evaluate the contribution of Sullivan, but the other papers, though all interesting, do not contribute anything new to the subject. Consequently, the book is of value mainly as bringing together the already known standpoints of the various contributors, and criticism of techniques and results of culture and personality study.

J. LITTLEJOHN

Stammesentwicklung der Menschheit. By H. Weinert. Braunschweig (Vieweg), 1951. Pp. 212. Price DM.12.80. **Der Geistige Aufstieg der Menschheit.** By H. Weinert. 2nd edition. Stuttgart (Enke), 1951. Pp. 304. Price DM. 19

II These are general reviews of human evolution, anatomical and psychical, the early stages being the main topic. The author works out the story as one of successive phases, each more or less affecting most of the Old World, but he allows for some regional differentiation, especially in the later part of the process. His *pro-Pithecanthropus* stage, concerned mainly with the transition Pliocene to Pleistocene, is made to include the South African finds of Dart and Broom and their colleagues, as well as fragments of some large forms, such as a part of a lower jaw from Java (*Meganthropus*), a part of an upper jaw from East Africa (also called *Meganthropus*), some large teeth bought in a chemist's shop in Hongkong and believed to have come from Shan Si (*Gigantopithecus*), and a large '*Pithecanthropus*' reconstructed from skull and jaw fragments found near one another in Java but without any certainty that the fragments belonged to the same skeleton. As this skeleton showed a small 'diastema' to help interlocking of the canine teeth, it has been placed in this early group. Weinert suggests that the use of fire by *Australopithecus prometheus* indicates that the great initial step between ape and man was already taken.

The *Pithecanthropus* stage is made to cover all the Lower Palaeolithic period, and this must be considered a temporary and provisional point of view. The Steinheim girl, and the fragments from Swanscombe and Fontéchevade are allowed to be suggestive of evolution towards *Homo sapiens*.

The Middle Palaeolithic is here called the Neandertal stage and is said to be characterized by diversification of implements used for different purposes. Weinert thinks the Neandertal type must have contributed considerably to the evolution of *H. sapiens*.

The Upper Palaeolithic is discussed in considerable detail with special reference to its immense psychical advances. The weapons acting at a distance (one at least may be Middle Palaeolithic), the combining of flint points and wooden hafts, the cave painting, the evidence of ornamentation and so on are all part of the great story. In this and later sections Weinert sometimes rather exaggerates the importance of what he calls Nordic man. He is also considerably worried by obscurantist opposition still lingering against scientific research. The books are interestingly written and well illustrated and the early parts on the whole reach a high standard.

H. J. FLEURE

Das neue Bild der Vorgeschichte. By Oskar Paret. Stuttgart (Schröder), 1948. Pp. 232

12 Dr. Paret, well known for distinguished work particularly in Württemberg, publishes under this title a revised version of lectures delivered during the war, in which far-reaching conclusions were drawn from a reconsideration of certain archaeological sites in south and west Germany. In a résumé of articles published in 1941-44 he continues his attack upon European 'Lake-dwellings.' The contention that houses built on raised wooden platforms over water or bog were really built on dry land and only later submerged, and abandoned, during climatic deterioration, has at first sight an attractive simplicity; but Dr. Paret's 12 points have been energetically combated by Swiss and other prehistorians. Arguing from personally observed data they show that evidence from Swiss lakes does not confirm Dr. Paret's view. Much of the more fanciful decoration of the original 'Lake-dwelling' picture has been discarded; but whatever the verdict on Federsee, the starting point of Dr. Paret's argument, may be, it appears that a stronger case must be made before all 'Lake-dwellings' are rejected like the 'Pit-dwellings' which form the subject of the second section. Dr. Paret's interpretation of the Köln-Lindenthal 'pits' and 'granaries' has been generally accepted; so also his interpretation of interrupted-ditch sites like Urmitz and Mayen as cattle corrals rather than camps of refuge.

In a section on Climate and World History Dr. Paret goes further afield to postulate two catastrophic droughts, around 2000 and 1200 B.C., which he holds responsible for all major movements of people from China to Württemberg. Hoards of metal objects in the Late Bronze Age mark not routes of traders but the hunger march

of displaced persons. Unfortunately the argument for catastrophic droughts, which cannot be demonstrated by palaeobotany, depends almost entirely upon the contention of the first section, the existence in parts of Europe of dry-land houses at two distinct periods, upon ground later submerged. In a final chapter the author applies to a sketch of Württemberg his New Picture of Prehistory.

N. K. SANDARS

Les Structures élémentaires de la Parenté. By Claude Lévi-Strauss. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1949. Pp. xiv, 639. Price 1200 francs

IB This book strikes an English reader as the most important contribution made by a French anthropologist since the war. It is built on what might be called classical lines. It is a volume of over 600 closely written pages containing material drawn from an enormous number of primitive societies after the manner of the earlier anthropologists. It deals with incest, exogamy, preferential marriages and kinship terminology—subjects which have been the first and the most continuous preoccupation of anthropologists since the middle of the nineteenth century. It has a major thesis, closely reasoned and logically presented, which the author believes to be universally, or at any rate widely, applicable. *Les Structures élémentaires de la Parenté* has thus much of the scope and sweep of works which formed the foundations of anthropology, although it is of course based on the more detailed type of structural analysis produced by modern fieldwork, and on a number of new theoretical concepts, sociological and psychological.

Lévi-Strauss sets out to explain the reason for the rules which universally govern mating in human societies and he includes under this heading incest, exogamy, preferential marriages, marriage classes and marriage by exchange. He discusses and rejects previous explanations of the phenomenon of incest and substitutes his own view, which is, roughly speaking, that the rules of incest and exogamy are best considered as positive injunctions rather than as prohibitions. They are laws which debar a man from marrying one set of women, only to make it obligatory on society to give him rights over other women. The prohibitions on marriage with the mother, sisters and clan sisters are, from this point of view, no more than injunctions to give the mother, sisters and clan sisters to other men. To Lévi-Strauss marriage prohibitions are in fact an instance of the phenomenon of reciprocity in goods and services which is one of the most common and most elementary ways of distributing scarce assets. Women are the 'supreme good' and the most productive of all assets in societies of this type, and it is for this reason that reciprocal obligations in marriage are characteristic of the most primitive societies. As a man at this level of culture is willing to give up meat from the buck he has killed to his fellows in order to secure the right to claim meat from these men on other occasions, so he consents to give up access to his own women in return for the assurance of access to a much larger group of women belonging to another group. Incest rules 'freeze' women in their own families so that the division of the females is done under the control of family and lineage groups; and to Lévi-Strauss, as indeed to Freud, these regulations are the first distinction between the society of animals, here called 'nature,' and that of man, 'culture.'

The writer thus applies the concept of reciprocity in social relations, elaborated on the basis of Melanesian and Polynesian fieldwork by Malinowski and Firth and in a series of theoretical articles by Mauss, to explain the rules governing the disposal of women. He bases his argument not only on economic and sociological grounds as do these authors, but also on psychological factors. It is economically profitable to exchange scarce goods, but it also corresponds to a universal psychological desire. The smallest children try to express their power by giving presents to others and seek to win security by offering gifts which pledge their parents to return them love. It is a psychological fact too that human beings are ready to give up precious assets if their neighbours are obliged to give them up too. Lévi-Strauss even suggests that there is something special in the exchange of women, since women represent food to the early consciousness of the child. (He here quotes arguments which I developed in *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe*, but drives them further than I would myself.) He elaborates more familiar arguments

when he describes the more directly sociological functions of reciprocal marital relations in binding together the members of different groups and asks us to consider marriage as one of a whole series of ties between the men of one line 'créanciers en épouses,' and those of the other, the 'lignée débitrice.'

It is on arguments of this type that the author bases his view of the evolution of kinship from 'structures élémentaires' which he believes to be those in which marriages are more or less automatically determined by rules of reciprocity to those in which there is a free choice of mate. There is an intermediate stage in which marriage by means of payments of different kinds gives a greater measure of elasticity in the selection of a bride.

The major part of the book consists in an elaboration of the thesis of reciprocity in marriage relations in the case of particular societies or areas. Lévi-Strauss considers that the rules of exogamy are similar to those of incest. In the former a class of men renounce a class of women and in the latter a single man renounces a group of women. Endogamy is similarly shown to have features in common with cross-cousin marriage and dual organization. In endogamy marriage is prescribed within the group; in cross-cousin marriage there is an obligation to marry a particular person; and in dual organization a man is obliged to marry into a special class. Cross-cousin marriage is, to Lévi-Strauss, the most elementary form of marriage exchange and one which leads later to forms of dual organization. The two systems are described as 'two stages in awareness of social relations.' The author invites us to consider all these regulations of mating as forms of reciprocal exchange and to divide these into two main classes: 'limited exchanges' (*échanges restreints*) in which there is a direct exchange of a girl for a girl, and 'general exchanges' (*échanges généralisés*) in which the exchanges are not directly reciprocal, but can nevertheless be traced out over several generations and influence the kinship terminologies. The limited exchanges are described as characteristic of the less organized societies and they give place to generalized exchanges. The author maps out the distribution of forms of generalized exchange in societies situated on an axis running from Burma (Kachin) to east Siberia (Gilyak), with Australia, parts of south India and Sumatra as the areas of the greatest distribution of limited exchange. Assam, the Tungus and the Manchu provide examples of hybrid systems.

The most detailed examination of the concept of reciprocity is made in the case of Australian societies, where the famous marriage classes are again analysed and projected on to numerous diagrams, Burma, India and China. Lévi-Strauss's treatment of the kinship terminologies of these selected areas will probably be the most open to criticism, since he does not give himself the necessary space to work these systems out to the full. The material is however very rich in ideas. The book has a single thesis and is, in this sense, doctrinaire. But once marriage has been declared to be one of a series of reciprocal relations between the members of two or more groups, the honest writer is bound to admit, and even to stress, the number of determinants which can shape or deform the system of marriage exchanges. Lévi-Strauss here shows how the desire for political alliances may dominate over simple exchange considerations, so that security as to wives may be exchanged for security in the political field as among the Nambikwara of south Brazil. He describes rules of rank and residence cutting across more clear-cut marriage obligations. He speaks of economic determinants, but does not in fact give much detailed examination of these, and an essay on the effects of cattle and other forms of stock on marriage exchanges remains to be made according to his thesis. Finally he emphasizes the necessity of starting with the family and constantly stresses the bilateral nature of kinship. He has here some interesting things to say on the particular forms of marriage exchange in matrilineal societies and confirms recent British work on the greater variability of marriage rules in matrilineal and patrilineal societies (see articles on the matrilineal systems of Ashanti and Northern Rhodesia by M. Fortes and A. I. Richards respectively in *African Political Systems*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, 1950). The book thus avoids the conceptual superficiality of recent treatments of kinship which have been almost entirely based on the study of unilineal descent groups.

It is for these reasons that readers who disagree with Lévi-Strauss's

main thesis or with his analysis of particular systems will yet find a number of suggestive ideas scattered through the descriptive material. They seem to be struck off almost casually in the hammering-out of the central theme, and to be struck off in happy and often brilliant phrases. Many of these suggestions cannot in the nature of the case be followed up and I confess to some of the

irritation of conceptional indigestion and to a sense that this is in some ways a transitional book which is bound to lead the author into clarifying new positions. I prophesy, however, that the careful research student will find in *Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté* the material for a score or so of interesting Ph.D. theses, and I hope such students will get to work. AUDREY I. RICHARDS

CORRESPONDENCE

Social Anthropology: Past and Present. Cf. MAN, 1950, 198, 254, 271; 1951, 33-5, 62, 78, 120, 150, 199, 250

I STR.—In his recently published book¹ Professor Evans-Pritchard has expanded the Marett Lecture that was published in MAN (1950, 198). From what I hear of the reception of the book and the lecture I gather that they are likely to cause a good deal of misunderstanding and perhaps confusion which is both undesirable and unnecessary. Professor Evans-Pritchard is concerned to show that he is in disagreement about the nature of social anthropology with those of his colleagues whom he refers to as 'functional anthropologists.' It is important to recognize just what the real disagreement is.

One statement that I would challenge is a factual statement that 'functional anthropologists' hold that the history of social systems 'has no scientific relevance' (p. 57) or that 'the history of an institution is irrelevant to an understanding of it as it is at the present time' (p. 58). It is perhaps possible that Malinowski may at one time have said something like this, but it is certainly not true that those who are lumped together as 'functional anthropologists' hold such a view, and it is certainly quite false to say that it is a corollary of the idea of social systems as natural systems. As I understand the position of the 'functionalists' it seems to be precisely that of Professor Evans-Pritchard himself when he writes: 'To understand an institution one is certainly aided by knowing its development, but a knowledge of its history cannot of itself tell us how it functions in social life. To know how it comes to be what it is, and to know how it works, are two different things' (p. 38). 'Most of us would certainly take the view that, since the history of the institutions of primitive peoples is not known, a systematic study of them as they are at the present time must precede any attempt at conjecturing how they may have originated and developed' (p. 39). This is precisely the view that I have taught for thirty years, and I am one of those to whom the label 'functionalist' is attached.

What is the precise nature of the disagreement between Professor Evans-Pritchard and some other anthropologists? Briefly it is that some anthropologists speak of social anthropology as being a scientific discipline, meaning by that that it uses the inductive method of observation, comparison, classification and generalization, similar in essentials to the method used in such a science as zoology, in order to arrive at a theory based on and tested by empirical data. Professor Evans-Pritchard says that, on the contrary, social anthropology is a historical discipline making use of the same methods as those ordinarily adopted by historians.

We shall land ourselves in utter confusion unless we distinguish two different kinds of investigations with which social anthropologists do or may concern themselves. One is the systematic comparison of a number of diverse societies; this is what was understood by social anthropology forty years ago. The other is the ethnographic study of a particular society in which there is some theoretical analysis; an example of an excellent study of this kind is Professor Evans-Pritchard's book on the Nuer. At the present time a very large part of the investigations carried out from departments of social anthropology consists of ethnographical studies, influenced, to a greater or less extent, by theoretical considerations.

Professor Evans-Pritchard accepts the definition of social anthropology of Frazer as the branch of sociology that deals with primitive societies. He himself writes that he understands by social anthropology 'a distinctive discipline in which theoretical problems of general sociology are investigated by research in primitive societies.' No one could agree more completely with this description than myself. Thus social anthropology is a branch of sociology, which

is in turn defined by Professor Evans-Pritchard as 'a general body of theoretical knowledge about human societies.'

Some sixty years ago there started a controversy about history, the famous *Methodenstreit* of the last century. The book of Professor Evans-Pritchard is a contribution to this interminable discussion, which, having lasted for sixty years bids fair to last for another sixty, since its continuance depends on different persons using the same words, such as 'history,' 'science,' *et cetera*, with different meanings. The questions that were debated were such as whether history was or could be scientific, what was the relation of history to sociology, and many others. The anthropologists later joined in with the historians and sociologists, and in America it was decided that anthropology is a historical study, defined as the reconstruction of the history of mankind. The statement (by myself) some twenty years ago that social anthropology is a branch of comparative sociology was met by the response from an American anthropologist that in that case it must not be called anthropology. In arguing that anthropology is a historical study Professor Evans-Pritchard has the support of half a century of American anthropologists.

If we really wish to avoid the disputes about words rather than realities, we can avoid the words 'history' and 'science' and such words as 'law' and fall back on technical terms accepted in logic and methodology. Here the important distinction is between *idiographic* and *nomothetic* enquiries. An *idiographic* enquiry, as the name implies, is one that aims at establishing particular propositions about facts or events. A *nomothetic* enquiry, as again the name implies, is one that aims at establishing acceptable general propositions. A particular investigation may call for a combination of *idiographic* and *nomothetic* enquiries, but in describing any investigation we have to consider not the incidental propositions that may be used but the kind of conclusions that are aimed at, whether these are particular or general propositions.

Historical study, in the ordinarily accepted meaning of the word, is the study of records and monuments for the purpose of establishing acceptable factual statements about conditions and events of the past, including even the immediate past. (But history can also be a form of literature and there are some of us who like to read history in Thucydides and Gibbon.) Historians have consistently taken the view that history is primarily and predominantly *idiographic*, aiming at providing particular or factual propositions. There is some disagreement as to whether, or to what extent, theoretical considerations or generalizations can be admitted in a work of history. One extreme view is that the historian should confine his activity to annotating, editing and publishing historical documents.

Theoretical sociology, as the name clearly indicates, is a *nomothetic*, theoretical, generalizing, study, not an *idiographic* study concerned with establishing factual statements. We thus land up against the paradox which Professor Evans-Pritchard presents to us. Social anthropology is theoretical sociology and therefore a *nomothetic* study, but it is one kind of history and therefore an *idiographic* study. The paradox is easily solved as soon as we recognize that the name social anthropology refers to two different kinds of investigations. There is comparative sociology, the systematic comparative study of all the various forms of social life, drawing its factual material from history and ethnography, and aiming at the establishment of generalizations connected into a theory. This is clearly *nomothetic* and not *idiographic*. Then there is ethnography, consisting of studies of particular societies, which, even when theoretical considerations are taken into account, is primarily *idiographic*.

We can thus solve or eliminate the paradox by realizing that it

comes from an ambiguity in the meaning attached to the name 'social anthropology.' Professor Evans-Pritchard discusses five books which he regards as representing social anthropology. They can all of them be described as ethnographical, although all of them include some discussion of theoretical problems. They are all described as 'fieldwork.' They can be said to be similar in character, from the point of view of logic, to those works of history which, while remaining primarily idiographic, include theoretical sociological considerations. We can therefore readily accept the statement of Professor Evans-Pritchard that these ethnographic studies, such as his own book on the Nuer to which he refers, are somewhat similar to writings on history.

But these ethnographic field studies do not constitute social anthropology, if by that we mean a branch of theoretical sociology. To establish acceptable generalizations we have to use an inductive method of systematic comparison. It is in such comparative studies that we must look for what is properly speaking social anthropology. It is true that such studies are at present neglected in favour of ethnographic field studies, but without them no quantity of separate field studies can ever give us a body of theoretical sociological knowledge.

History, sociology, and ethnography are primarily idiographic studies, giving us particular factual propositions, even if theoretical considerations are sometimes taken into account. Theoretical sociology, in which even Professor Evans-Pritchard nominally includes social anthropology, is a nomothetic study aiming at giving not particular propositions about particular societies but general propositions about societies in general. Professor Evans-Pritchard speaks of social anthropology as giving us generalizations. It is possible, he thinks, to make 'significant general statements' about primitive societies, or perhaps about societies in general. The usual word for a generalization about a class of phenomena is 'law,' a law being a statement of regularities amongst phenomena for which there is empirical evidence. The standard example of a law of nature is the statement that all men are mortal. Although he does not make the matter clear, Professor Evans-Pritchard seems to think that it is not possible to discover laws in the social life of human beings. He quotes from Montesquieu the definition of laws as 'the necessary relations that derive from the nature of things.' He then says that social anthropology as he conceives it 'seeks patterns and not laws, demonstrates consistency and not necessary relations between social activities' (p. 62). To forestall the immediately obvious criticism he adds: 'These are conceptual and not merely verbal differences.' To justify this there ought to be some explanation of the difference of the concepts, but we could hardly expect a logical exposition of this in a collection of broadcast lectures.

We can, however, consider it here. Let us first get it clear that both law and pattern refer to regularities amongst phenomena. For Newton and the Deists laws of nature were rules imposed on Nature by God. Goethe said that in creating animals God used a single pattern. The idea is the same. We can say that all cats are created by God, or produced by Nature, on one specific pattern, and that all felines conform to the generic pattern not of a species but of a genus. One feature of the pattern for felines is that they have paws armed with claws. In more common parlance we can say that it is a law of nature than cats, or tigers, have claws. The regularity can be described in terms either of pattern or of law. We can say that there are a limited number of patterns by which God created molecules, and define structural chemistry as the study of these patterns, or we can say that structural chemistry investigates the 'laws' of valency or the laws of molecular structure.

The concept of pattern is that of a model which some one follows in making something, as God in creating animals, or the workmen who made Chippendale chairs. The concept of law is that of a rule. So long as we recognize regularities amongst phenomenal happenings it does not matter very much whether we talk of them as laws or patterns, so that in spite of the disclaimer this does really seem to be fundamentally a matter of the choice of words.

For Comte 'the fundamental law of social statics is the intimate solidarity and reciprocal dependence of all the social elements.' This is the view of Montesquieu, which in Bury's phrase 'points the way to a theory that all the products of social life are closely inter-

related.' This is not an empirical but a theoretical law, like Newton's law of gravitation. It is to be noted that Professor Evans-Pritchard accepts this theoretical law as a guide to investigations. In this he is in entire agreement with the 'functional anthropologists.' The only disagreement is that he does not like it to be called a law, and this is really a disagreement about a word. Whether we call this theoretical proposition a law or something else is of very slight importance so long as we agree in the use we make of it. Also, so long as we recognize the existence of regularities amongst social phenomena and try to discover them it does not greatly matter whether we refer to such regularities as laws or patterns or rules or by some other word.

Theoretical sociology is commonly regarded as an inductive science, induction being the logical method of inference by which we arrive at general propositions from the consideration of particular instances. Although Professor Evans-Pritchard does not make his position clear he seems to imply in some of his statements that the logical method of induction, using comparison, classification and generalization, is not applicable to the phenomena of human social life, though there are passages in the book which would appear to contradict this. It may be that he is hesitating whether or not to accept the neo-Kantian doctrine that distinguishes between *Naturwissenschaft* (science of nature) and *Geisteswissenschaft* (science of spirit), the former being science in which we make use of induction and conceptual analysis (*begreifen*), while in the latter these methods cannot be applied and their place has to be taken by intuitive comprehension (*verstehen*).

The book, as I have said, may be misleading to students of social anthropology. The remedy is very simple: it is to consider carefully not what Professor Evans-Pritchard says in this book, but what he himself does in his book on the Nuer, which is an admirable ethnographical study giving the analytical description of the social system of a people of the Sudan, on the basis of Comte's first law of social statics. As examples of what a theoretically directed ethnographical study should be I cannot think of anything better than this and his book on the Azande.

But, since I hold that social anthropology must depend on systematic comparative studies of many societies, I regret that the tendency at the present day is to neglect such studies in favour of particular ethnographic investigations. I have too frequently come across instances in which a student, whose reading has been mostly confined to ethnographical studies, however excellent, writes in a way that shows a lack of the understanding of social phenomena that could have been obtained by a wider comparative study. My one criticism of this book by Professor Evans-Pritchard is that it may encourage amongst students this neglect of those systematic comparative studies which I regard as constituting social anthropology. For the rest, the difference between Professor Evans-Pritchard and his colleagues is, as he says, 'a domestic issue,' but one in which it seems to me that the most important differences are only differences in the use of words such as 'social anthropology,' 'history,' 'science,' 'law' and others. I am not suggesting that these discussions, though they are largely concerned with words, are unimportant. They have been going on in relation to historical and social studies for more than half a century, and have filled a great quantity of printed paper. Sometimes, however, they disguise under the appearance of disagreement what is really a fundamental agreement. I think this is so in the apparent disagreement of Professor Evans-Pritchard with the 'functional anthropologists.'

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

Department of Social Anthropology, University of Manchester

Note

¹ Of which it is hoped to publish a review by Professor Firth in an early issue of MAN.—ED.

Race. Cf. especially MAN, 1951, 95, 96 and 229

SIR,—I regret that my disagreement with Mr. Cedric Dover's opinions has made him feel it necessary to resort to abuse in order to defend them. Lest an incorrect impression be gained from his last letter (MAN, 1951, 229), perhaps it should be said of his authorities on the probable origin of the words 'race' and 'mulatto' that neither Fowler nor (as far as I know) Baron de Slane derives 'race' from an Arabic source and that Fowler

accepts the etymology of 'mulatto' that I support and Mr. Dover disdains.¹

Again, however much he may decry the use of race as a less inclusive systematic category than subspecies, it has the approval of eminent modern taxonomists. As recently as last year, Professor Ernst Mayr spoke of possible solutions of the difficulty of expressing the complex relationships of natural populations in these terms: 'In addition to the subspecies we may use such *infrasubspecific categories* as "race" and "local population," as well as the suprasubspecific category of the "subspecies group"' (my italics).

On the subject of unfortunate excursions into unfamiliar fields, the phrase 'of sindry racis' from a poem by Dunbar quoted in my reply to his first letter is not, as he thinks, a misreading of 'in secrete plices' in the Maitland Folio MS. in Cambridge.³ Further investigation would have shown him that 'of sindry racis' does in fact occur in the other main source of Dunbar's works, the Bannatyne MS. in Edinburgh.⁴ In replying to Mr. Dover, I clearly stated that I had used Small's edition of Dunbar (which is also cited by the O.E.D.). This is based on the Bannatyne MS., and so the real issue between Mr. Dover and myself does not arise from a slip made over a hundred years ago, when Laing wrote 'MS. Maitl.' after 'of sindry racis',⁵ but relates to which of the readings in the Bannatyne and the Maitland Folio MSS. is the earlier. To point out Laing's error, Mr. Dover very properly appealed to 'Dr. Craigie (co-editor of the O.E.D. and the greatest authority on Dunbar).' I have done likewise in regard to the real issue and am indebted to Sir William Craigie for leave to reproduce the part of a letter from him that follows:

'When the Bannatyne and Maitland MSS. have different readings, those of the former are usually (though not invariably) to be preferred. In this case I have no doubt that "of sindry racis" is the original reading, because (as the evidence of the O.E.D. shows) *race* was a rare word in English until late in the 16th century, and I have so far found no other instance of it in Scottish. It is therefore unlikely that Bannatyne (or some earlier penman) would alter "in secrete plices" and introduce a less telling and more unusual phrase containing an unfamiliar word. That Dunbar should use it earlier than any English writer is not remarkable; Scottish usage of French words frequently antedates the English by a century or so.'

Cambridge

J. C. TREVOR

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¹ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 3rd ed., revised by H. W. Fowler and H. G. Le Mesurier, Oxford, 1934, p. 744.

² Ernst Mayr, 'Taxonomic Categories in Fossil Hominids,' *Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology*, Vol. XV (1950, published 1951), p. 115.

³ *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, edited by W. M. Craigie, 2 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1919-27.

⁴ *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, edited by W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1928-34.

⁵ William Dunbar, *Poems*, with notes and a memoir by David Laing, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1834, Vol. II, p. 260.

Surveys and Sources. Cf. MAN, 1951, 213

16 SIR,—In her pertinent and searching review of a volume in the *Ethnographic Survey of Africa* series, Dr. Elizabeth Colson, although stressing the inadequacy of the available source material, comments on the apparent inconsistencies in treatment by the authors, of whom I was one, for which lack of co-ordination in selecting relevant data is held to be partly responsible.

In my case the paucity of material was such that the problem of selection hardly arose, if at all, and virtually all the available information, however trivial or perfunctory, had to be incorporated. Consequently if I 'ignore the rules of land tenure save in connexion with a discussion of hunting and fishing'—as Dr. Colson points out—it is not by choice but because I have found no evidence on land tenure save in this connexion. For the same reason my paper has only a brief paragraph on such a vast topic as the legal system and a somewhat sketchy account of magical beliefs and practices.

This was possibly an extreme case, but even if the existing literature on other peoples is more substantial and satisfactory it may still not yield sufficient information to allow a much greater uniformity in treatment.

London

JULIUSZ SLASKI

Quasi-Bolas Stones. Cf. MAN, 1950, 97, 232; 1951, 247

17 SIR,—I was most interested to read Professor C. van Riet Lowe's account (MAN, 1950, 97) of the granite spheres found in the Northern Transvaal, formed by chipping at a push quern to restore its 'bite.' Many tribes in northern and central Tanganyika produce a similar artifact in exactly the same way: the Hamitic group—Iraqw, Gorowa, Alawa, Burungi—, the Bantu Irangi and Mbugwe, and the click-speaking Sandawe. In Kongwa the ploughs of the Groundnut Scheme were turning up similar spheres, which gave rise to some speculation about bolas stones, but a visit to a neighbouring Gogo dwelling convinced me that the origin of these finds was the same as that described above, for the familiar stone sphere was again produced in answer to my enquiry. These stone spheres are to be found in large numbers, because they are not as a rule considered worthy of transport when a house moves but are thrown away and a fresh one brought into use at the new site. They also frequently split when in use, so that numerous hemispheres are also to be found.

Another spheroid of similar size is formed when a stone is used for grinding or pounding tobacco (for snuff), green vegetables, or herbs for medicine, but the stone used for this purpose is usually of a smoother texture than the quartzitic grindstone-sharpener, and can usually be distinguished by its somewhat elongated appearance.

A further example of the formation of stone spheres was recently noted amongst the Hadzabi, the click-speaking Khoisan remnant in the Eyasi area of Tanganyika. These people fashion their own arrowheads from bits of iron, knife blades, etc., obtained from neighbouring tribes. They work the metal cold, beating it on a large lump of rock as an anvil with a smaller lump as a hammer. The former, up to about a foot cube, becomes rounded at the top, whilst the latter soon assumes the typical sphere shape.

In 1949 I handed some specimens of hammerstones and pestles to the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Should any other Curator be anxious for exhibits, I will be glad to forward a specimen to him, though I cannot guarantee a perfect sphere, as many stones are discarded before they become completely round.

In view of the above examples of sphere-formation, it appears dangerous to assume that in general such artifacts are bolas stones, and undesirable that, when formed and used for another purpose, they should be called 'False bolas stones.' Surely the presumption should be that they are hammerstones, and only when that presumption is rebutted by the evidence, such as their occurrence in threes, as at Olorgesailie, should their use as bolas stones be postulated.

Arusha, Tanganyika Territory

H. A. FOSBROOKE

18 SIR,—With reference to the recent correspondence on the subject of 'False Bolas Stones,' surely this discussion is tending to run away under the impetus of what may be a wholly false premise. At the moment it would appear that any artificially shaped, roughly spherical stone has to prove that it is not a bolas stone and is then termed a false bolas stone. So far as I am aware the only grounds for assuming that any stones of this type were in fact bolas stones are that Dr. Leakey found a sufficient number of them in groups of three to warrant the suggestion that this grouping might indicate an implement for hunting of the bolas type. From this we have reached a stage at which not only are these particular stones held indisputably to be the remains of a bolas, but all other similar stones, never yet to my knowledge found in similar groups of three, are also bolas stones. The wishing of this generic name, whether enclosed by inverted commas or not, on all artificial spherical stones of possibly appropriate size creates an absurd situation of much ado about nothing. I have two spherical stones from Periano Ghundai in the Zhob district of Baluchistan, about 2½ inches in diameter, whose shape has been produced by a battering of the

surface; I trust that no one will feel impelled to call them bolas stones either 'true' or 'false.'

Hingham, Norfolk

D. H. GORDON

19 SIR,—Round hammerstones of the bolas type are still in use by African blacksmiths, e.g. in the British and French Cameroons (see my 'Stone-Age Smiths,' *Arch. Vol.*, Vol. III (1948), p. 7). These smiths use stone anvils and heavy stone hammers in fashioning their iron products. When the faces of these stone tools get worn or uneven they are trimmed up with round stone hammers (fig. 1). The large ones are about

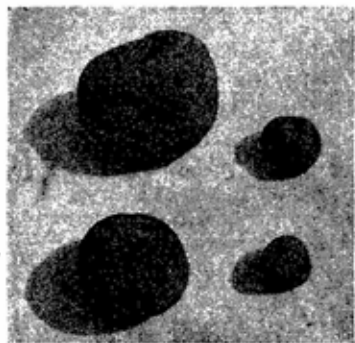


FIG. 1. BLACKSMITH'S TRIMMING HAMMERS,
BRITISH CAMEROONS

Photograph: M. D. W. Jeffreys

4 inches in diameter and the smaller about 2 inches. As will be seen, the smaller trimming hammers become identical with bolas stones and provide an additional warning not to conclude that rounded artifacts found with palaeolithic implements necessarily form part of palaeolithic culture.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg

Note

This correspondence—which had, to the Hon. Editor's regret, to be put into cold storage for a year in favour of certain more general and urgent theoretical topics—arose from discussion of Dr. Leakey's putative palaeolithic bolas and other possible occurrences of bolas in Africa; and it is therefore quite natural that it should be headed by a phrase in which the *raison d'être* of the letters is preserved. 'False Bolas Stones' was adopted in preference to 'Pseudo Bolas Stones' not only on grounds of English usage but because 'pseudo' conveys a definite connotation of purposive deceit, which is not necessarily present in the word 'false.' Even this, however, as our correspondents suggest, is somewhat misleading, and for this reason the completely non-committal 'Quasi-Bolas Stones' is now introduced. It is by no means recommended that this should be adopted as a generic name for spherical worked stones which are not actually bolas, but it defines adequately their relevance to this particular correspondence.

It would now seem to be well established that more or less spherical stones are used in most parts of Africa for a variety of purposes (some of which may possibly have been operative in palaeolithic times); typological evidence from single specimens cannot therefore offer any presumption of the occurrence of bolas. But Dr. Leakey has made out a *prima facie* case with his significant groupings at Olorgesailie; and ethnologists will look forward to considering their verdict on the basis of fully published statistical and other evidence.—Ed.

Death Masks in Ancient China. Cf. MAN, 1950, 92

20 SIR,—In a review of *Asiatic Art in Private Collections of Holland and Belgium*, by H. F. E. Visser (MAN, 1950, 92), I drew attention to a bronze mask from the Stoclet collection attributed by the author to the T'ang period and described as a death mask. In view of the extreme rarity of such masks and the lack of evidence of any type of burial in China that could warrant the use of a mask over the face of the corpse, I questioned the

function of this specimen. In the catalogue, comparison was made to a specimen in the Imperial University Museum, Kyoto, ascribed tentatively to the Han period.

Since I wrote this review, two articles have been published which throw considerable light on the problem. Mr. Masao Shimada has illustrated a mask from the Tokyo University Museum which is probably the one to which reference is made (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XIII, 4). Though it is inferior aesthetically to the Stoclet mask, the comparison is instructive; both specimens are shallow, and neither has orifices at eyes, nostrils or mouth, which distinguishes both from masks which could be worn for ritual purposes. The museum possesses a number of other masks, some silver, others bronze. All of them were discovered accidentally on sites in Jehol, and they have hence all been ascribed to the Liao dynasty founded by the Kitans, a Tungus tribe who overran the northern territory of the T'ang empire and established a dynasty from A.D. 907 to 1125. In the works of a Sung writer dealing with the funeral customs of the northern tribes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Mr. Shinada has discovered evidence which now indicates that these masks were indeed death masks. He translates: 'Ch'i-tan has a peculiar habit. When a man of the upper class dies, his abdomen is cut open and the bowels and stomach taken out. After washing, they fill the body with myrrh and salt and sew it up with coloured threads. Then they extract the blood by pricking the skin with pointed reeds. The mask is made of nothing but silver or gold, and they wind bronze threads around the limbs.' Clearly the Chinese Sung writer considered the custom of embalmment and the use of death masks as curious and foreign to Chinese culture. The Kitan Tartars may well have employed Chinese craftsmen to make masks for their nobles, which would account for the beauty of the Stoclet mask and its attribution to T'ang.

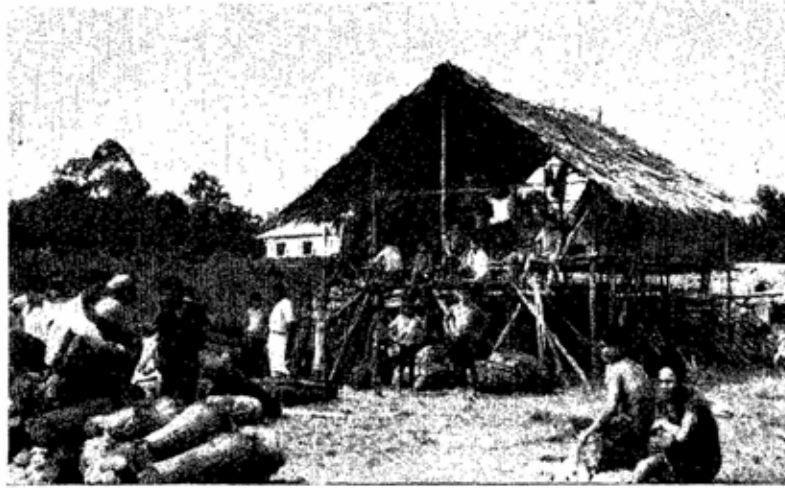
Mr. S. H. Minkenhof (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XIV, 1, 2) has examined a number of masks from China and illustrates eight that can be looked upon as death masks, and with one exception, and in spite of stylistic differences, he ascribes them to the Liao dynasty. One mask from his own collection resembles the Stoclet mask more closely than that from Tokyo University. Apart from these pieces, two more masks are illustrated, one from Tokyo, and the other the British Museum specimen; these were probably worn with some ritual significance and are not to be considered as death masks. The one exception is interesting from the three points of view, provenance, age and function. It is said to have been excavated in Honan province, the style is archaic, and according to Mr. Minkenhof 'definitely Middle Chou.' The mask is almost flat, has no orifices, and has small holes for attachment. Certainly, the style recalls that of conventional representation of animals in the Chou period. Two other examples of this type of mask are known. Accepting their date as Chou, and considering their shallow depth, Mr. Minkenhof suggests that these masks were neither used to cover the face of the corpse, nor worn in ritual, but may have been fastened to a pole or on a wall to scare away evil spirits.

He supports this supposition by the contention that all the Liao death masks were portraits. Though this appears to be so of the majority illustrated, at least three others beside the Chou-type specimens are definitely stylized. One recalls the Han style and two others do not belong to any Chinese style. No. 6, indeed, is a human face so simplified that parallels could be found in numerous areas throughout the world. No. 7, while exhibiting some of the same features, e.g. the nose forming a long equilateral triangle and the mouth an almost straight line, has more modelling in the cheeks.

I would suggest that, until further evidence is brought to light from scientific excavations and Chinese literary sources, the question of death masks in China proper can be ruled out; and further, that the presence of three Chou-style masks does not by itself indicate that these belong to the Chou period. It seems, however, reasonable to accept that embalmment was practised for certain individuals by the Kitan Tartars, and that during the Liao dynasty death masks were made for such burials. These may have been made by Chinese or Kitan craftsmen, which would account for some being portraits and others conventionalized Han or Chou forms, while the crude simplifications are probably the work of non-Chinese craftsmen.

London

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN



(a) Dancing floor built for Muruts attending annual Tannu, Sipitang, 1941. The floor is inside the hut, mounted on saplings. On the ground are loads of damar, which are carried by up-country natives for 10-20 days to the market.



(b) The Tagal Murut Village of Kituman



(c) Si-Tawang, a Tagal Murut from Onap-Onap Village



(d) Weighing salang (damar or resin) at Sipitang Tannu, 1941. It is carried to the coast once a year.



(e) Tenom Muruts in ceremonial dress

THE MURUTS OF NORTH BORNEO

Photographs: (a-d) M. C. Clarke; (e) B. D. Richards

THE MURUT HOME

PART I*

by

M. C. CLARKE, M.B., B.S., D.T.M., M.R.C.P.E.

Sydney, Australia

21 The Muruts live in the southern part of the Colony of North Borneo. The greater part of the country in which they live is an undeveloped mountainous wilderness covered by primary and secondary equatorial forest. Here they plant hill rice, sweet potatoes, manioc and Indian corn in jungle clearings opened annually. They gather various fruits, vegetables and other produce from the jungle, and obtain fish from the rivers and meat by hunting wild pig, deer and other animals. The general pattern of their life and customs is similar to that of other inland tribes of Borneo.

In days gone by, the Murut had to consider the necessity of defending himself and his dogs, his wife, children and property. Accordingly, he made things more difficult for hostile neighbours by building the village on some lofty escarpment, by planting the surroundings with sharpened bambu stakes and by siting a ring of spring traps carrying formidable bambu spears in the nearby jungle. Doors were reduced to a necessary minimum and arranged to permit easy defence.

Of recent years there has been considerable movement of the Muruts from the mountain tops down to the valleys, and closer to rivers and main bridle paths. There has also been a tendency to abandon the communal house in favour of private dwellings.

As for the real jungle houses, examples of only two types will be described: first, Kampong Mesapoh, just south of the Dalit; and, in the second part of the paper, Kampong Kalugunon, which is situated high on a mountain overlooking the Tagal river, in a locality where it is often extremely cold at night.

Kg. Mesapoh

The ground plan of this village is more or less typical of those of the majority of Murut houses. The house (fig. 1) is 68 feet long by 33 feet wide, and is crowned by a jack-roof which permits the escape of smoke and fumes from the interior of the house. Attaps covering the roof are made from the leaves of the telirus palm.

The floor is raised about six feet above the ground, and is reached along a notched tree trunk (*tukar*), with a hand-rail on one side. It consists of four strips or platforms on three levels.

The first and highest platform is known as the *ulunan*. This is used as a sleeping place for guests and is therefore constructed with considerable care from narrow lengths of

fine rotan (*sogoh*). The rotan is laid down so that there is a gap between adjacent strips. Mats may or may not be spread on the *ulunan* at night.

The second platform, the *pungkau*, is about six inches lower than the *ulunan*, and is built of spaced one-inch strips of bambu bulu. On this platform are held the 'gong-and-gabang' dances in which the Muruts jog up and down along its length, beating gongs to their hearts' content. Women playing the *gabang* (a native xylophone) and beating other gongs sit on the *ulunan*. Usually there is a small platform called *apar* on the *pungkau* on which the largest or most valuable of the drinking jars are placed on the occasion of a feast; the headman and an honoured guest sit together on the *apar* drinking in turn until they feel sufficiently communally-minded to give someone else a turn. During celebrations, *tapai* jars are lashed with rotan to all the posts between the *pungkau* and the next platform to be described. At each end of the *ulunan* and *pungkau*, there is another sleeping place constructed of fine rotan *sogoh* for the use of bachelors and guests, known as a *papaiing*. Each *papaiing* is raised three or four feet so that dogs cannot scramble up with ease. Sometimes a fireplace is built at one end of it so that guests may light their cigarettes.

Over the rest of the house the floor is on a single level, six inches or so below that of the *pungkau*. The third strip of floor is called the *lalar*. This is really the verandah and it bears the main traffic of the house. At each end is a door (*tatobun*), with a notched log leading to the ground. The *lalar* is made of *paring* bambu flattened out into broad strips by rough splitting and chopping with parangs. On the *lalar* are mortars (*buntan* and *tutuan*) in which padi is dehusked.

In many houses there is a springing dancing floor in the centre of the *lalar*, known as a *papan* or *lansaran*. This is one of the most interesting things in the country. The *papan* is a platform eight or nine feet square, about one foot below the level of the floor. It is mounted on eight or nine transverse saplings (*menginsan*) and about a dozen others (*papar*) running along the length of the house. The saplings are long, generally over 25 feet, and curved, with the ends of each sapling fixed in the ground and bound firmly to strong stakes. They are made of *billian*, *bundal* or *antimagas* trees and last without breaking for perhaps two years, if the *papan* is used no more than twice monthly. But, if there is plenty of rice and *tapai*, the Muruts may have as many as four celebrations a month and do their best to fracture the saplings by vigorous dancing.

The *aghinambaiyun* is a popular dance held on the *papan*. All members of the village—men, women and children—

*With Plate B and a text figure. Part II will follow in the next issue of MAN.

join in, and the floor may hold as many as 20 or 30 dancers at a time. Several pot-bellied children usually collect in the centre of the floor. Around them is a circle of men linked by hands, with a second circle of women on the outside (strict separation of the sexes in this way is not always followed). By concerted downward pressure with their feet the dancers soon have the *papan* bouncing up and down on the sapling springs, and the dancing consists of everyone slowly making their way, step by step, round and round the *papan* in an anti-clockwise direction, each step

joining in the chorus. If the Muruts are able to fracture the saplings supporting the dancing platform by a particularly vigorous performance in honour of a guest, it is understood that the greatest hospitality has been extended.

A game often played at odd times on the *papan* is *singkokowotan*. Here, a prize—such as a quantity of tobacco or a carved representation (*lalapisun*) of a parang or a horn-bill is hung from the roof so that it lies some 10 to 14 feet immediately above the *papan*. One dancer stands in the centre of the floor. Around the edges are a number of other players who gradually bounce the floor to a climax at which the central dancer leaps and is hurled upwards towards the *lalapisun* which he attempts to grasp. On coming down the dancer must maintain balance as he alights on the *papan*, now in any phase of its movement. This game seems to require more practice and talent than most medical officers, at least, can bring to bear.

Other dances held on the *pungkau* or *lajor*, such as the *ansaiau* and *kumanda*, are not so interesting. In all of these there is a great deal of gong-beating. A few of the native dances appear to illustrate some phase of reproduction and cause great amusement.

The verandah is separated from the living quarters (collectively known as *susukabun*) by a bark wall some six to eight feet high. This is the only longitudinal partition in the house. In Kg. Mesapoh itself the living quarters consist of eight cubicles, each being known as a *sulap*, and containing a bed (*tambalangan*) made of rotan *sogoh*, sometimes covered with a mat; a fireplace (*dapuan*); and a padi store (*lingkut*) on one end of the bed. The floor is made of spaced bambu bulu strips, and above it is a loft (*bakalang*) for storing food and possessions in general. The *bakalang* may also be used as a sleeping place. The top of the door (*tatobun*) of each *sulap* has a rotan cord passing from it over a pulley, to be weighted with a heavy rock (*sisim batu*) so that it closes automatically when released after being opened. Above the fireplace is a shelf of small branches on which cooking utensils are dried, game is cut up, etc. Wild pigs' snouts and jaws, tortoise shells, tobacco leaf, cobs of corn, dried meat, etc., can be seen hanging at various places in the *sulap*. Elderly folk, such as grandparents, may sleep on mats beside the fire.

Finally, there is the so-called virgins' loft (*sindor*) in the rafters, about eight feet above the verandah. Girls who are old enough to embarrass their parents by their presence in the family bed sleep in the virgins' loft. When a feast is in progress, rice is divided in the *sindor* where the dogs cannot get at it.

In the Dalit, and in other areas, there is often an additional loft above each door for the use of bachelors. In former days, the doors could be defended from these lofts.

The outside walls are made of bark, with a gap between them and the overhanging roof. Many houses are now being made of wood, the planks being laboriously cut out from fallen timber with parangs. More often than not, no nails are used. Owing to difficulty in preparing sufficient material wooden houses are generally smaller and more cramped for space than are those made of more flimsy materials.

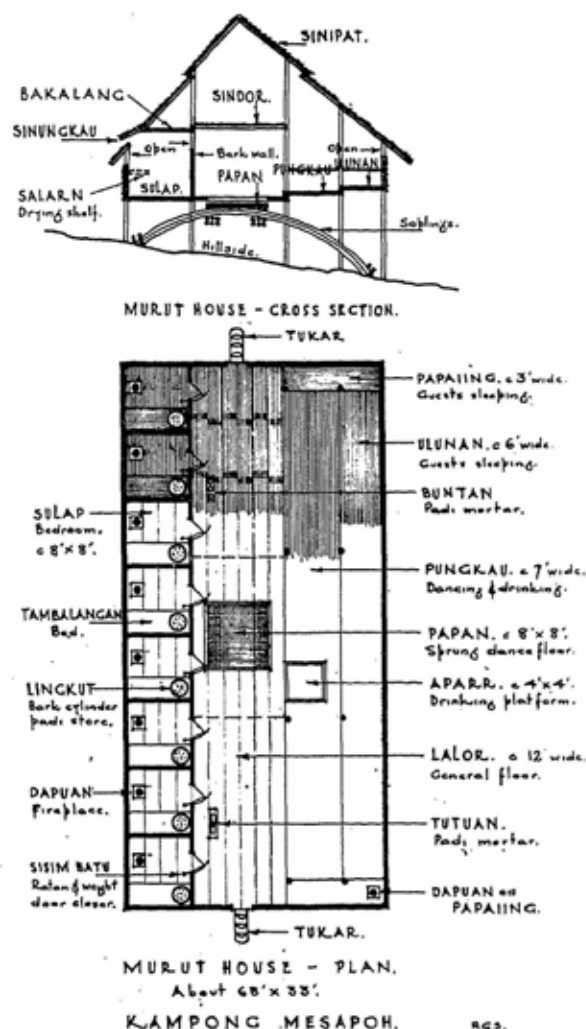


FIG. 1

being a pace sideways to the right and inwards, and then outwards a little, in rhythm with the movements of the floor.

When the floor is crowded and dancing enthusiastic—as it almost invariably is—the noise of the platform banging up and down on the long supple saplings is considerable. Moreover, the dancing is usually accompanied by singing, of which they are very fond. The men may sing a verse, with the women replying, or individuals in turn may improvise some comment on a topical event (such as thanking a medical officer for his visit), with everyone

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF BLOODWEALTH AMONG THE NUER

by

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22 In his most recent volume on the Nuer (*Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, Oxford, 1951), Professor Evans-Pritchard mentions that bloodwealth, the indemnity for homicide, is distributed among the paternal and maternal kinsmen of the dead man on the same pattern as in marriage. This prompts me to record here a few preliminary remarks on the subject, though a detailed account will be reserved for later publications.

Homicide to the Nuer is a private delict subject to retaliatory or restitutive sanctions, even though penal sanctions have now been introduced by the government. The first duty of the dead man's kin is to wreak vengeance on the killer or to take a life from among his kinsmen. To the Nuer this is the honourable thing to do. It is, however, sometimes expedient to come to an agreement by accepting an indemnity (*thung*) paid in cattle, especially if the people of the killer, the *ji thunge*, are more powerful and likely to continue the feud to the detriment of the people of the deceased, the *ji ran*. There are recognized and highly conventional procedures, involving negotiation, ceremonial and ritual, through which composition may be achieved without further resort to force. It would be a mistake to believe that this will remove all possibility of a further outbreak of the blood feud, for latent hostility continues, but for the time being the matter can be settled by these means and the dead man, as an individual, is no longer a person unavenged.

According to Nuer tradition the indemnity demanded for an act of homicide amounted to 40 head of cattle. Some tribes say that it should be 50 if the man was killed with a fighting spear (*mut*) and 40 if he was killed with a fish spear (*biñh*) or stick (*ked*), though this distinction is not universal in Nuerland. There are further reductions for accidental killing (*thung gwacka*) and variations according to the status of the man killed. These distinctions derive from compromises reached in the past, for the final agreement would be largely governed by the degree of indignation felt by the *ji ran*, and although figures are quoted by Nuer in each instance with considerable consistency, it is probable that any rigidity of classification is the result of continuous action in the tribunals established by the government. The result of intervention in this sphere has been the crystallization of conventional but entirely elastic rules into a more exact law which the Nuer now cite as if it were their own. In all Nuer Districts east of the Nile, the indemnity was reduced to 20 head of cattle only, but since 1945 it has been standardized at 40, plus an additional 10 which go to the government and must therefore be regarded as fines. In most cases a term of imprisonment is also inflicted on the individual culprits and, in the case of what we would call 'cold-blooded murder,' often capital

punishment. In the latter instance, it is logical that no indemnity should be paid, for though the matter has been taken out of the hands of the dead man's kin, his life has none the less been avenged.

Compensation payments for homicide are closely linked to bridewealth because the ultimate purpose is to provide a wife for the dead man, who, living with one of his kinsmen as pro-husband, raises children who will be linked to his name in the lineage structure and ensure that the continuity of his line shall remain unbroken. This concerns the dead man as an individual spirit and the lineage as a whole. It therefore follows that the number of cattle paid as bloodwealth should be sufficient to provide a wife and not substantially less than the current bridewealth, but, if we are to be precise, not necessarily exactly equivalent, because, as we shall see, certain portions are reserved for other purposes. The Nuer themselves are not particular about the mathematics of the problem, but say firmly that bloodwealth should equal bridewealth.

In the collection of the indemnity cattle, it is usually upon those persons who would in other circumstances assist the killer to get married that the major obligation lies. At the same time, when assembling his bridewealth cattle, a man will rely not only on the spontaneous generosity of kinsmen and neighbours, but also on certain rights of inheritance and the formal distribution of bridewealth cattle brought in by the marriages of his kinswomen. The system involves a high degree of reciprocity which carries through the generations and it will often take several years before his marriage herd is complete. Bloodwealth, if it is to be paid at all, must often be collected with the minimum delay, and although there are again certain more definite obligations of kinship involved, the net is usually cast wider to include persons who would not normally be associated with the killer in the reciprocal duties of the bridewealth system. This is natural enough because, without the intervention of government authorities, the common danger which causes them to settle the matter peacefully rather than by force also stirs those outside these reciprocal obligations in marriage to pay their share. There are no conscious agreements in this respect, but the situation is something much nearer to a defence pact.

The distribution of the bloodwealth has certain characteristics exactly similar to the distribution of bridewealth among the kinsmen of the bride, but this does not apply to the whole. In the first place some of the cattle are claimed by the Leopard-Skin Chief (*kuar kuac*), the traditional arbitrator who conducts the hostile parties through the negotiations. Some are in the nature of fees, others are sacrificed and have a ritual significance which covers both sides, not only that of the dead man. Others are set aside

for his immediate kinsmen on a conventional pattern, as in marriage, while the remainder are reserved to marry the wife for the deceased.

I quote examples from the Western Nuer where the indemnity has always remained at the higher rate, because elsewhere in the Zeraf Valley, Lou and Eastern Jikany, where the number was reduced to 20, the pattern is no longer followed.

LEEK NUER

Initial Payments to the Leopard-Skin Chief and Sacrifices

Ruath riem, the 'bull calf of blood' and *yang kwac*, the 'cow of the leopard skin,' to the Leopard-Skin Chief as fees².

Ruath muon, the 'bull calf of the earth,' given to the man who buried the deceased, and *ruath jyup*, the 'bull calf of cutting,' given to the *gwan buthni* of the deceased, who is a senior representative of a collateral lineage.

Thak kethe, the 'ox of the liver,' and *tut ghok*, the 'bull of the herd,' which are sacrificed during the proceedings. Other sacrifices, which are sometimes numerous, are not counted as part of the indemnity.

Total 6.

Portions Distributed among the Deceased's Kinsmen

To his father (*gwan*), a cow and a calf.

To his mother (*man*), a cow and cow calf.

To his paternal uncle (*gwanlen*), a cow.

To his maternal uncle (*nar*), a cow.

Since, as in bridewealth-distribution, the *ghok man*, the mother's portion, are considered to belong to the paternal lineage and will be inherited by one of her sons, in other words a uterine brother of the dead man, five of these cattle are held on the father's side and only one goes to the mother's family.

Total 6.

This leaves a total of 28 which will be used by the dead man's heir to marry a 'Ghost-Wife' (*ciak jooka*) to his name. Should there be insufficient to do so, they will be kept until the increase provides the current bridewealth.

BUL NUER

Among the Bul Nuer, the initial payments are the same, as elsewhere in Nuerland, though the Leopard-Skin Chief sometimes claims higher fees, but the portions given to the dead man's kinsmen are greater. In addition to those mentioned among the Leek Nuer, a distinction is made between paternal uncles, the father's brother by the same mother (*gwanlen mande*) and his brother by a different mother (*gwanlen gwande*): each gets a cow. The maternal uncles (*nar mande* and *nar gwande*) are similarly distinguished, each getting one cow. In addition the maternal and paternal aunts (*wac* and *manlen*) get a cow each, and if they are married, this portion goes to their own sons who belong to different lineages, four of which are thus involved. These are token payments, but reciprocal payments may be expected at a later date should the dead man's lineage themselves be called upon to provide bloodwealth owing to the action of one of their number, and past payments of this sort will be quoted in future generations when the call for assistance is raised. The remaining 24 cattle are likewise set aside to provide a wife for the deceased.

Since between 20 and 30 head of cattle appears to be the average bridewealth in these days, the fulfilment of these claims without modification in areas where the indemnity was limited to 20 only would reduce the remaining cattle to absurdly low numbers, eight if the Leek system and only four if the Bul system were followed. It is therefore understandable that those Nuer living east of the Nile, among whom the bloodwealth was reduced to 20 and only raised again to 40 in 1945, should no longer meet all these claims, though the initial payments are everywhere much the

same. In most instances, however, at least one cow will be paid to the maternal uncle, the remainder being in any case the concern of the paternal side.

Professor Evans-Pritchard also says: 'it is worthy of note that the rate of bloodwealth has fallen in recent times to about the same level as the rate of bridewealth. Nuer see the similarity, for I have heard them complain that the government was attempting to fix bloodwealth without fixing bridewealth at the same rate, whereas what the one is the other should be' (*op. cit.*, p. 98). Bridewealth has in fact fluctuated according to the conditions of the herds, and official intervention in this sphere, though sometimes contemplated, has never been effective and often much resented by the Nuer. It is, however, worthwhile noting here some of the effects of raising bloodwealth to the higher and traditional rate of 40 head of cattle in those areas where it had previously been reduced to 20.

Bloodwealth was standardized throughout Nuerland in 1945. In the absence of a body of public opinion opposed to violence and bloodshed as such, it was felt that this action might provide a greater deterrent. More remotely related persons would be called in to subscribe and a wider number of persons would be actively and materially concerned. I do not propose to comment on the decision. The argument is itself a doubtful one because in just that region (Western Nuer District) where the indemnity remained at the higher rate, the incidence of homicide was generally much more common. It is, however, of interest to note that the ruling was alleged to have caused an increase in the number of cattle paid as bridewealth, especially in Eastern Nuer District, though such statements are without the support of actual examples. In the Nuer bridewealth system, certain minimum claims must be met to make a marriage legal and it is the less important claims which are dropped when bridewealth reaches its lower limits, and the more distant claims are now rarely even made³. The Nuer argument is therefore that since more distant kinsmen must necessarily be brought into the orbit of bloodwealth claims, they are entitled to press more vigorously their corresponding and equally remote claims in the bridewealth system. We hear of a reluctance to 'break *mar*,' sever kinship relationship,⁴ with, as a natural corollary, an increase in claims which come before the courts. I do not propose to discuss the subject of litigation in the Nuer courts and the growing and obviously undesirable tendency to bring matters, which were formerly the concern of the most intimate personal relationships, for official arbitration and judgment. I rather doubt whether an increase in litigation was the actual and immediate effect of the decision to raise bloodwealth, but what is interesting is that the Nuer should think it so and that an increase in bridewealth claims should be regarded as the natural outcome of the change.

References

¹ Murder by unfair means, known as *biem* in Nuer, is not only considered with horror, but is also exceptionally rare in fact. Legally the distinction is between 'murder' and 'culpable homicide not amounting to murder' as defined in the Sudan Penal Code.

² There is also a *yang kweini* or *yang jal*, the 'cow of the journey,' paid to the Leopard-Skin Chief for his services in going backwards

and forwards between the two parties. This is paid early in the proceedings, but is often not assessed as being part of the total compensation cattle.

³ I do not refer here to the lesser gifts (*thanypiny*) which may sometimes be claimed by any agnatic kinsman who has common

ancestry with the bride up to several generations. There is a boundary to cattle claims (*karthar*) and the boundary is naturally reduced when bridewealth is decreased.

⁴ Sometimes publicly performed with accompanying rites. In certain circumstances this may also remove the bar to intermarriage.

SHORTER NOTES

Second Social Anthropology Seminar in East Africa. Communicated by Dr. J. J. Maquet, Head of the I.R.S.A.C. Research Centre for the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi

23 Under the auspices of the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale (I.R.S.A.C.) and the East African Institute of Social Research, the second seminar devoted to anthropological research on cultures and societies of the eastern part of the African continent was held from 16 to 21 July, 1951, at the I.R.S.A.C. research centre for the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi at Astrida. The first seminar had taken place at Kampala in Uganda in December, 1950.

Professor L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C., was chairman for the inaugural session. Dr. Audrey I. Richards, Director of the East African Institute of Social Research, made a report on the researches undertaken by her Institute during the past six months and on the work in progress. Similar reports on the anthropological activities of I.R.S.A.C., of the Tanganyika Territory Sociological Research Branch and the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research were submitted respectively by Dr. J. J. Maquet, Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke and Mr. D. N. Leich.

During the 11 sessions of the Seminar the two main subjects treated and discussed were the structure of kinship groups and the bases of political authority. About 30 specialists, most of them working in the field, took part in the sessions of the conference: Mrs. P. Reining, Mr. and Mrs. A. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. E. N. Winter, Mr. and Mrs. J. Sherer, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Goldthorpe, Mr. and Mrs. P. Gulliver, Messrs. L. A. Fallers, A. Southall, B. K. Taylor and A. Low, all associated with the East African Institute of Social Research; Messrs. V. Neessen, E. Finoulst, G. De Clercq, A. Kagame, J. Hiernaux, attached to I.R.S.A.C.; Messrs. L. Delcourt, G. Schmit, F. Corbisier, of the Belgian Administrative Services in Africa; Mr. G. Wilson of the Tanganyika Territory Sociological Department. Mrs. M. Fallers and the Misses J. Fortt and D. Canneel acted as secretaries.

The Frequency of the Kidd Blood-Group Antigen in Africans. By Elizabeth W. Ikin and A. E. Maurant,

24 Blood Group Reference Laboratory, Lister Institute, London
Nearly every known blood-group antigen shows variations in frequency which are of anthropological value. One of the more recent discoveries, the Duffy antigen, has very wide

variations (A. M. Pantin and P. C. Junqueira, 'Blood Groups of Brazilian Indians,' *Nature*, Vol. CLXVII (1951), p. 998) and it was therefore of interest to find out whether the even more recently recognized Kidd antigen (F. H. Allen, L. K. Diamond and B. Niedziela, 'A New Blood-Group Antigen,' *Nature*, Vol. CLXVII (1951), p. 482), behaved similarly. Among white Americans 77 per cent. are found to give positive reactions with the anti-Kidd serum.

A total number of 105 Africans have been tested with an anti-Kidd (or anti-Jk^a) serum, comprising 20 Luo from Kenya, 17 Jal (Ganawuri) from the Jos Plateau of Nigeria and 68 Southern Nigerians, mainly Ibo and Yoruba. One Luo, one Jal and three Southern Nigerians were found to be negative, and all the others positive. The overall percentage of positives is thus approximately 95.

The frequencies of the two allelomorphous genes of the Kidd genetical system, Jk^a and Jk^b, have been calculated from these observations for Americans and Africans and are as follows:

	Jk ^a	Jk ^b
White Americans	0.477	0.523
Africans	0.782	0.218

The difference between the two populations is highly significant statistically and is, incidentally, in the opposite direction from that which occurs for the Duffy blood groups. As soon as adequate supplies of serum become available it is important that other populations should be tested for the Kidd antigen.

We should like to thank Drs. N. A. Barnicot and J. P. Harrison for sending the blood samples from Nigeria, and Captain T. H. C. Allison for those from Kenya. Fuller reports on the blood groups of these samples will be published elsewhere.

The Finding of the Sickle-cell Trait in 'Pre-Dravidians' of Southern India. By H. Lehmann, M.D., and Marie Cuthbert, B.Sc.

25 Sickling of red cells, formerly known only in persons of probable African origin, has been found in 16 out of 191 Badagas, 2 out of 60 Todas and 11 out of 31 Irulas, but not in 443 'Dravidians.' It is suggested that the trait entered Africa from Asia. A detailed account is in the press (*Brit. Med. J.*, February, 1952).

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Genetics and the Races of Man. By William C. Boyd. Boston, Mass. (Little, Brown) (U.K.: Blackwell, Oxford), 1950. Pp. xvii, 453. Price £1 10s.

26 In order to write a book on the genetical aspects of anthropology an author needs to be qualified in serology, in genetics and in anthropology. Dr. W. C. Boyd is one of the world's leading serologists; he is a highly competent geneticist; he is also an outstanding anthropologist—but he is an anthropologist with a

difference, and therein lies much of the value of his conclusions. Had he received an orthodox training in physical anthropology his views might have been received with the suspicion either that he had tried to force the genetical evidence into the classical channels or that in order to avoid that pitfall he had unduly stressed the differences between the two types of evidence. In fact, Dr. Boyd has devoted much of his life to genetical and especially to serological surveys of mankind and his anthropology is unequivocally the

anthropology of the blood groups and other genetically simple characters. Anthropologists may disagree as to the relative weights to be attached to these characters and to the orthodox anthropometric features, but at least, if they find their favourite metric correlations borne out by the author's conclusions, they cannot then doubt the independence of the two lines of evidence. The author has made out a very strong and persuasive case for the acceptance of simple genetical characters as being the most important criteria for the physical classification of mankind. This case will be accepted by anthropologists, if at all, only with many reservations, but all of them ought to give it a hearing, and this they cannot do more agreeably than through the pages of this book.

The author begins by discussing the aims of those who would classify mankind, and the methods which they adopt. The underlying aim of the physical anthropologist is to trace the history of the human race. He must therefore use characters which are hereditary, and which are as little affected as possible by those influences, such as natural selection, which modify the genetical characteristics of the race, as well as by those environmental influences which modify the expression in the individual of his genetical constitution. It is also desirable that the characters should be genetically simple so that the precise mechanism of their inheritance may be followed. Upon these criteria the blood groups must be accepted as among the most useful data of anthropology.

The main account of genetical theory is condensed into a single chapter which is very clearly written apart from the over-condensed and obscure description of crossing-over. A number of chapters follow on the application of genetics to human populations and their development, leading up to one on 'the concept of race.' The author defines a human race as 'a population which differs significantly from other human populations in regard to the frequency of one or more of the genes it possesses.' He admits that there must be an arbitrary choice of that 'constellation' of genetical characters which shall be used to define races.

A number of chapters follow on the blood groups and their detailed application to human classification. The book does not, however, pretend to be a complete compendium of the known facts of serological anthropology. There are two further chapters on other genetical characters of actual or potential classificatory value and finally two chapters of a more speculative nature than the rest of the book on 'Man's Past' and 'Man's Future.' The book concludes with a number of valuable appendices on statistical methods.

This work can be recommended, as an authoritative treatise, to all anthropologists, geneticists and serologists who are interested in the application of blood groups to anthropology. It will also appeal to a much wider class of readers with a general interest in fields of active scientific advance. That of blood group anthropology is one in which many important discoveries are to be expected in the next few years, and no better introduction is available than Dr. Boyd's book.

A. E. MOURANT

Introduction to a Science of Mythology: The Myth of the Divine Child and the Mysteries of Eleusis. By C. G. Jung and C. Kerényi, translated by R. F. C. Hull. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. 290, 5 plates.

Price 25s.

This is a difficult book, for parts of it are in the language of psycho-analysis; and mythology itself 'is a matter, like music and poetry, on which no opinion is possible, unless one already has a real feeling for these things'; so completely alien to us, if we have 'lost our immediate feeling for the great realities of the spirit', that this new and recondite approach is necessary. Briefly mythology is here equivalent to 'allegory,' a comfortable Greek word for saying one thing and meaning another. Kerényi has already done something for this 'science of mythology' in *Die antike Religion* (1942), *Apollo* (1941) and other studies. Jung needs no introduction; only, as usual, an interpreter.

As Kerényi's *Prolegomena* admit (p. 3), 'we find ourselves closer to various kinds of mysticism than to mythology.' His 'Primordial Child in Primordial Times' illustrates this 'mythological' outlook and method. 'Greek mythology never expresses any biographical element or phase of life, but always the nature or essence of the god.'

Why then devote this essay to Greek child gods? Kerényi's explanation is not very clear, and Greek mythologists did take pains to show *how*, though not *when*, the child god turned into the mature god. Examples of 'child' gods are Apollo, Hermes, Dionysus, Pan, and their counterparts in Finland, India and elsewhere. But Zeus too 'was a divine child before he became the "father of gods and men,"' and Apollo and Hermes grew up sufficiently to have copious offspring. The theory of mythology breaks down on the hard facts of the classical dictionary, and young gods must be judged 'historically' (p. 59). There is also the hermaphrodite aspect: 'the recrudescence of the bisexual Primordial Child in secularized form.' Yes: it is a difficult book.

Jung follows with a 'Psychology of the Child Archetype,' 'no small venture in view of the great significance of the child motif in mythology' (p. 97). Myths are 'involuntary statements about unconscious psychic happenings' (p. 130). They are the 'mental life of the primitive tribe' (p. 104) and moreover are 'inherited.' 'All we can do is to circumscribe and give an approximate description of an ultimate core of meaning. The ultimate meaning of this nucleus was never conscious, and never will be.' But there is much to write about it.

Kerényi then examines the Greek *Kore*, the maiden goddess whom he claims also as mother goddess, and recognizes in Athena, Artemis, and Hecate, as well as in Persephone at Eleusis. This study keeps closer to the Greek material, which is copious; but there are Indonesian *Korai*. Though the Gorgons, Erinyes, and Helen are brought into the story, the reconstruction of the ritual at Eleusis is on familiar lines; but that is archaeology, not mythology. For the rest the reader may follow Kerényi's advice (p. 214) 'to count it among those things, of which there are still a great many for all men, that he does not understand.'

Jung prefaces 'The Psychological Aspect of the Kore' with some remarks of a general nature (p. 217): 'As soon as one tries to abstract the "real essence" of the picture, the whole thing becomes shady and indistinct.' How true here! But (p. 226) 'it is immediately clear to the psychologist what cathartic and at the same time rejuvenating effects must flow from the Demeter cult into the feminine psyche, and what a lack of psychic hygiene characterizes our culture which no longer knows the kind of wholesome experience afforded by Eleusinian emotions.' Examples of such experiences follow, not all obviously Eleusinian (p. 229). One would, however, like to know how, if, as Jung concludes (p. 245), 'Demeter-Kore exists on the plane of mother-daughter experience, which is alien to man, and shuts him out,' the Eleusinian mysteries were as open to men as to women—one of those hard bumps which psychological theories are liable to encounter.

Finally in Kerényi's *Epilegomena* about the 'miracle of Eleusis,' the 'basic identity of mother and daughter' (p. 149) is 'based on psychic reality.' Archaeological reality, however, shows two goddesses at Eleusis, not one. The queer and unique dedication to 'Demeter, maiden and (mature) woman' (p. 253), comes from the shrine of Isis in Delos, and is as significant as would be a cult of 'Mary Maid and Wife' in Chicago. Even the 'science of mythology' needs some sense of proportion. But we end here (p. 255), with the 'miracle' of Eleusis—if there was one, which is not proved.' Kerényi compares the annual miracle of St. Januarius. Well, well!

JOHN L. MYRES

Die Heilige Hinterecke im Hauskult der Völker Nordost-europas und Nordasiens. By Gustav Ränk. FF Communications No. 137. Helsinki, 1949. Pp. 246, 60 illus. Price 150 mk.

It has been pointed out before that in Eastern Europe the dining table and not the hearth is the social centre. Mr. Ränk, with his knowledge of Slavonic languages and his experience as fieldworker in Estonian villages, was well equipped to probe deeper and to prove that the table is merely of secondary importance. Of primary importance is the 'far-end corner' of the living room in which the table stands between two benches, below the crucifix, the icons or the shelf with the *Penates*. The author calls this particular corner 'sacred and official' in contrast to the 'private' side usually diagonally situated opposite with the stove and the family bed. His further

statement that 'the sacred corner' is the 'male' domain and the 'private side' the 'female' domain is substantiated by a number of relevant taboos. Mr. Ränk attributes these taboos as well as the 'sacred' character of the far-end corner to the once general existence of a 'ritual backdoor' which led to the place of worship outside the living quarters. Nowadays the 'ritual backdoor' can only be found in some parts of Northern Eurasia.

The dying members of the family are laid in the 'sacred corner' and here the food for the souls of the departed is placed. Here the ancestors' blessings are invoked for a plentiful harvest, increase in cattle and success in hunting. The 'sacred corner' is furthermore the chosen place for the Shaman. In the chapter on the agricultural rites which are performed in the 'sacred corner' the author does not indulge in a certain modern tendency to rationalize agricultural beliefs. He divides the *Penates* of the Northern Eurasians into two groups, one of them belonging to the menfolk and the other to the women. Some household gods represent ancestral spirits; others consist of parts of animals which are important for a hunting community, e.g. the hides of bears, wolves or hares. In some cases the author found it impossible to differentiate between the cults of animals and household gods.

This book is a valuable contribution towards the literature on the interplay between material culture, social order and religious beliefs.
E. ETTLINGER

Social Evolution. By V. Gordon Childe. London (Watts), 1951. Pp. viii, 184. Price 10s. 6d.

29 This book embodies Professor Childe's Josiah Mason Lectures, and is an attempt to summarize what has been learnt from archaeology, and in particular from excavation, of the development of social institutions in Europe and the Near East.

Professor Childe is indignant with the diffusionists for saying that savages never invent or discover anything, and maintains that if

that is so then 'civilization must be a miracle, the result of supernatural intervention' (p. 13). He seems not to realize that the question is one of evidence. Theorists often assume that savages are continually making inventions and progressing independently towards civilization, but ethnographers never report their doing so. We can surely state what seem to us to be facts about the present without being accused of making assumptions about the remote past. And Professor Childe, whom we soon find to be himself a thoroughgoing diffusionist, does not claim to go back to the beginnings of things. He thinks, it is true, that pottery may have been invented 'somewhere near Denmark' independently of its invention in Hither Asia (p. 79), but apart from this he seems not to credit the early Europeans with any inventions or discoveries. Their rural economy was 'based on exotic cereals and exotic sheep,' their metallurgy was 'borrowed and adapted from the Eastern Mediterranean' (p. 116), and so on. In fact they seem to have differed little from modern savages. Egyptian culture, in very early times, was influenced from Mesopotamia (p. 140). The earliest inhabitants of Mesopotamia of whom we have any certain knowledge were 'sedentary farmers acquainted with metal' (p. 149). Where then are the beginnings of technology?

The facts concerning the evolution of social organization are no clearer. We may conclude from the evidence of burials that certain early societies at certain times had divine kings, or aristocracies, or neither, but there is nothing to show which of these, in the context, is the most highly developed. Burials tell something of beliefs in an after-life, and the little we can learn of early religion must be derived from them and from a few figurines. We can learn from archaeology something, not very certainly, of the development of agriculture and trade, but of customs, laws, administration and social organization generally we can learn, with the very limited exceptions just mentioned, nothing at all.

Professor Childe's book is a useful summary of the facts, but there is nothing in it to justify its title.
RAGLAN

AFRICA

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos. 69201-69852, Instruments de Musique.
30 By Hans Hickmann. Cairo, 1949. Pp. 216, 116 plates, and text figs.

Thoughtful musicologists, particularly those who are interested in musical instruments and their history, must have often dreamed of an ideal catalogue of the musical instruments of Egyptian antiquity. Now their dream has come true, for in his great work Hans Hickmann has portrayed, described and classified every object of a musical nature, or which could conceivably be connected with the practice of music, which is contained in the Royal Egyptian Museum at Cairo.

In his preface Hickmann makes it clear that his definition of a musical instrument is wide enough to permit him to admit to his catalogue many objects which, to most musicians, might not appear to merit that distinction. But after a little reflection they will be convinced that Hickmann is right in including the numerous types of rudimentary instruments of percussion, such as rattles, and also earthenware replicas of horns which have been hitherto regarded merely as 'votive objects,' for he is not only following the practice of the modern musicologist, but also that of the contemporary anthropologist, who must inevitably find much that is of interest and value to him in the work.

The plan of the catalogue is simple and straightforward, the method of classification following broadly that laid down by Curt Sachs in his well-known *Handbuch des Musikinstrumentenkunde* (Leipzig, 1930). The four sections into which the Egyptian instruments are divided, according to the manner in which sound is produced from them, are Idiophones, Membranophones, Aerophones and Cordophones, each of these sections being subdivided into various classes of instrument, and the instruments in these classes being themselves grouped in accordance with differences in form. Each section is prefaced by a definition of the type of instrument embraced in it, many of these definitions following those of André Schaeffner in his *L'Origine des Instruments de Musique* (Paris, 1936).

Each sub-section is likewise prefaced by a general description of the instruments contained in it, the names of the various types being given not only in French, but also in English, German and Arabic. Every instrument, and every fragment of an instrument, is described with meticulous accuracy by Hickmann, and every possible measurement of each specimen is also given by him. These descriptions, together with the measurements and the superb photographic plates, enable the student to understand the instruments to an extent that few might achieve by viewing them in the Museum itself. To these details Hickmann has added the provenance and the date of each specimen when known, and the bibliography relating to it; and whenever a hieroglyphic inscription appears upon a specimen it has been carefully photographed, printed in the text, and interpreted.

The plates deserve special consideration. There are no fewer than 116 of them, many comprising several photographs; and they not only illustrate every complete musical instrument in the Museum, but even fragments such as scraps of drumheads and of the thongs which once secured them to the shells. In most cases the instruments have been photographed from more than one point of view, so that the reader can easily obtain a clear idea of their true nature.

The section which deals with Idiophones is very extensive, including as it does every form of 'percussion stick,' castanets, cymbals and crotales, large and small bells, rattles and sistra. The subsection devoted to the sistra is particularly comprehensive, for it consists of 30 pages of text and is illustrated by 27 plates.

The Membranophones are represented in the Cairo Museum only by drums and tambourines, the former being of the familiar barrel shape, and the latter both rectangular and circular. But Hickmann's descriptions of the specimens are so detailed that in all cases a new light is thrown upon them, and the methods of construction used in their manufacture and the manner in which they were played are clearly revealed.

It is, however, in the section which treats of Aerophones that the reader fully realizes Hickmann's thoroughness. These aerophones

comprise what one may describe as the Ancient Egyptian 'wood-wind' and 'brass.' The former includes instruments of the 'flute' type, particularly the 'oblique' flutes blown across one end, single- and double-reed instruments which are, according to Hickmann, of the oboe and clarinet type, and trumpets. Detailed measurements are given of all the specimens in this section; so detailed, in fact, that it would be possible for anyone who wished to carry out practical experiments to construct facsimiles of them.

But although Hickmann has measured the position and dimensions of the finger holes of every 'wood-wind' instrument, he has been wise enough to avoid speculating as to the probable scales which were played upon them. Any experienced 'wood-wind' player knows that, even today, many notes are modified in pitch by varying the wind pressure, by 'cross-fingering,' by more or less closing the embouchure (in the case of flutes), and by 'liping' the reed (in the case of reed-blown instruments); and he finds it difficult to understand the attitude of the musicologist who endeavours to deduce the scales used by musicians of bygone ages by an examination of the physical properties of the instruments. On the contrary, Hickmann shows us that such modifications of pitch were used by the Ancient Egyptians, for in one box of six 'oboes' he found a fragment of a resinous substance which had been obviously used for adjusting pitch, since on one instrument some of it was still adhering to a finger hole. Arguing from these facts Hickmann has even dared to suggest that the Ancient Egyptians had an idea of modality as well as of the principles of tuning and of transposition!

I feel, however, that it is dangerous to apply the terms 'oboe' and 'clarinet' (in spite of the use of these terms by Curt Sachs) to any musical instruments of such antiquity; for, although in them sounds may have been produced by precursors of the reeds now used in the oboe and clarinet, those precursors were of a very rudimentary nature, if not actually radically different from their present-day descendants. The Egyptian double-reed instrument was sounded by a vibrating reed consisting of a short piece of straw, the opposite sides of which were brought together by being pinched by the lips of the player. It may or may not have been actually 'double,' and most likely was not. No actual straw reed prepared for use has been discovered, but several straws from which such reeds might be made have been found in association with instruments. A similar reed was used on the Greek *aulos*, but it was certainly not a true oboe reed.

The two trumpets which are described in the Catalogue were both discovered in the tomb of Tut-ankh-amun. They have many points of interest, not the least being the simple embouchure which consisted of a small tube fitted in and secured to the narrow end of the instrument, and provided with a ring which served to support the lips of the player. One of these trumpets is made of silver and the other of bronze. The former is slightly bent, the latter perfectly straight. Hickmann considers that the curvature of the silver instrument was probably due to accident. I would suggest a different reason. Both trumpets are furnished with wooden 'cores' which exactly fit their respective bores, and which may have been intended to protect the instruments from accidental damage when in position. But while the wooden core of the bronze trumpet is perfectly straight, that of the silver one is slightly bent like the trumpet itself. Had the silver trumpet met with an accident while the core was inside it, the core would have prevented bending from taking place; whereas had the damage occurred when the core was outside, the presumably straight core could not have been readily replaced in the instrument. I would suggest that these trumpets were specially made for the burial of the Pharaoh, like so many of the objects which were found in the tomb, and that, in the case of the silver instrument, the wood from which the core was fashioned had not been fully seasoned, and consequently warped in the course of time, causing the silver tube to bend with it, and to remain bent until today.

The Aerophone section of the Catalogue also includes descriptions of a number of objects made in the form of horns and trumpets, frequently in terra-cotta. Hickmann draws attention to the symbolical use which was made of these 'rhytons,' and at the same time puts forward evidence which suggests that they were occasionally put to actual musical use.

The section devoted to Cordophones includes lyres, kitharas, lutes and harps. The descriptions of these instruments are as detailed as those of all other specimens in the Catalogue. One example alone will suffice to illustrate this, the clear exposition of the manner in which the strings of many of these instruments were tightened, namely, by means of a knot of suitable material, such as papyrus fibre, which adhered by friction when turned round the 'yoke' or crossbar of the instrument, and to which the string was secured. This method, familiar to those who have studied primitive African stringed instruments, explains not only the method of tuning the Egyptian lyres, but also that of the Ancient Greeks, which has long been a puzzle to classical scholars.

This great Catalogue makes the musical antiquarian hope against hope that it may be followed by another in which all specimens of Ancient Egyptian musical instruments not now in Egypt may be similarly dealt with. Hickmann has already done this for the cymbals in a special monograph; will he be able to do it for the other instruments?

PERCIVAL R. KIRBY

Olduvai Gorge: A Report of the Evolution of the Handaxe Culture in Beds I-IV. By L. S. B. Leakey. C.U.P., 1951. Pp. 163, 38 plates, 62 figs., 2 maps. Price £2

This book summarizes the older work of Hans Reck and the more recent researches of Leakey, with a report on the palaeontology by A. Tindale Hopwood and a note by D. G. MacInnes. Strictly speaking, this is not the report of several seasons' excavation on a site, but rather a treatise showing the development of the handaxe from the four levels, as the sub-title states.

Leakey divides the handaxes from the four beds into eleven evolutionary stages, starting from Abbevillian culture in Bed I to a fairly developed Acheulian at the top of Bed IV. The value of Olduvai lies in the facts that the fauna is well preserved and that some climatic evidence can be drawn from the deposits. In brief, Bed I contained a pebble culture which is now generally known as Oldoway; although this bed is divisible stratigraphically into four there is no change in the industry, except at the very top. The top of Bed I and the lower part of Bed II produced simple handaxes of early Abbevillian type (Stage I). These continue to develop up to Stage III through Bed II. In Stage IV there are signs that the 'cylindrical hammer' has not yet appeared, though according to Leakey the form of the handaxes is more Acheulian than Abbevillian. This he classes as a transition period, and begins the Acheulian series with Stage V, which, although also at the junction of Beds II and III, is stratigraphically higher than those of Stage IV. Cleavers occur in Bed III; Leakey points out that their presence cannot be ruled out in Bed II, though none were found *in situ*. It seems possible in view of the marked advance in development in tool types in Bed III that there may be a break in the sequence. From then on the development continues to the top of Bed IV. In view of the material from Olorgesailie it seems likely that with these two sites we will have a sequence unique not only in Africa but anywhere.

Hopwood's study of the fauna leads him to the conclusion that the material represents a single unit in all four beds and is Middle Pleistocene in date, in spite of the rather archaic aspect of some of the species, for example *Deinotherium*. Leakey and MacInnes however are inclined to consider that Bed III represents a break in the sequence, and represents a dry phase between two wet. In view of the composition of the beds they are probably right.

The development of handaxes from pebble cultures also occurs in South Africa and in the Rhodesias, but in neither of these areas has it been possible to make so minute a sub-division and it seems that the Olduvai-Olorgesailie will be the type series for most of southern Africa. Leakey also deals with Reck's claim for the burial in Bed II and points out that the evidence is now clear that this is an intrusive burial later than Bed IV.

It is perhaps unreasonable to criticize what is in fact a well produced and very welcome publication, but three small deficiencies are noticeable: the lack of a drawn section to supplement the photographs; the plate at the end showing the development would have been clearer if it had been drawn; and it would have been helpful if the various stages had been indicated on the plates.

J. WAECHTER

Excavations at the Njoro River Cave: Stone Age Cremated Burials in Kenya Colony. By M. D. and L. S. B. Leakey. Oxford (Clarendon Press, in association with R.A.F.), 1950. Pp. iv, 78, 14 plates, 22 text figs., 2 folders and map. Price 12s. 6d.

Dr. and Mrs. Leakey have given us in this report a very complete and well documented account of their excavation in 1938 of a burial cave situated on the banks of the Njoro River in the Kenya Rift Valley not far from Lake Nakuru.

In a foreword Professor Le Gros Clark very rightly pays tribute to the very important and indefatigable work that has been carried out in East Africa over a number of years by Dr. and Mrs. Leakey. The systematic method of excavation, preservation and analysis of the results in this present work is indeed a model for all of us who work in the African field to emulate.

The Report is divided into two parts: Part I deals with the description of the archaeological remains and is by Mary Leakey. In Part II Dr. Leakey deals with the human crania and their significance. The conclusions reached are summarized by both authors jointly in a final section. Once again the text is fully supported by photographs and line drawings from the pen of Mrs. Leakey. There are also special reports on the stone beads by the late Horace Beck and on the basketry fragments by Mrs. A. H. Quiggin.

The site consists of a large rock shelter from the western end of which extends a low narrow cave, while at the eastern end is a shallow cave which exhibits pick marks suggesting that it was in part artificially cut. The river here flows through a small gorge within the forest. The original floor of the shelter is at a height of not more than 5 feet above the level of the river, while the overlying deposit which contained the burials averaged 3½ to 4 feet in thickness and rested directly on the rock floor. This shelter is not an isolated occurrence, but is one of several found in the valley at approximately the same height above the river and used for the same purpose of communal burial. Their height above the river gives a clue to the date of the overlying deposit. The burials are dated by the authors to after the maximum of the Nakuran Wet Phase, as if they had been in position prior to this wet period the rise in water level in such a narrow gorge, a rise which caused Lake Nakuru to reach a height of 145 feet above its present level, must surely have flooded the shelter. This gives a lower date of -850 B.C., or rather -550 B.C. on Brooks's latest figures. No definite evidence is forthcoming as to the upper date for the site, but the condition of the deposit and the existence of organic remains such as seed and nut beads leads the authors to consider that the culture represented at Njoro is comparatively late and may indicate the survival of a Stone Age people into recent times. The presence of the stone beads and the fact that a similar stone bead, found previously in a Gumban B site east of Lake Nakuru, was associated with an undoubtedly imported faience bead, also points to a time when 'foreign influences' were being felt in the Kenya Rift.

The culture brought to light includes many features previously known in the Mesolithic and Neolithic of East Africa, but there are also several very interesting and new features. The two most important are the practice of a primitive form of cremation, and the presence of the semi-precious stone beads and pendants.

Cremated burials of about 80 individuals were found. Some of these appear to be intact, but in most instances the burials are fragmentary and scattered and it is apparent that the earlier interments were disturbed and dug into in order to make room for the later ones. Careful and systematic excavation has elicited the method of cremation adopted. Before cremation a body was wrapped perhaps in a skin blanket or kaross and bound with plaited fibre rope into a contracted or ultra-contracted position. Necklaces and other ornaments were left on the bodies and with each adult individual was placed a stone bowl, a pestle rubbing stone, and a grindstone, and in some cases other domestic articles also. A shallow grave was then scraped in the earth, in which the body was laid with its attendant grave goods. Some soil was apparently heaped over the burial, which was then set alight. The partial exclusion of air at the time of cremation, or 'baking,' has thus preserved as charcoal quite a proportion of the perishable grave goods. These the Leakeys with their usual care have successfully removed and preserved. Red

ochre seems to have played an important part in the funeral rites as many of the bones and grave goods were covered with it, and it occurred in well defined layers in the deposit as well as covering the rock floor of the shelter.

The finds are discussed separately and in detail by Mary Leakey, sections being devoted to descriptions of the obsidian industry, the pottery, the stone bowls, pestle rubbing stones and grindstones, ornaments, and perishable objects.

The obsidian industry is comparatively unimportant and consists mainly of microlithic crescents, all broad and lacking the dorsal ridge, and long two-edged blades of Elmenteitan type—the butts of some having been trimmed to facilitate hafting. Other tools comprise end scrapers, 'lames écaillées' and a few poor burins and utilized flakes. As the authors point out, the crescents and blades clearly indicate that the Njoro culture in its stone industry is an Elmenteitan derivative and not a Kenya Capsian one.

Most of the potsherds were widely scattered, but it has proved possible to reconstruct sufficient to determine and illustrate globular pots with pointed base, shallow bowls or basins and small burnished pots with constricted mouth and wide base. The carinated profile and decoration of one calls to mind the earliest Stamp Ware pottery from Rhodesia. Lugs are sometimes found as well as holes pierced after firing. Again the closest parallel is with the Elmenteitan pottery.

The stone bowls, pestles and grindstones constitute the most complete series from anywhere in East Africa. A total of 78 stone bowls were found, made from lavas and volcanic tuffs of local origin. This number, as also those of the pestles and grindstones, corresponds almost exactly with the number of burials, from which the authors deduce that one of each accompanied each burial. Mary Leakey divides the bowls into five different types—platters and bowls, deep bowls, bowls with convex sides and sharp rims, etc. Their often crude appearance is considered to be the result not of their being unfinished but of poor materials and workmanship. Many of them are extensively burnt over the interior but never over the outside. Alas, no modern parallel is forthcoming from East Africa to determine the use to which they were put. Several suggestions are made, the most probable perhaps being that they were cooking vessels or braziers and were filled with hot ashes and charcoals.

The pestle rubbing stones and lower grindstones unlike the bowls are made from basement complex rocks foreign to the area and imported most probably from the Sotik area some 60 miles to the south-west. This might imply, in connexion with a primitive food-gathering people such as were responsible for the Njoro culture, that some simple form of barter existed with neighbouring groups or else that the Njoro people themselves brought the stones from Sotik, as by analogy with modern peoples in a similar stage of culture the distances covered by them in their wandering must have been very considerable. The pestle rubbing stones are divided into seven types on shape and cross-section. The association of similar pestles with the Kavirondo Smithfield is worthy of note, as is also the presence of two specimens with dimple scarring, a form which is common with the Nachikufan and Smithfield in Northern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa. The lower grindstones were not used for grinding ochre but were probably employed in grinding corn or edible seeds and grasses.

The most spectacular and surprising of the finds is the presence of over 800 stone beads and pendants made from semi-precious stones such as quartz, agate, chalcedony and 'amazon stone.' The black and white photographic plates do not do justice to the colouring of these beads and one would like to have seen them illustrated in colour if it were not for the cost of colour printing today. It is truly remarkable how a primitive Stone Age people such as the Njorans could have ground, bored and polished such hard stones. One immediately thinks of importation from elsewhere, but that they were indeed manufactured locally seems to be indicated by the fact that all the stones from which they are made are found within the boundaries of the Colony and mine shafts occur on the Mau Escarpment which suggest that it was for the agate and chalcedony contained in the lavas that they were dug. The beads comprise highly polished barrels and spheroids grading into flat discs. When

strung as necklaces they were interspersed with seed beads. The pendants are rarer, made from chalcedonies, and in one case microcline felspar ('amazon stone'). In addition to isolated finds some five concentrated groups of such beads were found which indicated that they had formed necklaces and (perhaps) an armlet. It is not known how these beads were drilled, though reference is made to a southern Indian method employing a thorn and corundum or emery powder. Three other sites have yielded comparable beads, but apart from these the Njoro stone beads remain unique in East Africa, and there is certainly nothing like them in South Africa. Hinting at the introduction of the idea and method of bead-manufacture by 'foreign influences,' the authors suggest that there may be some connexion with the hexagonal chalcedony beads found at Zanzibar (and also in Somaliland), as two examples of these have been found in the Rift Valley area.

Mrs. Leakey is to be congratulated on the way she has determined the nature, material and method of manufacture of the seed beads. The recovery of nearly 4,000 of these beads which average 3 mm. in length and 4 mm. in width is another indication of the care with which this excavation was undertaken. It is always satisfactory to be able to point to a modern parallel for one's prehistoric material, but it is rarely that one finds so conclusive a one as that for these beads, exactly similar ones to which were at one time made by the Bagishu, a primitive tribe in northern Uganda, from the hard hollow seed-coat of the sedge—*scleria racemosa*. Bone, and in two cases ivory, beads and pendants also occur, but in contrast to the stone beads these are always crude and roughly made. As they were found in the majority of cases in association with burials of immature individuals, the authors consider it probable that they were made by young persons and that only adults wore the stone beads. It may perhaps be significant that not a single ostrich eggshell bead was found at Njoro.

Other objects recovered include a few bone awls and the tips of two elephant tusks. These are much damaged by fire and their use difficult to determine, but it might be suggested that they resemble the hammers used by the Ituri Pygmies for pounding barkcloth.

Owing to the peculiar conditions which persisted at Njoro a number of perishable materials have been preserved. Careful excavation has resulted in the recovery of the greater part of a unique wooden vessel—presumed to be a drinking cup—covered with a very skilful decoration. The design on the base with four panels of concentric loops drawn up on to the body of the vessel is unusual and calls to mind the basketwork holder used to support the calabash 'milk-churn' made by the Ila in Northern Rhodesia. There were found also many fragments of bottle gourds, one with decoration,

which are presumed to have been used as containers, similar to those used by many Bantu tribes today for storing fat, oil, etc. Mrs. Quiggin reports on the basketwork, which comprises fragments of string bags and baskets, made probably by the coil and twined methods. Large quantities of plaited string and some string made from double or triple strands twisted together were also recovered.

In Part II Dr. Leakey describes the crania. Owing to the method of cremation used it was a matter of difficulty to assess the number of burials represented. The skull and mandibular fragments from each trench have been sorted out on the basis of the number of definitely identifiable parts and the results are given in tabular form. Adults and sub-adults totalled a minimum of 78 individuals, to which may be added four infant burials; it was possible from these to identify definitely 47 male and 20 female crania. Measurement was often complicated by the very variable state of preservation of the bones, many of which are warped or very calcined and brittle. As full a description and measurements of each skull and mandible are given as the state of preservation permits. Thirteen specimens are sufficiently complete to allow of their being figured. The majority of the individuals represented did not reach middle age and only a very few reached an advanced age.

From the comparatively late date of the Njoro culture it might be expected that the skulls would show a close resemblance to the modern indigenous peoples of Kenya, but this, surprisingly enough, is not the case. Three quite distinct racial types are represented, which, Dr. Leakey shows, resemble closely certain known Mesolithic and Neolithic races of Kenya, and are to be sharply distinguished from both the Bantu-speaking and Nilo-Hamitic groups of Kenya today.

The wealth of material recovered at Njoro, the peculiar nature of the burials, the stone beads, the wood and other perishable objects render this site of considerable importance to the student of the Later Stone Age in Africa south of the Sahara, and with the new method of dating cultures by the C14 (radio-active carbon) test it is hoped that the exact date of this culture will shortly be determined. Dr. and Mrs. Leakey are to be congratulated on this report, as are also the publishers—the Clarendon Press and the Royal Anthropological Institute. To quote once again Professor Le Gros Clark, the Leakeys have 'a peculiar "flair" for seeking out archaeological sites of importance,' but by their careful methods of excavation, rational deduction and clear presentation of the results they leave no doubt that the evidence collected is of the fullest and most complete, and their work will long remain as a model to be followed by others in the same field.

J. DESMOND CLARK

ASIA

Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat. By Frederick E. Zeuner. Deccan Coll. Monograph Ser. No. 6. Poona, 1950. Pp. 46, 14 figs. Price Rs.8

This monograph, though it represents much hard work in the field and the results of the application of much expert knowledge, is in fact a supplement, albeit an essential supplement, to work carried out in Gujarat under Dr. Sankalia since 1941. The conclusions arrived at as a result of this study, though tentative, are very suggestive. Professor Zeuner has, on the Sabarmati, produced a definite sequence, from the very early period of alluvial weathering and laterite-formation to the relatively recent sandy dunes. These dunes contain two stages of a microlithic industry, and below them there is a considerable depth of soil-formations indicating two major climatic cycles, each of a humid followed by a dry phase. Some 50 feet below the old land surface, in river silt and cemented gravel representing the dry phase of the first cycle, palaeoliths appear. The results from three other riverine tracts are compared and aligned with those just described.

The two cycles observed on the upper Godavari each show a period of increasing dryness with aggradation followed by a wet phase of down-cutting by the river. If however the upper and lower cemented gravels were contemporary, then the underlying hard clay may equate with the mottled clay of the Sabarmati, and the cemented gravel in each be of contemporary formation, which would bring the cycles of both areas into line. It should eventually

be possible to tie in both the area adjacent to the lower Godavari examined by Cammiade and Burkiit and Todd's site of Khandivli near Bombay; at Bhanavasi in the former area in particular the pebble bed may equate with gravel layers elsewhere, and the two cycles starting with a humid laterite-forming phase seem to coincide very suggestively.

It would be interesting to know whether the veins of microcline seen in the granite pegmatite (p. 15) are of amazonite, as this is almost certainly the source of this stone found at Mohenjo-daro. Seeing that this monograph is to a great extent geographical it is a pity that there are no sketch maps showing the places at which the sections illustrated were recorded. This is the only point of criticism that can be made of what is a most important study, one moreover written in such a way that the processes producing the evidence discussed are clear to any interested reader.

D. H. GORDON

Investigation of Silk from Edsen-Gol and Lop-Nor. By Vivi Sylwan. Reports of the Sino-Swedish Expedition under Dr. Sven Hedin, Publ. 32. Stockholm, 1949. Pp. 180, 27 plates, 105 text figs. **Mongol Costumes.** By Henny Harald Hansen. Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Raekke, III. Copenhagen, 1950. Pp. 199, 175 text figs.

Both these books are concerned with Mongol costume, the former more particularly with the materials, and the latter with the effects. The former deals with the period just before and after the

beginning of the Christian era and the latter with modern times. It is a striking illustration of the conservatism of Central Asia that analysis of present-day styles throws light on the fashions of some 2,000 years ago.

The study of the origin of Chinese silk has the double attraction of unknown antiquity and a secrecy maintained by its owners for more than 1,000, perhaps more than 2,000, years. Andersson found no traces of silk in his Stone Age excavations in China, dated approximately 2500 B.C. so we cannot unreservedly accept as historical the story of the Emperor Huang-Ti, who, in 2698, is said to have instructed his Empress to teach the people to cultivate the moth and to treat the silk, to provide them with clothes. But we cannot deny that silk-weaving must have had a long period of development behind it before producing the patterned silks imprinted on bronze objects of the Yin period 1,000 years later (Plate 4). The author points out that this silk was reeled, i.e. provided by the cultivated not the wild silkworm, for the thread of the latter, being in short lengths, has to be spun like any other short-fibre material.

It must have been a work of infinite labour to reconstruct the weaving technique of small, ill preserved fragments from refuse heaps, many turning to dust at the least pressure of the fingers, but the author's discerning eye can recognize taffetas and reps, crêpe and gauze, damasks and twilled damasks, and, analysing patterns, calculate the number of heddles used in the looms. The material for this important addition to our knowledge of early silks, their manufacture and use, comes from the explorations of Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein, Folke Bergman and Gösta Montell in Central Asia. Both Edsen-Gol in Inner Mongolia and Lou-lan in the Lop-Nor region were frontier posts for defence against the attacks of the Huns during the Han period (202 B.C.-A.D. 250) and both time and place coincide with the first meetings of East and West.

Chinese silks, worth their weight in gold, were being brought to Rome, and foreign influences from the West are discovered in the woven designs. The author shows the striking similarity between the figures on the polychrome silk fabrics and those of the Animal Style of the Luristan bronzes, and she illustrates side by side (figs. 59-63) the 'spread-eagle' dragons and birds woven in silks and Luristan horse trappings. She approves the suggestion that the designs may have been introduced with the horses imported from Ferghana at the end of the second century B.C. The queer 'fork motif' (figs. 68, 71) wings and clouds (possibly 'dissolved dragons') appear to be purely Chinese, but the mythical goat-lion (fig. 95) indicates Persian influence. Comparisons with Chinese bronzes confirm the Han dating.

Silk was used not only for clothing but also as writing material. There is a scrap, once presumably sewn into the clothing of a courier, which was found in a watch tower near Khara Khoto (Marco Polo's Edzine). Here were found also inscribed wooden slats with inventories, orders, requisitions and medical advice which, when fully deciphered, will throw light on the life of these remote districts some 2,000 years ago.

The admirable volume on Mongol costumes is based on the collections from the Central Asian Expedition led by Henning Haslund-Christensen in 1936-7 and 1938-9. It gives a catalogue and careful description of (i) the body garments (cloaks and ponchos, tippets, gowns, caftans, jackets, waistcoats, leggings, trousers, petticoats, etc.), (ii) hats, and (iii) footwear. These were collected from 20 different eastern Asiatic tribes, some to the north but mainly to the south of the Gobi Desert. Foreign influences, chiefly religious, have entered from India, through Tibet; while from China came the materials (weaving being unknown in Mongolia) and Chinese fashions.

The author is not concerned with the theoretical origin of costume in general, but with the origin of these primitive Mongolian garments individually. Special stress is laid on their examination according to cut, by means of which, it is argued, the history of a garment can be traced, as well as its relationships. The skeletons of the garments are therefore flattened out in diagrams, which not only bring out certain interesting details, but also serve in the analysis of the garments themselves and their classification. Thus gown, caftan, cloak or poncho (terms often loosely used) are

definitely distinguished and their relationships analysed, while trousers derived from leggings and those derived from breechcloths are discovered by their seams.

Mongolian hats have always attracted the attention of foreigners and here classification is more difficult. A hat is less a 'garment' than 'a decorative object placed on the head,' and if classified by appearance 'we should have had nearly as many groups as there are specimens' (i.e. 89). However, analysis has produced order out of chaos and distinguished the main types as horizontal and vertical, deriving them from either the sunshade or the hood.

Footwear (67 specimens) shows equal variety, though there are certain common characteristics. All have horizontal soles, none have any difference between right and left foot, and all can be traced to the sandal, the skin stocking or the legging.

The book is not a mere catalogue with diagrams, but has many touches of human interest. Take for example the shoes of the camel-driver from Kweihua-ch'eng (fig. 162). These have to stand up to tremendously long walks, say to Urumchi, which is a journey of 120 days. He starts off with a sturdy pair of shoes made for him by his womenfolk of multi-stitched layers of cloth and paper glued together. The saying goes: 'Side patches at Gaotai, soles at Hsueh-chow, hobnails at Hami': the patches are needed by the time he gets to Gaotai, about half way, and reinforced soles at Hsueh-chow before the long trek across the endless wastes to Hami; here big mushroom nails help over the last lap to Urumchi. On the way back he rides his leading camel and gets new shoes on returning home (p. 167).

A. HINGSTON QUIGGIN

Maria Murder and Suicide. By Verrier Elwin. 2nd. edn. O.U.P., 1950. Pp. xxxi, 259. Price £1 1s.

35 The first edition of this small book was published in 1943.

It is very rare for an anthropological book to go into a second edition within seven years and we may congratulate the author upon this. No additions are made to the matter as it was in the first edition. It is a book written with warm sympathy and shows insight into the life and mind of the primitive criminal. What Elwin does not realize is that the life of the Indian village is not different from that of the primitives, and that the picture of crime is very much the same for the primitive area and the rural areas in India. The same differences in adjacent areas that are found among Muria and Maria are found also in rural areas like Nagar and Satara among the agriculturists. The presence and absence of Gotuls does not explain this difference. One must cover a larger field before one can find causes of differences in the incidence of crime among related people. The book is well illustrated. Some photographs are very beautiful indeed but have as much connexion with the text as has the beautiful lady who illustrates advertisements for a certain proprietary medicine.

IRAWATI KARVE

Bondo Highlander. By Verrier Elwin. O.U.P. (Indian Branch), 1950. Pp. xix, 290, 74 plates, 52 figs., 1 map. Price £2 10s.

36 This book, as the first volume in a proposed series of five monographs on the tribal life of Orissa, introduces several new studies in the ethnography of an area which to date has received only preliminary attention. The peoples selected for the series are the Bondos, the Kuttia Konds, the Saoras and the Gadabas. Dr. Elwin, recognizing the duplication involved in fully presenting complete ethnographies of several neighbouring peoples of close cultural affinity, proposes instead to examine each one from one particular aspect. The volume under review is intended as a personality study, with the focus on the individual, the Bondo Highlander. The next three monographs are to account in turn for the traditional categories of economic life (Kuttia Konds), marriage and sex (Saoras), and religion (Gadabas). The fifth and final volume, it is planned, will be a collection of the tribal myths of Orissa.

The Bondos are a small aboriginal group living in the hill ranges north-west of the Machkund River in the Koraput District. Poor communications and a reputation for homicidal tendencies have added to the seclusion of their highland life, and it appears that they have been relatively unaffected by influences from the plains. It is to be expected then that this volume should form a useful companion study to the monographs on Indian hill peoples already

published and will be a further contribution to the syntheses of Indian aboriginal life which must soon emerge.

The book is intended primarily as a study in the psychology of a tribe. The emphasis throughout is on motive and reaction, and on dominant concerns. After lightly sketching in the social organization—perhaps too lightly—the author proceeds to outline in more detail the more important features in the life of any Bondo Highlander. Descriptions of economic life, the dormitory system, marriage and the family, religion, feud, crime and so on are interspersed with anecdotal and autobiographical material, myth, song, incantation, as well as statistics.

One of the limitations of Dr. Elwin's plan of procedure for the series is that in this initial and essentially psychological study it appears that much pertinent sociological material is being kept on ice for the later volumes, when no doubt it will emerge in comparative form. It is therefore difficult at this stage to examine many of his provocative comments on Bondo personality. Moreover one detects at times in an otherwise vivid and readable style a certain discursiveness and one wonders whether some condensation of the existing text and the inclusion of more sociological material relevant to the theme in hand would detract from the interest of the later volumes. An instance where there is less likelihood of later repetition is seen in the need for a more detailed discussion of the nature of the ties, on the one hand between the Bondos and the Hindu and near-Hindu castes, and on the other hand between the Bondos and other tribal hill peoples. Any mention there is of this is usually very brief or else in terms of cultural borrowing and change, or lack of it, rather than of actual existing relationships which are highly relevant in any interpretation of Bondo personality.

Despite omissions of this type, the book as a whole is a competent record of a system of values and belief by an able fieldworker. A clear, if somewhat impressionistic, picture emerges of a lively, easily inflammable, revengeful but withal friendly and industrious people. If Dr. Elwin's categories of enquiry have not yielded the more detailed life-history data sought by many current personality-and-culture theorists, his material nevertheless provides valuable insight into such themes of Indian anthropology as the beliefs surrounding megalithic ritual, the dormitory system and the motivation of suicide and crime, to mention only a few. The book's value is enhanced with the usual excellent photography.

BARBARA LAWSON

Cultural Anthropology of the Rodiyas. By M. D. Raghavan. *Ethnological Survey of Ceylon, No. I.* Colombo, 1950. Pp. 40, 3 plates

37 This is a very interesting paper on a small but interesting community of Ceylon. Mr. Raghavan has shown successfully that this community was originally a hunting tribal community later degraded into the untouchables or pariahs of Ceylon. His contention that the mythical ancestress of the clan is no other than the

Goddess Pattini is however unconvincing. These people, though professing Buddhism, worship Yakha (a demonic being) and goddesses with dance and incantation. It seems therefore improbable that they originally worshipped Pattini as Ratnavalli and have now given up the worship entirely.

The legend of a king eating human flesh is very old and is told in Hindu, Buddhist and Jain literature, and seems to have travelled to Ceylon and been used by Rodiyas. The ancient usage of banishing women into this community reminds one of similar usage among Nambudri Brahmins of Malabar. The Rodiyas eating the flesh of dead animals and their women practising prostitution are also customs recorded of the so-called 'untouchables' of India. That the lowly condition continued in spite of Buddhism in Ceylon and that missionary effort at conversion only worsens the social situation suggests parallels with the Indian situation. Altogether the whole of Ceylon racially and culturally must be studied in the context of Indian history and culture.

In this paper, though it is exhaustive in some respects, family organization and details of ritual and worship should have been described at greater length. The author calls certain relationships 'direct' and others 'cross' and gives the Sinhalese word for the latter but not for the former. He merely mentions the worship of certain demons and goddesses without giving details of the ritual and incantations. The paper arouses great expectations as regards the other monographs which one hopes will soon follow—especially the one about 'Kinnaraya,' whose very name is music in the ears of an Indian.

IRAWATI KARVE

The Early Arabian Necropolis of Ain Jawan: A Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Site on the Persian Gulf. By R. L. Bowen, Jr. New Haven, Conn. (American Schools of Oriental Research), 1950. Pp. 70

38 Ain Jawan, possibly the ancient Bilbana, is a limestone hill not far from the oil refinery at Ras Tanura on the Persian Gulf. Dr. Bowen's attention was not drawn to the necropolis there until many of the cist graves had been destroyed in procuring limestone for constructing the refinery. He was however able to record a number of them, and to collect some bones and artifacts. The only datable object was a Himyaritic gravestone dated by Professor Jamme to about 400 B.C. Near the necropolis was a mound containing a large deposit of pottery, most of which had been smashed by a bulldozer. This pottery, largely of Graeco-Roman types, dates from about the fourth century B.C. to the thirteenth A.D.

Dr. Bowen discusses and plots the general distribution of cist and chamber graves, and tunnel wells, in the Arabian Peninsula. He also examines the theory that within the last three or four thousand years the levels of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf have fallen and that there has been considerable desiccation over the whole peninsula, and concludes that there is no valid evidence to support it.

RAGLAN

EUROPE

Prehistoric Migrations in Europe. By V. Gordon Childe. Oslo (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning) (London: Kegan Paul), 1950. Pp. 249, 183 figs. Price £1 17s. 6d.

39 The Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture decided in 1925 to arrange a series of lectures on 'the importance of the great Migrations to the evolution of European culture during Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.' The series started in 1928 when Rostovtzeff lectured on Scytho-Sarmatian art and its spread in Asia and Europe. In 1946 Professor Childe lectured on 'The Ethnological and Archaeological Conditions in Europe in Prehistoric Times,' so that the great migrations of historic times could be seen in their proper historical perspective. This book embodies the substance of these ten lectures, brought up to date. It is in English, very copiously illustrated (although the illustrations, being mainly derived from other publications, suffer from this second reproduction), and well documented.

The first lecture, 'Archaeological Postulates,' is a clear and reasoned summary of the methods of prehistoric archaeology; Childe expresses his suspicions of geochronological dates derived

from clay varves. He puts the case for the Åberg-Hencken short chronology of the European bronze age very fairly. The second lecture deals with the migrations for which there is evidence in Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic times. Childe accepts the independent invention of pottery in Northern Europe among the Ertebølle hunter-fishers. Lectures III to VI deal with the Neolithic and Chalcolithic migrations of Europe. Here Childe deals with material he has already studied in *The Dawn of European Civilization*, but his treatment in these lectures contrives to be stimulating and new. The account of collective tombs and the reasoned analysis of what is meant by the diffusion of megalithic architecture are excellent. In Lecture VII, entitled 'Indo-Europeans, Horses, and Battle-Axes,' and in Lecture X, 'Cavalry and Chariotry,' Childe re-examines, in the light of the most recent archaeological evidence, the problem of the diffusion of Indo-European languages in their relation to folk movements attested by material-culture changes. Lectures VIII and IX deal with the Bronze Age. The book ends with only a brief reference to the La Tène civilization; surely a complete lecture was called for on the expansion of the Celts—but

perhaps this was regarded as a matter of historic rather than pre-historic migration.

The book reads with a freshness and vigour and a personal touch derived no doubt from the lectures on which it is based. Writing, for example, of the theory that Beakers originated in Spain, Childe says, 'I find this view quite incredible, but having nothing better to offer, I shall accept it.' Anthropologists interested in the way in which diffusionist theory is now used by archaeologists will find these lectures of the greatest interest, especially when compared with, say, the first edition of *The Dawn of European Civilization*, published over a quarter of a century ago. Childe's *Dawn* set forth a reasoned case for the diffusion of European prehistoric culture which was accepted, whereas the hyper-diffusionist doctrines of Elliot Smith and Perry had won little acceptance. Twenty-five years later Childe himself, while continuing to argue convincingly for diffusion as the hypothesis which explains most of the changes in prehistoric European culture, now finds that some specific cases of independent origin must be allowed. Not only the Ertebølle pottery already mentioned, but megaliths—he accepts the independent origin of the Danish *dys* in northern Europe in pre-Passage-grave times. Lord Raglan and his monogeneticist school of cultural origins should take note of this.

This book will be read and studied carefully by all who want an up-to-date summary of European prehistory in post-glacial times.

GLYN E. DANIEL

Images des Mondes Disparus. By J. Piveteau. Paris (Masson), 1951. Pp. 158, 107 text figs. 650 frs.

40 Professor Piveteau gives here a series of semi-popular essays on palaeontology from the Archaean to the Pleistocene, usually trying to achieve a picture of the environment of the animals and plants studied. He often brings in points of recent research. The last essay—on early man in La Charente, France—gives some facts about Professor Vallois' study of the cranial fragments of a being of Tayacian age found at Fontéchevade by Mlle Henri-Martin (1947). The specimen is apparently analogous with our Swanscombe fragment, and seems related to *Homo sapiens* rather than to *Homo neandertalensis*. Thus we now have two finds of something near *H. sapiens* in western Europe from what is broadly the Acheulian phase of the lower Pleistocene. H. J. FLEURE

Los Sepulcros Megalíticos Catalanes y la Cultura Pirenaica.

By Luis Pericot García. Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, Publ. No. 31. Barcelona, 1950

41 Professor Pericot's *La Civilización Megalítica Catalana y la Cultura Pirenaica* was published in 1925; this present book, now issued as a monograph of the Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, is much more than a second edition. It is virtually an entirely new book surveying the same problem. It is much more fully illustrated with plans, photographs, maps and diagrams than was the 1925 edition, and is indispensable to the student of West Mediterranean prehistory and of megalithic monuments. Particularly valuable to scholars outside Spain will be the summary of researches undertaken since 1940 by Pericot's friends and pupils such as Panyella, Tarradell, Riuró, Maluquer, Palol and Garriga y Oliva, and, most especially, Professor Almagro's work in the province of Huesca which resulted in the discovery of nearly a hundred dolmens hitherto unknown. There is also a most useful summary of our knowledge of the southern French megalithic monuments, based on the work of Arnal in Hérault and of Ponsich in Roussillon. All this new information is excellently presented and integrated into the general story of Spanish prehistory and of megalithic architecture in general.

Those who have for too long thought of chambered and unchambered long barrows as peculiarities of British archaeology will be interested to find illustrated here oval barrows with megalithic cists such as Coll de Creus (as well as the strange rectangular long barrows like Cal Conill gros and Castellnou de Basella) and to see that Puig Roig is set in an oval barrow just as are the Gallery Graves of southern France such as the Paler de Roland, St. Eugène and Boun-Marcou. The origin of our British chambered long barrows would seem to lie in these oval barrows of south France

and Catalonia, and it is interesting that Pericot quotes, though with reserve, Martin-Granel's evidence for the pre-Beaker date of the construction of Boun-Marcou.

Pericot suggests that the Pyrenean and Catalan megalithic culture lasted from 2500 B.C. to 1000 B.C., i.e. from period 20 (Neolithic II) of his system to his period 24 (Bronze III). In the early dating of the Catalan Passage Graves such as Font del Roure he follows Leisner; I would prefer, with Santa Olalla and Almagro, a date of 2000 or 1900 B.C. for the earliest megaliths, but I have no quarrel with the late date of many of the rectangular dolmens. The button handles and Polada affinities of the material from the rectangular dolmens show clearly the relative position of these monuments in the sequence of Iberian collective tombs.

The analytical account is accompanied by inventories of all the monuments concerned and full bibliographies. This will for long be a standard work of primary reference in European prehistory.

GLYN E. DANIEL

Die Lappische Zaubertrommel, Vol. II: Die Trommel als Urkunden geistigen Lebens. By Ernst Manker. *Acta Lapponica (Nordiska Museet)*, Vol. VI. Stockholm (Hugo Gebers), 1950. Pp. 447, frontispiece and 157 text figs. Price 100 Sw. crowns

Dr. Manker, who is head of the Lapp Division at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, has taken on the monumental task of giving a detailed monographic treatment of the Lapp drums. He has so far given us two gigantic volumes, but there is no indication of whether a third volume is planned or not. I hope it is; for, as the author himself says:

'Jede einzelne Trommel bildet ein Kompendium des Wissens seines lappischen Besitzers über sowohl geistige als materielle Dinge. Die gesammelten Trommeln bilden einen Kulturatlas der vorchristlichen Lappen, in dem einheimische, ursprüngliche Elemente mit Einflüssen von verschiedenen Seiten vermischt wurden und dann zusammen geschmolzen sind.'

The approach in the two splendid volumes so far published is no doubt strictly analytical, but as a result the material has been presented in such detailed fashion that the student of religion *per se* can enter directly into the more synthetic part of the study, i.e. the placing of the drums in their proper religious (and socio-cultural) context. Hence there can be no doubt whatever that Dr. Manker's work will be invaluable to anyone studying Arctic and Subarctic shamanism.

In the first part, published in 1938, Dr. Manker gave a detailed account of all known Lapp drums, under the headings of their material and form, the style of the paintings, the technique, the consecration ceremonies and use. Furthermore the volume contains a full and detailed description of every drum.

The second volume presents an exceedingly elaborate analysis of the rich and varied complexes of motives found among the painted representations and moreover an interpretation of the symbolic meaning of every motif. Very modestly the author says:

'Durch die Gedankengänge will ich jedoch eine symbolische Bedeutung der Trommelfiguren nicht im Abrede stellen, sondern sie nur auf ihre richtige Proportionen zurückzuführen versuchen.'

Nevertheless his interpretations are based on such an impressive range and careful selection of material as to justify far bolder claims. Taken as a whole these interpretations will undoubtedly prove tenable. Of course, the material suffers from the weakness of having been supplied by early missionaries, whose valuation of Lapp shamanism can hardly be said to have been impartial. The consequence is partly that the representations have been given an ethical significance ('the devil's implements') which they in fact did not deserve, partly that the designs have to a large extent been interpreted in relation to the dogmatical background of the Lutheran Church, and finally that influences from Old Norse mythology have been vastly exaggerated. By and large Dr. Manker maintains a sound and critical attitude towards this material, and the complex world of nature deities, guardian spirits and other mythical beings

that swarm upon the drums have the deeply impressed stamp of Arctic and Subarctic ancestry.

In order to illuminate his symbolic interpretations the author to a certain extent takes into account comparable material from Siberia and one wonders how he has been able to resist the temptation of comparing the central sun motif occurring on a long series of drums with the bird representation used as a handle on certain Siberian shaman's drums (see U. Holmberg-Harva, *Mythology of All Races*, Vol. VI: *Siberian Mythology*). Instead Dr. Manker quotes Dr. Sigurd Agrell's improbable juxtaposition of this sun symbol with a local Icelandic variant of the S rune.

However, for the time being it is scarcely possible to clear up the mutual interactions between Lapp shamanism and Old Norse mythology. For that purpose comparative studies of the old Teutonic religious concepts have been too much neglected: *inter alia* we do not know to what extent they have been influenced from Asia, e.g. there are strong suggestions that Óðinn in the form known to us belongs to the deeply penetrating Asiatic influences during the Migration Period. Very possibly the same may be true of the Saxonian *Irmensul* (the Pillar of the World), which in any case is related to the Siberian Pillar of the World. In other words, in several cases it is possible that the similarities between the Lapp and Old Norse mythological systems are due to their deriving from the same source. The Scandinavian loan words used as names of Lapp deities (Horagalles=Norw.: Torekallen='Old fellow Þórr', *Væralden-olmai*, *Væralden*=World, etc.) do not necessarily prove that the deities are of Scandinavian origin. These names may easily be explained by a later comparison with Scandinavian religious terminology. It is characteristic that these deities also have primeval Lapp parallel names (*Tiermes*, *Radien aŕze*, etc.). In relation to these difficult problems Dr. Manker adopts a sound and consistent position.

As already stated, in these two voluminous books—not least in the more recently issued one—Dr. Manker has satisfactorily cleared up the problem of placing Lapp shamanism in its historical and functional context, without however carrying this investigation to its logical conclusion. The temptation to continue and expand the good work, for which Dr. Manker has provided such a solid foundation, is bound to attract anthropologists in the future.

GUTORM GJESSING

Monmouthshire Houses: Part I, Mediaeval Houses. By Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan. Cardiff (Nat. Mus. of Wales), 1951.

43 Pp. 114, 20 plates, 54 text figs., 4 sketch maps. Price 17s. 6d. The authors have concluded an investigation of the surprisingly extensive remains of 470 of the smaller Monmouthshire houses originally built within the period c. 1415-1700. The present volume, the first of three, deals with the evidence drawn from about 40 of these, estimated to have been founded before c. 1560. Archaeological methods have been followed. The survey was as nearly as possible comprehensive of all relevant sites within the central lowlands of the county, excluding the coastal plain; the pattern of distribution of the houses has its own story to tell.

About 30 of the houses were of timber, the remainder of stone. All were remarkably simple in scope, though clearly in their day the homes of people of consequence. The timber houses were cruck-built, three pairs of heavily bladed, curved crucks sufficing for the average two-bay 'hall house,' open to the roof. Within the period a central open hearth was in some instances replaced by a heavy stone fireplace at the entrance end of the hall, though in others the chimney stack was a part of the original plan. A storage room or sleeping place developed, as a partitioning, at the inner end of the hall, above which in the case of the stone houses a solar might sometimes be found. In the larger dwellings, a 'service' room is placed at the opposite or fireplace end, divided from the hall by a 'screens passage' across the full width of the plan. Kitchens and subsidiary apartments appear to have been independent and, perhaps, frailer structures.

The authors surmise that in the true vernacular practice the entire wall panels between the crucks were infilled with wattlework, the heavy timber studs now found there being due to an intrusion of another, the 'framed,' technique. The feet of the heavy crucks,

tenoned into a continuous timber cill, appear too small to support the structure without the aid of the studs, and show the cruck as already a traditional survival. Indeed, framed triangular trusses were in one instance used side by side with crucks in the same building. After the present period a modified form of the cruck sometimes was still used to span upper floors, in conjunction with transverse floor beams into which they were stemmed.

The stone hall houses showed similar features of arrangement, though arch-brace roof trusses were used rather than crucks. One single-roomed stone house has survived in a remarkably fine state of preservation.

A wealth of other information is presented, about doors, windows and indeed all the structural parts of the house. The facts are wrung from every detail and the whole built up into an illuminating picture. The text is amply supported by excellent scale drawings, photographs and tables of data. The book is an exemplar for future workers in this field of regional architecture.

R. A. CORDINGLEY

Bretagne: Art populaire, Ethnographie régionale. Paris (Mus. nat. des Arts et Traditions populaires), 1951. Pp. xxiv, 120, 12 plates. **44** **La Tarasque: Essai de Description d'un Fait local d'un Point de Vue ethnographique.** By Louis Dumont. Paris (Gallimard), 1951. Pp. 252, 24 plates. Price 575 francs

Our French colleagues are turning attention to the ethnographic study of themselves. The Musée national des Arts et Traditions populaires sends out questionnaires and investigators to gather records of aspects of rural life, especially of what seems to be vanishing. Brittany and La Sologne are naturally specially important for investigations of this type, and the Museum organized for the summer of 1951 a special exhibition of objects from Brittany. For exhibition purposes 'popular art' naturally took a leading place in the display, but one gathers that collections illustrating technological evolution have been begun and are finding themselves faced with the problems of storage space and of preservative work. The references to St. Jean la Poterie with its women potters working under masters who control the ovens are of unusual interest.

La Tarasque is another type of enquiry. A representation of a mythical beast has been a focus of ritual for centuries at Tarascon in Provence; and Dumont seeks to study objectively the ritual, the legend and the many representations of the beast. He thinks the ritual is ambivalent, on the one hand a 'prosperity' (rather than merely a fertility) ceremony, on the other hand an opportunity for exuberance and sometimes aggression at the expense of spectators. He notes that we have no evidence for it before the thirteenth century A.D. but thinks it must have had a long course of earlier evolution. He hesitates to emphasize any kind of unitary origin and feels that the legend is much more influenced by literary minds than the ritual itself. The book is an interesting but very detailed study that on the whole throws doubts on most hypotheses and itself ventures very few. The history of religion is full of instances of changes in explanatory myths accompanying a relatively stable ritual-representation.

H. J. FLEURE

The West European City. By R. E. Dickinson. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. 580, 16 plates, 130 maps and charts. Price £2 2s.

45 It is a pleasure to welcome this very serious study of an aspect of our western life by Professor Dickinson, who has travelled a great deal in Europe and yet has a certain detachment due to years of work in U.S.A., which however have evidently not cut him off from his earlier associations with Britain. To his travels Dickinson adds a wide preparation through comprehensive reading of French, German, English and other books and articles. He has the almost essential easy familiarity with at least the three languages chiefly concerned. The first part of the book gives case studies of towns and cities in Sweden, Switzerland, France, Germany, the Low Countries and parts of east central Europe. This involves the author in a good deal of reiteration, which, however, emphasizes some of his arguments. The second and rather larger part studies, in succession, Function and Form, The Mediaeval, the

Renaissance and Baroque towns and Modern Urbanism with its zones and limits.

Professor Dickinson is a functionalist who is keenly interested, also, in cultural history; and his book will be much valued for serious reference. One regrets the high price which may limit circulation. The maps and cartograms add greatly to the interest of the work, which could have been even greater had the author not been so shy of generalization, fearing it might obscure a very complex reality. The small, often walled, mediaeval units, often of only some hundreds of people, and not seldom separately organized even if in contact, yet had easy expansion followed by demolition of an old wall and construction of a new one. Later more elaborate walls and gates, and organization, tended to give internal congestion and sanitary problems on a large scale. The modern decrease of population at the centre, decay of the zone immediately around the centre, and development of the periphery are treated in much detail and with quotations from many instances. H. J. FLEURE

Geschichte der Oesterreichischen Volkskunde. By Leopold Schmidt. Wien (Österreichischer Bundesverlag), 1951. Pp. 205. 46 During the last 14 years Professor Leopold Schmidt, Docent for Folklore and Folk Drama at the University of Vienna and Scientific Director of the Museum für Volkskunde,

has written numerous papers in the same lucid, concentrated and painstaking way which characterizes his first book. In the *History of Austrian Folklore* the author traces its beginnings back to the theological literature of the late Middle Ages, though, properly speaking, scientific studies were only encouraged in the reigns of Maria Theresa and Josef II. After the Vienna Congress Austrian topographers surveyed systematically the various parts of the country and during the Romantic Period the first collections of folksongs and legends were begun. Folklore developed as an independent science soon after the foundation of the Anthropologische Gesellschaft. About 1900 nationalistic ideas began to pervade Austrian folklore and reached their climax under the Nazi régime. In 1945 a fresh start was made and since then folklorists base their studies on an objective historical conception and on sociological and economical investigations. Nevertheless, the author still finds it necessary to emphasize that scientific folklorists have no use either for moral judgments or for social discriminations. Such statements would be taken for granted by English folklorists.

Of general interest are the references to the influence which folklife exercised upon great poets, painters and composers and upon foreign travellers, whose changing outlook—matter-of-fact, critical or romantic—Professor Schmidt has well described in this book. E. ETTLINGER

OCEANIA

The Megalithic Culture of Melanesia. By Alphonse Riesenfeld. Leiden (E. J. Brill), 1950. Pp. xi, 736. Price 35 guilders

47 This almost encyclopaedic volume constitutes a survey for certain purposes of the tribes of Melanesia from New Guinea to the Fiji Islands. The author has collected and collated all the information to be had from the (literally) one thousand and one books and articles in his bibliography which throw light on the megalithic cultures of Melanesia and the courses of the migrations of the light-skinned stone-using immigrants whom he believes to have introduced those elements of culture with which he is concerned.

After 664 pages devoted to this survey, in the course of which some half-dozen special problems such as those of sun cults, pottery and cannibalism are examined separately, Dr. Riesenfeld comes to the following conclusions. Melanesia was invaded by light-skinned, wavy- or straight-haired mongoloid people who introduced various types of megalithic stonework; the wooden images and forked posts of, e.g., the New Hebrides and New Ireland were also due to their influence; and they reached Melanesia in several waves, over a long period of time, but with a relatively uniform culture. They were a sea-faring people probably using big outrigger canoes; they introduced a very highly developed type of agriculture with artificial irrigation or drainage as the country required; they built up causeways and levelled dancing grounds. They introduced a great variety of food plants, the coconut in particular; they introduced the pig; they used stone pestles and mortars, and, in their ritual, certain sacred plants—*dracena*, *erythrina*, *croton*, etc. They brought coiled pottery, and used pots for sepulchral purposes; they interred their dead in a sitting position, and frequently removed the skull after the body was decomposed; they had a highly developed cult of the dead, made stone graves, tumuli, and dolmens in which to preserve the bones of their dead. They introduced 'quadrangular' axes, and the use of obsidian for tools. They were headhunters, and they had a serpent cult. Their widespread migrations were due, at any rate in part, to the pressure of later-coming dark-skinned invaders.

The courses of the migrations of the various waves of the stone-using immigrants are then discussed in detail, and finally their chronology is examined. The length of a generation is taken as approximately 25 years, and the first arrival of these immigrants is put down to the eighth century A.D., when they are regarded as having entered New Guinea and the rest of Melanesia by way of the Admiralty Islands from Micronesia.

These conclusions are arrived at by a very careful comparison and sifting of the evidence and in a temperate and scholarly approach to the problems dealt with. Some of them at any rate seem to be

satisfactorily established, but it is difficult to resist a feeling that the conclusions are rather more precise and definite than the nature of the evidence will warrant. Thus I find it impossible to read Dr. Riesenfeld's analyses of Melanesian cultures without repeatedly recalling very close parallels to the varied cultures of the hill tribes of Assam (and of the Naga Hills in particular), which show an extremely similar intermittent distribution of elements of a megalithic culture; yet if Naga cultures were included in Riesenfeld's survey the evidence for some of his conclusions would be rather impaired than reinforced. Myths reported by him find close parallels in Assam, particularly among Nagas; and the same applies to the assumption of grades of merit by means of the giving of feasts, to most of the mortuary practices, to irrigated terraces, to the *tika* game, to *gabelholz*, to *erythrina*, to descents from the sun, even to carved footprints, to say nothing of the megaliths themselves. Clearly his megalith-users have been at work in Assam. Yet they have left no coiled pottery such as he attributes to them, and the great pots used by one or two very ancient villages for storing grain and the smaller incised mortuary pots used in the same villages are alike built up from moulded sections, while the nearest coiled pottery is to be found among the pure Negritos of the Andaman Islands. The 'quadrangular' axes to which the author devotes some attention are probably also to be found in Assam along with the rougher shouldered type, but as no drawings of any kind accompany the description it is difficult to be certain without reference to originals not accessible to me. Indeed it may be mentioned in passing as a general criticism that the value of the work under review would have been much enhanced by more liberal illustration.

Occasionally, if rarely, the author seems really difficult to follow. What, for instance, does he actually mean by 'proof of the synchrony of the European and Oceanic neolithic?' And in the light of comparable cultures it is unreasonable to criticize Miss Blackwood, as he does, for her opinion that the pillars and slabs of Buka and Bougainville formed part of a fertility ritual, on the ground that they are in fact memorials of dead chiefs. Throughout the hills of Assam megaliths and *gabelholz* of various forms serve both functions simultaneously. They are emphatically memorials to specific individuals, yet serve as a vehicle for the spirit of the ancestor commemorated to fertilize the land, or give fresh increase to his descendants, to which end they are sometimes given a palpably phallic form either symbolic or even naturalistic. This combination of functions is the outcome of the 'soul-stuff' philosophy widespread in south-east Asia and in Oceania, which regards life as finite quantitative matter on the circulation of which the fertility of man and beast and of certain forms, at any rate, of vegetation depends, a

philosophy which is the basis of headhunting, of human sacrifice, and often of cannibalism. It follows that if Dr. Riesenfeld's stone-using immigrants were, as he concludes, headhunters, it is most likely that some of them were, contrary to his conclusions, cannibals. At any rate throughout Indonesia the soul-stuff philosophy shows itself from tribe to tribe, from island to island, in one or other of these three manifestations and sometimes in two of them together.

Dr. Riesenfeld however does not claim to go beyond the cultures of Melanesia, and all students of that area are laid heavily in his debt

by his scholarly examination of the mass of evidence about its megalithic cultures published in Dutch, English, French and German over the past 180 years, and by his lucid exposition of the problems raised and the conclusions he has reached. His volume includes 26 figures in the text, three plates, distribution maps of cultural features in seven different areas, a bibliography, and a competent index, and the whole affords an impressive example of the detailed comparative study of cultural features of great interest within a suitably restricted field.

J. H. HUTTON

CORRESPONDENCE

Social Anthropology: Past and Present. Cf. MAN, 1950, 198, 254 and 271; 1951, 33-5, 62, 78, 120, 199 and 250

48 SIR.—May I be allowed, through your columns, to challenge a statement made by Professor Evans-Pritchard in the published version of his broadcast talks? I do so, not as an anthropologist, but as one, specializing in another branch of social studies, who has had frequent occasion to deplore the present lack of fruitful intellectual contact between social scientists on opposite sides of the so-called 'iron curtain.'

On p. 30 of his book, Professor Evans-Pritchard refers to L. H. Morgan's 'fanciful scheme' of 'no less than fifteen stages in the development of marriage and the family' and states that this 'has been incorporated, through Engels, into the official Marxist doctrines of communist Russia.'

This statement would appear to incorporate two distinct errors. First, Morgan did not, according to my reading of *Ancient Society*, postulate 'fifteen stages' in the development of the family. At the beginning of chapter 6, he summarized his account of the 'sequence of institutions connected with the family' under sixteen headings, and specifically divided this sequence into five stages, corresponding with five allegedly successive types of family organization: the Consanguine, the Punaluan, the Syndyasmian, the Patriarchal and the Monogamian. He stated, furthermore, that this sequence was 'in part hypothetical.' Engels, in his *Origin of the Family*, adopted these five stages, but stated, right at the beginning of his book, that Morgan's periodization would remain in force only 'so long as no important additional material made changes necessary.'

Secondly—and this is the point that I wish to emphasize—it is not correct that Morgan's stages, whether five or fifteen, have been 'incorporated . . . into the official Marxist doctrines of communist Russia.' Soviet anthropologists are quite familiar with the 'important additional material' that has been accumulated, partly through their own researches, since Morgan and Engels wrote, and at the present moment are engaged in a lively controversy on the whole question of periodization. Sufficient evidence of their open-mindedness on this subject is contained in the following statement emerging from a recent discussion (*Sovietskaya Etnografiya*, Vol. II (1951), p. 5):

'The periodization given in the seventies of the last century by Morgan and in the main accepted by Engels has undoubtedly played a big role in the development of historical science. The schematic and conditional nature of this periodization, in part recognized by Engels, is, however, becoming ever more evident in the light of the enormous material which has since been accumulated. Soviet ethnographers are confronted with the task of working out a new periodization in the light of the indications given by Lenin and Stalin, taking account of the freshly accumulated archaeological, ethnographical and anthropological data. In this connexion further work on such questions as the origin and early form of the gentile system, the relation between gens and tribe, questions of the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy, from pre-class to class society, assumes great importance.'

These problems, I imagine, have little meaning for a structuralist or a functionalist, who will, no doubt, criticize the Soviet anthropologists for their persistent devotion to the 'outmoded' concept of social evolution and their determination to continue the 'futile' chase after origins. Let us, by all means, criticize their fundamental approach to anthropological problems, if we wish to do so, but let

our criticisms be based upon knowledge of what they are trying to do, and let us cease to insult their very considerable intelligences by attributing to them, in defiance of the facts, fantastic 'orthodoxies' which are incompatible with science. If we are ever to break down the barriers separating us from our Soviet colleagues, we must make an effort ourselves, as well as calling for an effort from them.

The University, Leeds

A. H. HANSON

Note

British anthropologists are under the disadvantage of having no such illustrious names to throw into the scales as their Soviet colleagues (though British historians might, if they were willing to accept 'indications'). But it should be put on record that, notably through the Library of the Royal Anthropological Institute, they have done a good deal, and with some success, to keep the paths of scientific communication open, by exchanges of publications and otherwise; a not inconsiderable volume of material on most branches of anthropology and archaeology, except, strangely enough (in a planned society), the sociological and socio-anthropological study of contemporary groups, has been accumulated since the Second World War at the Institute and is available for study. The anthropologists of Western Europe also turn up indefatigably to international congresses in the hope of meeting their Soviet colleagues (such as the distinguished archaeologists, Professors Efimenko and Zamiatin, both elected to Honorary Fellowships of the Royal Anthropological Institute in recent years); though disappointed so far, they will cordially hope that the special opportunity offered by this year's Anthropological Congress at Vienna will not be missed.—ED.

'African Abstracts.' Cf. MAN, 1951, 208

49 SIR.—In his review of *African Abstracts* Mr. Huntingford asks on what principle articles are chosen for abstracting.

Our main interest is in ethnological, social and linguistic studies, and we aim at abstracting all articles making a significant contribution to knowledge in these fields. Some inconsistency is inevitable with regard to the inclusion or exclusion of papers in the wide range of closely related subjects, e.g. archaeology, physical anthropology, art, history, folklore, music, medicine and agriculture. Articles on all these and many other subjects are included if they have a direct bearing on our main subjects.

Your reviewer points out that a number of articles and notes relating to Africa which appeared in MAN between January, 1948, and July, 1950, have not yet been included. On checking we find that three articles (1948, 2 and 42, and 1949, 2) have been inadvertently omitted and we are most obliged to Mr. Huntingford for drawing our attention to this omission, which will be rectified in an early issue. The article on the *Bemba* had not been overlooked, but was the first part of a continued article, to be abstracted on completion. Two notes (1948, 45, and 1950, 16) were not included as they were only summaries of as yet unpublished papers, and it has not been our practice to include notices of exhibitions.

Of the journals which your reviewer wishes to see noticed in our future issues, two are in fact being regularly scanned, and we are glad to know of the others. It is not, of course, possible to ensure scrutiny of every periodical in which articles suitable for inclusion appear only occasionally, and we shall be obliged to any of your readers who will bring such articles to our notice.

International African Institute,
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DARYLL FORDE
Editor, *African Abstracts*



(a) VIEW LOOKING WEST OF ROCK-SHELTER CONSTRUCTIONS, UMM MARAWAQ



(b) VIEW LOOKING EAST, SHOWING MORE ELABORATE CONSTRUCTION

ROCK-SHELTER BUILDINGS IN THE NORTH OF ARABIA

ROCK-SHELTER BUILDINGS IN THE NORTH OF ARABIA*

by

H. T. NORRIS

50 The site of Umm Marawaq cannot be accurately plotted on any map. It lies along the vaguely demarcated frontier of Saudi Arabia and the Kingdom of Jordan, about three hours' camel ride south-south-east of the Arab Legion post of Qal'at al Mudawwara (36° E., 29.35° N.). Interesting buildings can be found on a rock ledge 60 feet high or more from the ground and flanked by wind-eroded mountains. Their situation is remote indeed, isolated amongst the jagged ranges where Hesma changes into the foothills of Et-Tubeiq. Today, the nearest place of any size is Mudawwara, itself merely a collection of tents, an old fort, the Arab Legion post, disused railway station and a local shop. This is the nearest water point. There were once wells six or seven miles distant, but now the surroundings are uninhabited. Arab tribal marks or camel drawings are few, yet perched high above the *wadi* frontier are four constructions made with considerable skill and forethought.

These stand in a row on the north side of the mountain, facing towards Jordan (Plate Ca). They are built of squared, brick-like stones laid one on the other without mortar, and each construction is roughly quadrilateral, although the north side bulges out a little. The most easterly, however, is better constructed than the others; the blocks of stone, both large and small, are exceptionally well finished and the west face has a square opening leading into a single chamber (Plate Cb).

The purpose and date of these buildings is a complete mystery. There is no sign of pottery, flints, inscriptions or even modern goat dung or charcoal. The very existence of the place is unknown to all but very few of the modern Bedu, and the region is almost waterless; all these factors would suggest that they were not recent. A mediæval date would present as many problems. It is true that the site lies somewhere near the old pilgrim route to Mecca, but it is most unlikely that such constructions have any connexion with this. The few local Bedu who know of the site are firmly convinced that they are the work of the 'Sons of Ignorance,' to which are attributed any building obviously not Islamic or associated with the 'People of the Book.' The size and the trouble involved in their construction make a post-Islamic date improbable. The constructions are just large enough to contain two extended bodies, or more if such were laid one on top of the other. They are too small for habitation and too carefully constructed to suggest places for keeping sheep or goats. In shape and plan they are tall, while the Islamic graves which lie scattered about the desert are usually simple heaps of stones with two uprights.

This part of Hesma is remarkably devoid of Nabathean remains, unlike the Wadi Rum and Quweira districts to the north-west. There is one possible Nabathean inscription

*With Plate C and two text figures

near Mudawwara, but the region is too far east of the normal Nabathean north-south route. This was pointed out by Peake Pasha in his *History of Trans-Jordan and its Tribes*, where he suggests that such a route would have been too easily exposed to nomad attack. While Thamudic inscriptions abound in Rum and can also be seen at Kilwa in Tubeiq, there are remarkably few, if any, in the Mudawwara area, although rock engravings of camels, snakes and feet can be discovered similar to those found associated with Thamudic inscriptions elsewhere.

On the other hand, there are a good number of similar stone buildings and cairns upon the mountains and valleys near Mudawwara, in type akin to some which exist further north and, I believe, in Tubeiq. In a *wadi* called Qweymeh off the track between Mudawwara and Rum upon a spur above a small cave (containing engraved footmarks) is a large construction over 20 feet long and nearly six feet high in parts, built of similar blocks of stone (fig. 1). The



FIG. 1. TOMB OF UNKNOWN DATE AT QWEYMEH, NEAR MUDAWWARA, JORDAN

walling is much broken, but enough remains to show that originally it was divided into at least three equal compartments separated by inner walls, the only access being from the top which was probably roofed with further slabs. Again there was no sign of pottery, flints or inscriptions. Below in the cave were the mysterious footmarks and on the adjoining *wadi* face engravings of ibex which might be of any date.

Beyond the dune country south of Mudawwara are similar remains of loose stone tombs or circular heaps of stones. At one such site a well shaped block contained a trough, one foot long, the purpose of which can only be for holding some sort of libation or offering.

North of Mudawwara several ridges are covered with small circular and square constructions, usually four to six feet in diameter, and in one instance in close proximity to engravings of feet, oriented south. One building (built in a

similar manner) is at least 25 feet long and 18 feet wide with a smaller chamber inside, just large enough to hold a single body. Here, however, the site is strewn with an abundant flint industry and infrequent sherds of pottery. The close proximity of flints to building and to surrounding valley walling, extending for at least half a mile, favours some kind of association, although as elsewhere there is no stratigraphy, and all such constructions have been completely rifled at some time, or never occupied. The industry is one of shapeless nodules, flakes and scrapers and what are



FIG. 2. FLINTS AND SHERD FROM SITE NEAR
MUDAWWARA FORT
One-third of actual size

probably crude arrow or javelin heads. The pottery is hand-made and fired a deep red, although blackened in patches. No rims could be found but the sherds appeared to have been part of a pot or bowl (fig. 2).

Whether such evidence, which is very little, is of use in

interpreting the more elaborate and better-constructed buildings at Umm Marawaq is doubtful; it would be evidence purely from similarity in type, a dangerous argument, but plausible in a limited area when no further evidence is forthcoming.

Far away in the south of Arabia, H. St. J. B. Philby discovered some similar construction on a gigantic scale, at a site called 'Alam Alyadh. In *Sheba's Daughters* he writes:

Only one other tomb, differing in inner form from most that I saw, deserves special notice. It had been opened and presumably rifled of its contents, but the inner chamber had not been destroyed. It was pentagonal in shape, with five large slabs forming its walls and supporting the roof. It is four feet high, four feet long and three feet wide. I also remarked that in all the tombs of this group the opening to the corridor was more or less on the west side. This may well have been due to the natural orientation of the ridge itself. As in the case of the first group I had visited the previous evening, I was impressed by the complete absence of any vestige of human occupation of this site—not a bone nor bead anywhere.

Philby suggests that the lack of human remains and objects might be due to the buildings being cenotaphs.

It seems probable that the Umm Marawaq constructions and the others are in fact tombs of what is as yet an unknown culture in this part of Arabia, prehistoric or not, but suggesting considerable settlement in what is now almost waterless and deserted wilderness. The lack of written evidence and inscriptions of any kind only emphasizes the remarkable contrast with the abundance of flint industries of every type which strew the desert surface into the north Hejaz, often in groups of small 'workshops' in the open desert, which are probably camping sites.

THE MURUT HOME

PART II*

by

M. C. CLARKE, M.B., B.S., D.T.M., M.R.C.P.E.

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51 In 1941, a general survey of housing conditions amongst the hill Muruts was commenced. From notes made during this survey a description of Kg. Kalugunon in the Ulu Tagal was translated into Romanized Malay and circulated to all Health Inspectors. This Malay version survived the Japanese occupation and the following is a translation back into English.

Kg. Kalugunon

The Orang Tua of Kampong Kalugunon is Malulor, the Wakil, Bataun.

The house is newly made and can be taken as more or less typical of houses in the Ulu Tagal. It is situated in last year's clearing near the top of a hill, perhaps 2,000 feet above the river. It is surrounded by a low, very roughly constructed fence, built for the purpose of keeping the pigs from under the house (it does not do this of course).

*Part I appeared in the February issue of MAN (1952, 21).

The kampong stands on sloping ground. The front posts are about eight feet high to the floor, and suspended from them are baskets (*pupuan*) in which fowls are kept at night. Because the fowls are infested with lice the baskets are not hung directly under the living quarters.

Apart from the door (*samputon*, 5 feet 7 inches by 3 feet), the front of the house is almost completely closed in by triangular pieces of attap (*tutumpok*). Between the roof and this attap wall is a space about one foot wide where smoke from the kitchen fires and household fumes in general can escape into the open air.

The highest point of the roof is about 20 feet above the floor. On climbing the notched log (*tukar*) which serves as the steps, and incidentally has a handrail (*tutong-goyon*) which ataxic drunks find very useful, one enters a common room or *salor*, 19 feet 3 inches by 11 feet. The wall on each side is only three feet high, and is without windows. But on the left side part of the roof attap can be raised as a

flap and propped open with a stick to form quite a good window.

Against the walls of the *salor* and raised one foot above the floor are beds for guests called *pangkon*, and near each is a small fireplace (*dapuan*) which visitors use for lighting cigarettes.

From the door, and leading right through the centre of the house to the back, there is a passageway (*tatanga*) about six feet broad, the floor of which is made of young trunks of *seraman* (a palm) split into two and laid transversely side by side along the whole length of the passageway. The split trunks are not uniformly level, being of varying thickness, and it is difficult for anyone not accustomed to this type of floor to walk comfortably to and fro along the *tatanga*. In the *tatanga* are some 21 cylindrical padi-containers ranging from one to three feet wide and six to nine feet high. The large ones are called *tinurong*, the small ones *tampin*; they are made of bark sewn with rotan and are bound to the walls of the passage. Further, in eight or ten places there are collected many lengths of old bambu, called *bergau*, resting against the walls and used to store smaller quantities of padi. Also in the passage are five padi-mortars (*tutuan*), about four feet by one foot. These are permanently fixed on poles planted in the ground.

On each side of the central passage or *tatanga* are the family rooms, each consisting of bedroom, kitchen and storeroom combined. In Kalugunon there are seven sulaps or rooms. The floor space of these rooms totals 971 square feet, and as there are 34 Muruts living in the village, the average is 28 to 29 square feet of floor space in the living quarters per person.

The following is a description of a typical sulap. About 13 to 15 feet long and 9 to 10 feet wide, it is the private quarters of a husband and wife, perhaps two children and one grandparent. The bark wall between the room and the central passageway is seven feet high, but is continued upwards to the roof as a bambu latticework, the object of which is to prevent fowls entering the bedroom. Nevertheless, at the time we were examining this kampong, there were fowls in some of the sulaps.

On one side of the door hangs a wooden mask (*tatang-kinis tutubon*) coloured with native pigments, while from the door itself is hanging some rotan wound up into a ball and said to act as a charm against diseases of the chest.

The outside wall of the bedroom is about three feet high and has a small window, four inches square, near the fireplace. Between the top of the outside wall and the roof is a narrow gap of about two inches which can be of little value as far as ventilation is concerned. The partitions on each side of the sulap are completely closed from the floor to a height of about six feet and are then continued on to the rafters as bambu latticework. Through this there can be very little circulation of air because the occupants of the next room have piled up their possessions against it, almost to the roof.

The floor of the bedroom is made of split bambu and is called the *balintun*. The fireplace is made of earth and is placed against the outside wall. Occasionally, there are two

fireplaces in a sulap. Near the fireplace there is a shelf (*tataliwih*) for cooking pots, etc., and above the fireplace is a rack (*salaran*) for storing and drying firewood. The bed or *pangkon* is about 10 feet by 8 feet and three feet high above the floor. It is made from *sulig binalit* (bambu bulu) split into strips about an inch wide and bound into position with rotan. On the bed are all sorts of things—four or five *tapai* jars, carrying baskets (*buyong bakul*), sarongs, shirts, etc. Above the bed there is a flap of the roof which can be raised and propped open to act as a window.

Six or seven feet above the floor, in the centre of the room, there is a small loft called a *palong* which is sometimes used as a bed but more often serves as a store for padi, corn, potatoes, jars and other possessions. The floor of the *palong* is made of bark and the bigger it is the more effectively does it prevent circulation of air in the bedroom. Hanging from the roof above the *palong* are clusters of corn and bundles of tobacco leaf. Tobacco leaf and native herbs may also be seen drying above the fireplace. A number of bambu poles containing drinking water and padi lean against the walls. There are also three or four padi stores (*tampin*) made of bark and lashed to the walls. Beneath the bed there is stored a great deal of stuff. And there are clothes and other such things hanging from pegs or deer-horns on the walls or from the edges of the loft. Food is taken sitting on the floor or on the bed.

The sulap or bedroom is very narrow and there is little apparent circulation of air. In it live perhaps five Muruts, who do not seem to worry unduly about personal or family hygiene; and in it burn one or two fires for five or six hours a day, as well as small *damar* fires for lighting cigarettes. Dogs and fowls gain access to the rooms. Pigs and fowls compete beneath the floor for anything which slips through between the bambu floor strips or is thrown from the windows. Whenever a door is suddenly opened, the stench which emerges is overpowering. The more elderly people there are inside and the more untreated disease, the more overpowering the smell. The highly gabled back wall of the kampong is completely closed in with bark below and a *tutumpok* of attaps (*sunsun*) above.

The examination of this kampong was finished at eight o'clock at night. All the kitchen fires were burning and, in addition, there were many *damar* lamps. The smoke and acrid fumes irritated our eyes, which watered freely. In the common room or *salor* about twenty kulis were drinking *tapai* supplied by the Headman in accordance with native custom.

Setting up a New Murut Village

When the time has come to build a new house, the Headman and his second-in-command scout about in search of a suitable site. Amongst other things, the probable situation of future clearings is kept in mind. When a place is provisionally selected, the Headman puts in a stake and informs the rest of the kampong of his choice. Next day everyone who feels so inclined goes out and inspects the site. Opinions are given and there is free discussion. Someone may recall

a number of deaths in the past when a house was built on or near the selected spot. The incidence of dysentery, yaws and other diseases, and the general luck of the kampong are remembered.

If the selected spot meets with general approval, two or three men go to it on a given day and cut down the undergrowth over a small area. They then sit down for 20 minutes or so and await omens (*angai*). If the omens are good they can proceed forthwith in clearing an adequate site. But if the sounds from the jungle are unfavourable (*angai jahat*) they return home and inform the Headman. This site may not be considered further. However, if in spite of bad omens everyone still favours it, the Headman may decide to order a *babalian* (priestess) to visit the place and to submit a full report. With two or three friends she goes there, conducts an inspection, listens for the omen birds calling, sacrifices a fowl with prayers and returns home to sleep on the matter. The spirits communicate with her through dreams and give guidance.

If the *babalian's* verdict is favourable the men commence felling the big trees, while the women deal with the smaller growth. From the jungle the men fetch the hardwood posts, bambu, rotan and everything else that is necessary. Where there is no sago the roof is made from the leaves of the telirus palm.

When everything is ready, including the postholes, people are summoned from nearby kampongs to lend a hand in erecting the uprights. If a bad omen occurs before the posts are up, the *babalian* may save the day by sacrificing a fowl with suitable prayers. After the posts are erected

angai do not matter. After the day's work, the helpers are taken to the old village and given a *makan besar* (first-class dinner with lots to drink).

It takes about three months to complete a house of about ten *pintus* or bedroom doors. Before the house is ready *tapai* jars are brought to it in preparation for a great feast. The first food that is ever cooked in a fireplace may be eaten only by the people of the kampong. No guests are allowed to touch it. The day following the first cooking a full-scale celebration commences and for two or three days there is dancing, singing and drinking, and one or more priestesses pray (*mengaji*) in a big way, to bring luck to the new village. Blood from sacrificed fowls may be smeared on the newly constructed walls.

The old kampong is not destroyed or burnt down. The floor is impregnated with the urine of small children and stained with the blood of women in childbirth. Priestesses, too, have said prayers for the welfare and preservation of the house. And spirits (*semangat*) still remain in the vicinity, remembering the old human associations. And so the kampong gradually rots and falls to pieces, and a wealth of new life, springing from the ground, envelops and loses it in a matter of months.

If by chance a house is burnt down the occupants are not allowed to take shelter in another house, even one belonging to close relatives, in case they bring their bad luck with them. For three months they must live in hastily erected temporary quarters, and only after this period has elapsed are they permitted by custom to set about constructing themselves a new home.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Fossil Man in Southern Africa. By L. H. Wells, Senior Lecturer in Physical Anthropology, University of Edinburgh.

Summary of a communication to the Institute, 4 December, 1951

52 Our knowledge of fossil man in Southern Africa is only now being established upon the basis of a firm correlation with the archaeological sequence. In this respect the position is much as it was some 50 years ago in regard to fossil man in Europe. Only for the Late Stone Age are any considerable groups of associated human remains available, the most important material being that from the Oakhurst Cave and from the Matjes River Cave. The remains from both these sites, although fundamentally Bushmanoid, differ in varying degrees from the typical Bushman. In the Matjes River Cave the remains from one stratum within the Late Stone Age have been claimed to be non-Bushman and to be closely related to Upper Palaeolithic types of Europe; this interpretation has not been generally accepted.

Earlier than the Late Stone Age only individual finds are known. Those specimens which can be assigned to fairly definite archaeological horizons are arranged in their geographical and chronological distribution in Table I. Almost every one of these fossils has been claimed as a distinct type. At the same time they are bound together by a complex network of affinities.

TABLE I.—GEOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN FOSSILS

	SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN REGION	O.F.S.	TRANSVAAL-SWAZILAND
FINAL M.S.A.	Kalk Bay Skildergat (Fish Hoek)		Border Cave (Ingwavuma)
TYPICAL M.S.A.	? Cape Flats Matjes River (1, 2, X.)		Tuinplaats (Springbok Flats) Boskop
EARLY M.S.A. OR OLDER		Florisbad	Makapansgat (Cave of Hearths)

The Skildergat (Fish Hoek) skull, which is not as old as was at first supposed, is strongly pedomorphic, but at the same time retains clear traces of the heavy supra-orbital ridges which are present in the less pedomorphic Ingwavuma (Border Cave) skull. This latter also has affinities with the somewhat older Tuinplaats (Springbok Flats) skull, which is not pedomorphic but has Bushmanoid facial features. The Boskop skull and the later Kalk Bay skull seem to be large-headed pedomorphic modifications of the same fundamental type, whereas the oldest skulls from the Matjes River Cave are much closer to the typical Bushman. This is the first evidence that the Bushman type was already present in South Africa as far back as the Middle Stone Age. The Cape Flats skull, whose age is still uncertain, could possibly be related to the Tuinplaats skull; otherwise it must represent a type quite distinct from the Bushmanoid group. The Florisbad specimen, which is the oldest type of human skull yet known from Southern Africa, is morphologically unique. It appears too fantastic to have been directly ancestral to any later type, and is probably an aberrant modification of a basic type similar to the Ingwavuma or the Cape Flats skull.

In fig. 1 the possible relationships of these fossils are suggested. The Boskop, Matjes River, Skildergat and Tuinplaats specimens seem to be variants of a proto-Bushmanoid stock to which the Kanjera skulls may also be plausibly attached. On the other hand, the Eyassi and Broken Hill skulls can reasonably be linked with the Florisbad—Cape Flats—Ingwavuma group as derivatives of a stock which can best be termed 'proto-Australoid.' The Broken Hill skull appears to be as aberrant as the Florisbad skull, while the Eyassi skull, if it is not the female of the Broken Hill type, probably comes closer to the basic type of this group.

The Makapansgat (Cave of Hearths) mandibular fragment, which is probably pre-Middle Stone Age, is too fragmentary for classification. Although it has been described as Neanderthaloid,

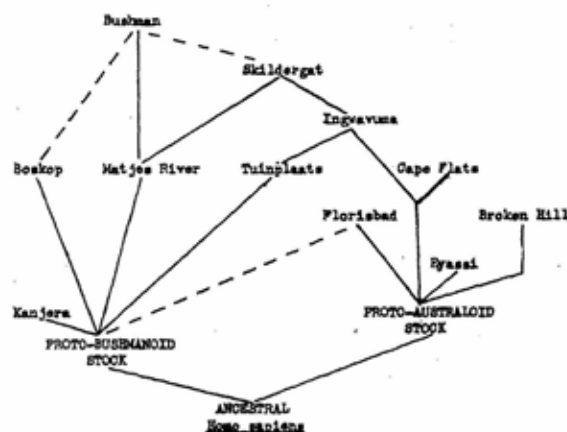


FIG. 1

there does not seem to be any feature which would definitely exclude it from the Bushmanoid group.

In all probability the jaw from the Swartkrans quarry, described by Broom and Robinson under the name *Telanthropus capensis*, is older than any archaeologically dated specimen. If it does not prove to be an Australopithecine, it is probably a more primitive human type than the Florisbad, Eyassi and Broken Hill fossils.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Social Anthropology. By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. London (Cohen & West), 1951. Pp. vii, 134. Price 8s. 6d.

53

The six broadcast lectures delivered by Professor Evans-Pritchard in London in the winter of 1950 were an important feature in the recognition and stimulation given by the B.B.C. to a growing public interest in social anthropology. The appearance of the lectures in book form is especially welcome because there are still so few modern British introductory textbooks in the subject.

The book should be attractive to laymen. It does not make many concessions to popular taste; but it is cleverly and often brightly written, and its wide range and thoughtful tone should appeal to all those who wish to get a general idea of what social anthropology is about. The book is also essentially an essay on scope and method from a personal point of view which is expressed with scholarship, skill and sincerity. As such it will be valuable to students for a long time to come. Although it has much underlying bias, in every major section many worth-while things are said. That some of them are open to controversy will not diminish their appeal.

But in this review it is the value of the book to the author's professional colleagues that may be of most interest. An estimate of that is more difficult to give. My own general impression, as an analogy, is that of an under-exposed photographic plate—strong contrast, with brilliant passages in the high lights but lack of detail in the shadows. And to me some of his propositions are fundamentally unacceptable and the treatment of them superficial.

The arrangement of the subject matter is good. The definition of the study; its theoretical development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the context of philosophical thought about human nature; modern amplifications and precisions in the field as well as in the universities; and its possible applications to practical affairs:

all these are well set out and linked together. It is the form of our subject, not its content, that is discussed. It is treated historically, and the history is that of the change and development of general ideas, not of the sequence of specific theories or discoveries. The exposition, including the way in which the details are woven into the texture of the main argument, is admirable.

In what is necessarily such a brief compass some omissions and lack of balance are to be expected. Despite the general title, the author says that he has restricted the treatment as far as possible to the development of the subject in England, for clarity and continuity. This puts Scotland in the position of a foreign country, since McLennan, Robertson Smith and a number of other eminent Scotsmen are specifically introduced as such. And at times the work reads rather like the Oxford Book in the subject, especially when we are given a list of titles of recent theses by post-graduate students of anthropology there. Apart from this light relief, the regional focus does give a little trouble. While French theorists are brought much into the argument, on the ground of their having markedly affected the thought of English scholars, only the barest mention has been given to any German theorists. Yet there would have been some relevance in showing the influence of Karl Bücher, Wilhelm Wundt and others on Malinowski, and of Max Weber on some of the present generation of British anthropologists. And some of the author's generalizations about change of ideas might have been modified, as regards timing at least, if German influences had been brought into the analysis. For instance, it is stated that the reaction against the attempt to explain social institutions by their reconstructed past came at the end of last century, and was particularly directed against the favoured schemes of parallel, ideally unilinear, development (p. 43). A reference to the moderating role of Roscher, Bruno Hildebrand

and their colleagues of the historical school, and to the body of sober ethnographic work done, would have shown this reaction, in various forms, in operation from the middle of the nineteenth century. The treatment of American anthropologists is regrettably thin. In the systematic theory of social institutions, especially kinship, the work of Lowie and Kroeber, for example, has had a definite influence on British anthropologists, and deserved mention. It is unfortunate that Lowie appears only as the author of *Primitive Religion* betrayed by an out-of-date introspective psychology, and not as the author of *Primitive Society* and the *Origins of the State*, from which we all have taken a great deal. It is a pity also that the discussion of Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* ends with the complaint that since the book gives no analysis of Samoan social structure, it is difficult to see the facts related in any perspective. It would have been as well to have pointed out that following hard on the heels of this book (published in 1929) came a lengthy monograph on the social organization of Manu'a (1930) which gave the required data.

Certain issues in the methods and organization of research might also be taken up. It is stated categorically that questionnaires and censuses cannot be fruitfully employed among simple peoples before their traditional way of life has been radically altered by trade, education and administration (p. 77). This may be true if the help of literate assistants is required. But as Audrey Richards has shown for the Bemba, and I with the Tikopia, it is quite possible to take a sociological census among a primitive people and get great value from it. And if properly devised and handled, a questionnaire also can be made to yield good results. On a more general question, the organization of research in the British Colonies, the author's critical assessment would have gained in value if he had made some more positive reference to the great body of anthropological work that has already been carried out under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council.

Something of the author's basic assumptions about the character of social anthropology was already known before the publication of this book. His restatement of them here is as uncompromising: social anthropology is akin to history; an art not a science; a study of social systems which are not 'natural' systems but symbolic or moral systems; which are sets of abstractions and not representations of cultural reality. Associated with these notions is the fierce rejection of 'psychological' interpretations in social anthropology. Basic to his thinking also is an aversion from any form of rationalism, from any concepts of humanist ethics, and from the idea that there can be any necessary and predictable relations between social activities. This is not the place for an extended critique of even the propositions which refer more strictly to anthropology (reference to some of them will be found in my article 'Contemporary British Social Anthropology,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LIII (1951), pp. 474-89). But a few of the difficulties exposed in the presentation of them in this book may be referred to.

Take the distinction between 'natural' and 'social' systems. The essence of what Evans-Pritchard has to say here was given by R. G. Collingwood. He said, for instance, that whereas the right way of investigating nature is by the methods called scientific, the right way of investigating mind is by the methods of history... the work which was to be done by the science of human nature is actually done and can only be done by history. History is what the science of human nature professed to be (*Idea of History*, 1946, p. 209). There is the similar denial that events as such are the concern of the student, the similar stress on the significance of the personality of the student as a cardinal element in the interpretation of the subject matter. But whereas Collingwood states what he considers to be 'nature' in the human field, Evans-Pritchard leaves us in some doubt as to what is his notion of a 'natural' system, beyond defining it in terms of the kind of 'laws' which he thinks are used to 'explain' it. But how real is the distinction between the 'natural' and the 'social' system? If the 'laws' which account for the behaviour of a 'natural' system are not invariable principles but statements of probability, attempts to reduce the area of uncertainty in the understanding of a field of phenomena, then the difference is not fundamental. And it is this latter conception which seems to obtain now, even in the physical sciences. If of course a social system is not an order of relations in social life, but a set of abstractions integrated only by the logical

relations assigned to them by the investigator, then it cannot be a 'natural' system in the ordinary sense. But even here the difference may not be absolute. People's ideas about society in themselves have trends which can be plotted and to some extent predicted. Their conceptual behaviour in argument forms a 'natural' system. Something of this even emerges from Evans-Pritchard's own phraseology. He thinks it *natural* that in seeking to select and amass evidence against a received opinion in order to change it, an opposite distortion is made. And he finds the stage of development in which, through field research, the observation and evaluation of data are made by the same scholar a *natural* and final one (pp. 65, 74; my italics). Incidentally, his whole treatment of the theoretical development of social anthropology comes perilously near the admission of the idea of 'progress' which he scorns.

The concept of a social system and the kind of general statements that can be made about such a system have some further obscurities. If a social system is indeed an integrated set of observer's abstractions (pp. 94, 104) then what is the relation of these to the principles of order which must be assumed to govern the actual behaviour of people? Such principles presumably are in operation independent of the observer and irrespective of his presence. If the observer is to be represented as the creator and not simply the percipient and portrayer of the system, then where is the control? If the anthropologist treats his subject as an art, in order to express his conviction of the essential unity of social life (p. 123), what guarantee have we that it is Nuer or Azande that are depicted for us and not some construct of the author's imagination and moral sensibilities? Appeal to the facts, says the author—they will always be 'much the same' for every observer. But he does not say just what those 'facts' are. If they are the crude raw material of observation alone—the event-flow of the social reality, as it may be called—then it must differ for every observer according to time and place, and the appeal must fail. If it is more—the patterns of conduct perceptible in a range of different actions, which can be compared irrespective of time and place, by different observers, then the process of selection and abstraction has already begun. There is no point in flogging the epistemological issues here. One implication from Evans-Pritchard's statements would be that his position is essentially solipsist. And while it may not be possible to disprove such a position, it is not the most useful approach to a comparative study of man. But in other passages he implies that the social system is indeed inherent in the social reality, to be handled by the observer at different levels of analysis, and not by any 'all-or-nothing' method of logically relating 'abstractions' at a single level.

On this matter of 'levels' Evans-Pritchard seems to be trying to force some distinctions. He castigates Malinowski, for instance, for providing 'so-called theoretical conclusions' which are 'no more than redescriptions in more abstract language' of social life at the level of events. He classes the work of various of Malinowski's students, my own among it, as very largely 'on the level of cultural realism.' What he demands instead are analyses of a structural kind, for which 'abstraction' is required. But to back up his argument he ignores the work already done. My own book on Tikopia kinship, for instance, to which he refers, was described at the time as being mainly a study of the anatomy of kinship—the analysis of it as an articulated system, with emphasis on the structural relationships involved' (p. 418). Evans-Pritchard himself tells us that the method of social anthropology is descriptive integration (p. 61); that the anthropologist must study the whole of the social life (p. 80); that the argument of the Azande witchcraft book is to show how what seems at first sight no more than absurd superstition is discovered by anthropological investigation to be the integrative principle of a system of thought and morals and to have an important role in the social structure (p. 102); that what the method of analysis used in *The Nuer* amounts to is to make some part of social life intelligible by showing how it is integrated with other parts, by the logical interrelation of abstractions (p. 104). With the exception of the last few words, all this is familiar, from the days of Malinowski. That important advances have been made since those days, many of them by giving more emphasis to structural analysis, no one would wish to deny. And to Evans-Pritchard much credit is due for his share in them. But the presentation of them in this book is reminiscent of the

difference between Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola. It is popularly thought that the latter contains pepsin. This is not so, but the name was given to convey the suggestion that this drink has a peppiness which its competitor lacks.

RAYMOND FIRTH

The Evolution of Law and Order. By A. S. Diamond. London (Watts), 1951. Pp. 342. Price 21s.

54 Dr. Diamond has made it his task to arrange the legal institutions of an immense number of peoples in an evolutionary series corresponding with stages of economic development. For the simplest he follows the economic grading adopted by Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg. All these grades represent for him a state of 'savagery.' 'Barbarism,' his next division, begins with the domestication of cattle, and from this point onward his criterion is not economic but legal, and peoples are classified in terms of codes, early, central and late. The basis of division was given in his earlier book, *Primitive Law*, and is not repeated here; this makes the argument of the present volume very difficult to follow. The peoples placed in each division may be relatively more or less advanced; this is apt to appear incidentally when they are cited as examples. One of the author's essential points is that corresponding stages have been reached by different peoples at different points of time; he brings this home by writing in the present tense, so that 'Germany now' means the Germany of Tacitus, and 'England now' this country at various times from the Saxon to the Plantagenet kings.

At each stage there is some mention of institutions for the enforcement of law, of rules of marriage, property, inheritance and land rights, but the major interest is in rules with penal sanctions; so that the first rudimentary appearance of law is held to be the prohibition of incest.

Unfortunately the sources of our information about the peoples compared differ greatly in value, and it is often a matter of chance whether enquirers have asked the precise questions whose answers fit Dr. Diamond's scheme. The theoretical preoccupations of Tacitus were very different from those of Evans-Pritchard, and the Code of Hammurabi does not contain the verbatim records of cases which so enrich Schapera's study of Tswana law. The pre-eminence accorded to the Kamba as having 'the most developed law' of the 'early codes' turns on the chance that Hopley wrote down a long list of customary payments of cattle in restitution for various injuries. Great importance is also attached to similar data from Talbot's studies in Nigeria. Modern anthropologists would hesitate to accept such lists as evidence of the existence of a recognized code which was uniformly applied.

An interesting comparison on the lines of Dr. Diamond's thesis might be made of the legal systems of a few peoples on whom good ethnographic material is available; but this book ranges over such an enormous field that each example can be treated only summarily. It is so difficult to see the wood for the trees that one can hardly decide whether Dr. Diamond has or has not made his point.

L. P. MAIR

Religion among the Primitives. By William J. Goode. Glencoe, Ill. (Free Press), 1951. Pp. 316. Price \$5

55 Religion has always been a subject of great interest to anthropologists, but it appears to have been neglected in recent years. Professor Goode's contribution will therefore be welcomed even by readers who do not feel that his attempt to construct a modern theory of religion has been wholly successful.

The book under review falls into three parts. In the first, the author provides us with a brief but lucid outline of his methodological position. This may be described as sociological, functional and comparative. Goode follows Talcott Parsons in his view of the task of sociology and states that 'a sociological approach analyses human action to the extent that it can be understood in terms of common-value integration' (p. 27). He defines functionalism as 'the attempt to investigate the interrelationships of social action' (p. 31), a view which has the merit of not pre-judging the issues involved. Too many anthropologists still define functions in terms which imply that they are always positive and which lead to the neglect of the more negative aspects of the consequences of social action.

Professor Goode advocates the use of the comparative method, and bases his investigation on material obtained from five different

societies: Dahomey, Zuni, Murngin, Manus and Tikopia. The second part of his book consists of a thorough examination of the interrelationship of religion with the other forms of social action in each of these societies. This detailed analysis will give the reader a valuable insight into the life of primitive communities and is a welcome antidote to excessively abstract discussion of primitive religion. Yet one cannot help feeling that the conclusions emerging from this examination are a little disappointing. For the most part, they are widely accepted axioms of current anthropological theory. We are told, for example, that primitives distinguish between the sacred and the profane, that they have a body of technical knowledge, that economic action usually takes place within a framework of kinship relations, and that even societies with a low economic surplus seem to spare time and energy for religious activities. This, to students of Malinowski and his followers, is familiar ground. Similar observations can be made in regard to Goode's treatment of the interrelation of political and religious action. We are told that 'the support which the religious system gives the political is not merely explicit, but also implicit,' and that 'the doctrines (of religion) are not merely philosophy but become motivationally concrete outside the strict limits of the dogmas, lending both power and significance to secular institutions as well as limiting these institutions in many ways' (p. 181).

The last section of this part of the book, dealing with the relationship between religious and 'familial' action, seems to be considerably weaker than the rest. Perhaps this is a consequence of Professor Goode's rejection of psychology in the explanation of religion. In a valuable appendix concerned with the main types of theory used in the analysis of religion, Goode criticizes the phylogenetic speculations of Freud and comes to the conclusion that 'with reference to religion, psycho-analysis has been relatively unfruitful. Its ideas have not been sharpened over several decades and "research" has consisted in the main of applying rigidly a set of deductive principles to field reports' (p. 248). This appears to be less than fair if one considers the work of such authorities as Géza Róheim, who no longer rely on the historicist reconstructions of Freud, and who have pointed the way to a psycho-analytic approach that is independent of such speculations. Moreover, it is not a case, as Professor Goode seems to imagine, of an anthropological *versus* a psychological theory of religion. The two explanations are not mutually exclusive. Statements such as that religion tends to increase social cohesion or that it serves to support the existing social structure may be perfectly valid, but they do not provide us with an exhaustive explanation of the religious problem. Statements of this type refer to an objective situation as it is seen by an observer, a situation which is usually neither perceived nor intended by the actors themselves. The problem of individual motivation remains unsolved. A satisfactory theory of religion must deal not only with the objective consequences of religious action but must attempt to explain the motives that inspire such action. Faced with this task, the anthropologist cannot safely disregard the findings of modern psychology, the science whose main concern is with the analysis of human motivation.

In the final part of his treatise, Professor Goode expounds the general conclusions emerging from his analysis. If these tally almost exactly with his initial assumptions concerning primitive religion, this need not be a cause for regret. It may well be that Professor Goode's examination has shown the soundness of current anthropological doctrine. What must be regretted is that his analysis has left us with the current sociological generalities concerning religion, and with little else. A scientific theory needs more than vague abstractions and learned trivialities. Here, more than elsewhere, anthropology must try to construct what Professor Merton has called 'theories of the middle range.'

But how are theories of this type to be obtained? Can we hope to construct them with the aid of Professor Goode's main approach, the method of comparison? To deny this would be to reject the claims of social anthropology as a science. For the method of comparison, being that of experiment, is central to all scientific enquiry. The fault lies, not in the method, but in the choice of the units to be compared. Professor Goode's sample of societies is based mainly on the fact that the religion of these particular societies happens to

have received fairly detailed study by modern social anthropologists. Admittedly the societies are very different in type, so that the common elements in their religious systems may be postulated as universals; but these common elements are of such a vague level of generality as to have little practical value. Ideally it would be desirable, in any type of analysis, to observe the effects of altering merely one variable while keeping the others constant. The anthropologist, concerned as he is with the immense complexity of social processes, cannot hope to find this experimentally ideal situation in real life. He can, however, attempt to observe situations as near to the ideal one as is possible. If this proposition is accepted, we can expect little but vague generalities to emerge from a study of such a sample of societies as Professor Goode has used. What we need to compare, rather, are the religions of societies having either marked similarities of social structure or marked similarity of cultural background or both. Scientific method therefore would invite us to make a regional study of several societies within a single 'culture area.' It is only fair to point out that the empirical data on which studies of this type must be based are not at present available. In view of this limitation, it is clear not only that Professor Goode has written a useful textbook for the student, but that he has made a valuable contribution to the sociological theory of religion.

A. T. CAREY

Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry. By Jurgen Ruesch and Gregory Bateson. New York (Norton), 1951. Pp. vi, 314. Price \$4.50.

56 In this book, a psycho-analyst and an anthropologist have collaborated 'to conceptualize interpersonal and psychotherapeutic events by considering the individual within the framework of a social situation' (p. 3); 'and to examine the position of psychiatry within the framework of social science'—the 'social matrix' (p. 4) 'of which both the psychiatrist and the patient are integral parts.' This may be relative either to a single cell or to the United Nations; and it is a bold project to find a suitable vocabulary for this wide range of 'communication'; so to eliminate the 'multifarious vocabularies,' there has to be yet one more jargon, in which this book is written (p. 5). 'Value theory, psychiatric thinking, and observations about the American culture, are intimately connected'; but 'contemporary psychiatric theories were imported from Europe by Europeans,' and 'psychiatrists with American patients need to understand the American system of communication'; and meanwhile American 'communication' is changing the manners of the psychiatrists. Evil communications corrupt good manners, and *vice versa*. All this seems somehow familiar.

'Communication' apparently includes practically everything that can be known to happen, 'all those processes by which people influence one another': indeed 'we have to communicate in order to investigate communication.' What then is 'information,' and so on; with notes on methods for study of this 'social matrix.' It should be an important task to teach grandmothers to suck eggs; and this book teems with precepts, sometimes 'coloured by our own personal precepts'; but pink eggs may be worth sucking; and each author courageously tints his own eggs 'to avoid distraction' in the process of sucking them.

Their fields of study are extensive; psychiatrists with their patients, literature and customs; Americans at large; and especially 'communication engineers'; for 'the essence of our message to the reader is that communication is the matrix in which all human activities are imbedded.' (p. 12). No harm in saying all this again.

Anthropologists will enjoy Dr. Ruesch's explicit and humorous exposition of the 'American system of communication' (ch. 4, 5 and 6); psychologists, their own attempts to re-translate from its difficult lingo Dr. Bateson's elements of their science (ch. 6-9); Dr. Ruesch is shorter and easier (pp. 19f.). Psychiatrists will understand, better than common folk, in what passages it is therapy that is being discussed; in what, mere 'communication.' Occasional headings are guideposts in difficult country.

In the last chapter, 'A Review of the Theory of Human Communication,' the two authors join forces, with a fresh nomenclature and a diagram showing how to look at things. But here matters are again complicated (as in ch. 1), if there is an observer, himself

an integral part of the system, namely the psychiatrist, who must determine his own position in the 'social situation' or 'context of communication.' But that will be child's play after mastering this book.

So here we are back at the starting point, with particoloured eggs to suck, and a 'network of networks' functioning also as 'circuits,' and intersecting at various 'levels.' 'At all levels, the degree of self-correction is a function of the entity's ability to predict' (p. 288). 'The purpose of any action can, as of today, be discussed only after delineating the system to whose maintenance the action contributes.' How simple! But 'for such delineation an observer is necessary': *da capo*.

JOHN L. MYRES

Man into Wolf: An Anthropological Interpretation of Sadism, Masochism and Lycanthropy. By Robert Eisler. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. 286. Price £1 1s.

57 This is an important and timely book which will appeal to a wide audience, and the anthropologist in particular will find in it much food for thought. Its arrangement is unconventional, by far the greater part of the book being taken up by detailed notes, which elaborate the text and often almost amount to monographs in themselves. Such an arrangement is admirably suited to this type of exposition and it is to be hoped that other scholars will adopt a similar method.

Eisler's main thesis is simply that all crimes of violence (including the phenomena usually classed under the headings of lycanthropy, sadism, masochism and warfare itself) have a prehistoric, evolutionist derivation. And further, that legends, myths and numerous actual practices current not only in primitive communities, but also in the most sophisticated western cultures, can be interpreted as survivals in the ancestral subconscious strata of the human mind. Now this is neither the place nor the time to discuss the general validity of Jung's theory of archetypes, or to recapitulate the often complex biological arguments involved; indeed few anthropologists will have the specialized knowledge necessary to assess accurately the theoretical arguments relating to the problem. But regardless of its theoretical implications, it must be emphasized that until an authoritative and exhaustive study, in the light of this theory, has been made of anthropological data collected in the field, we are in no position to pass judgment on its practical utility.

But even granting that we accept Jung's theory of archetypes in its entirety and grant much of Eisler's general thesis, certain of his assertions will hardly recommend themselves to the serious anthropologist. In fact it is evident that this is the type of universalizing theory for which empirical proof can never be forthcoming and it appears to me doubtful if in our present state of knowledge it should be regarded as anything more than a useful concept that may be borne in mind when considering phenomena such as lycanthropy, masochism and sadism.

Reference must be made to Eisler's use of the terms 'alobulia' and 'alogagnia.' As he has pointed out neither appear in standard English dictionaries, but both undoubtedly fill a gap. 'Alobulia' (desire to suffer pain) has a record of intelligent use and should be generally accepted; the same applies to 'alogagnia' (sexual gratification obtained by suffering pain). Incidentally, Eisler is, I think, correct in suggesting that the latter dates back to the generation before Schrenck-Notzing. But in addition to 'alobulia' and 'alogagnia,' it appears to me that we also require a word indicating a delight in pain (without any sexual connotation); now the term 'alophilily,' to which Eisler refers, seems unsatisfactory and I would suggest that, for two reasons, the term 'alophilily' should be accepted: first the termination associates it with 'alobulia' and 'alogagnia,' and secondly, it has already been profitably used in various Italian publications. Finally, it should be noted that there are one or two obvious misprints in the section dealing with these terms.

To sum up, it must be pointed out that although Eisler carries his theory to extremes which in our present state of knowledge appear to me unwarranted, he has none the less produced one of the most stimulating books to appear for some time. And I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to a great European scholar who died because he was not prepared to compromise his principles and who by the breadth of his learning and his passionate intellectual integrity has placed us all deeply in his debt.

TERENCE MULLALLY

Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern. By Ad. E. Jensen. *Studien zur Kulturkunde*, No. 10. Wiesbaden (Steiner), 1951. Pp. 422

58 In this survey of the significance of myth in primitive cult the Director of the Frobenius Institute in the University of Frankfurt, like most social anthropologists and students of the comparative study of religion today, concentrates his attention on the essential nature of mythical phenomena as representations of reality. Against the earlier attempts to establish an evolutionary sequence of thought and practice in which myth was regarded as a naive explanation of the universe and its processes, or a philosophy in embryo, Dr. Jensen sees in mythology the expression of reality conceived in actual experience, beyond scientific judgment and evaluation, constituting human reactions to mortality, the mystery of life, and to events that arrest attention in the immediate environment. Always and everywhere, it is contended, man has conformed his actions to his experience of the world, and, therefore, myth must be studied in the context of cult as the form of world knowledge in which the underlying realities are embodied.

The inquiry begins with an attack on what is described as the caricature of early man by anthropological theorists from Tylor onwards, largely on the grounds that they have started from wrong presuppositions concerning his essential nature. From the beginning man has been an intelligent being, it is maintained, capable of reacting reasonably to his experiences and to his environment. This finds expression in myth and cult, which are as true a representation of the experience of reality as are scientific evaluations. In the next section the ideas of God among the *Naturvölkern* are considered, including those respecting the lesser divinities connected with the office of 'health-giver,' tribal ancestor, and culture hero. In Part III the relation between magic and religion is discussed. The suggestion of Preuss that the religion and art of early man sprang from primitive nonsense (*dummheit*) is vigorously denied. Magic belongs essentially to its own tradition and is confined in its operation to highly trained experts like the shamans. Here again a realistic technique is employed such as that of a journey to the spirit world where, in the dwelling place of the god with whom the shaman is *en rapport*, the healing is wrought or occult knowledge obtained.

Finally, in Part IV Tylorian animism is examined. The theory that the conception of God first came from the idea of the soul and of ghosts is repudiated. The greater part of the available evidence among the 'nature folk' leaves no doubt in the mind of the author that the soul is a spiritual being who comes from the divinity and in most cases returns to him. Ghosts are in no way the only manifestation of the dead. They originate from many other sources, and may be divine beings of a previous culture epoch. If connected with the return of the dead person they are mostly those who suffer a 'bad' death. Quite a different kind of spirit are spiritual beings of beast and plant. If the plants have healing powers they are manifestations of a spiritual essence friendly to man. Conversely, if they are of a poisonous character the spiritual essence is regarded as inimical. Here is a description of reality, it is argued, not only intuitive but essentially true. So all knowledge with which the science of religion deals, in the opinion of the author of this provocative volume, is based on the actual nature of appearances. Mythical declarations about phenomena in the world are no immature, incomplete forerunners of scientific knowledge and cannot be forced into a scientific mould. But it is possible to arrive at an intelligent understanding of the phenomena on the assumption that primitive man is true man subject to human experiences. Be this as it may, in calling attention to the essential humanity of man, and in seeking the actualities that lie behind the outward manifestations of the fundamental concepts of the human spirit, Dr. Jensen has done service in the evaluation of myth and cult.

E. O. JAMES

Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis, Vol. II: Essays in Folklore and Religion. By Ernest Jones. London (Hogarth Press), 1951. Pp. 383. Price 21s.

59 In this second volume of *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis* Dr. Ernest Jones concentrates attention on themes of folklore, anthropology and religion interpreted in terms of the Freudian approach to these disciplines. The author's aim throughout has been to investigate in the light of his own specialized studies the

contribution that the human mind has made to the various beliefs and customs and theological doctrines brought under review. The evaluation of the results of his very interesting inquiry must necessarily depend on the attitude adopted towards the presuppositions on which it is based. If these are accepted the conclusions will prove to be highly illuminating. Conversely, those who are not prepared to reduce all religious and cultural symbols to the sex *libido* and the Oedipus situation doubtless will regard this attempt to explain the highly complex processes and systems involved by the particular psycho-analytical technique devised by Freud as an over-simplification, if not a distortion of the facts and of their significance. Moreover, within the realm of psycho-analysis it has to be remembered that the study of the archetypes of symbolism has become for Jung the key to the deepest levels of spiritual and metaphysical reality, though in opening a way into these hidden depths of the unconscious he too has been compelled to explain myth by myth.

Nevertheless, however the underlying presuppositions be viewed, the importance attached in these essays to the interrelation of psycho-analytic and anthropological research will be appreciated. Whether or not the material of the anthropologist is rendered more intelligible by this technique, both disciplines have this in common, that they are concerned with the scientific interpretation of symbols and any light that can be thrown upon symbolism by methods and tests capable of verification is to be welcomed. That the incest motive and sexuality play a prominent part in the customs and beliefs that make up so much of folklore, myth and ritual is too apparent to be lightly dismissed, and if there were any doubt about it the evidence collected and discussed in this volume would settle the question once and for all, whatever may be the significance and origins of the phenomena. Thus, in the paper on 'Psycho-Analysis and Folklore,' read before the Jubilee Congress of the Folk-Lore Society in 1928, with which the collection of essays opens, a number of very familiar examples of birth, love and death beliefs and ceremonies are quoted and connected with ideas concerning fertility, propagation, childbirth and incest, though the Freudian assumption of a stage of intense incestuous attachment to the mother and a desire to return to the security of the pre-natal state is denied by Jung in favour of a regression to the source of life.

In the detailed exposition of the symbolic significance of salt in folklore and superstition, which occupies 187 pages of the book, a vast amount of evidence (the relevance of some of which is not always very apparent) is surveyed to demonstrate that to spill salt is unlucky because salt is a typical symbol for semen. The significance of this conclusion is related to a deeper psychical significance replacing an earlier one concerning urine, representing the male, active, fertilizing principle. Assuming a general tendency of the human mind to symbolize objects and interests of paramount and universal significance in forms that are psychologically most suitable and available, everyone who has made his own a superstitious practice regarding salt as an inner motive would reveal on analysis, it is claimed, that 'the idea of salt was symbolizing the idea of semen (or urine) in his unconscious mind, that this association was a personal one of his own.' On the other hand, it is affirmed, a person brought up in a superstitious society would not develop this, or any other given superstition, 'unless it was of such a kind as to be capable of being associated to his personal mental complexes.' Yet identical symbolisms are universally adopted in particular societies or states of culture and not in others. Diffusion may have been exaggerated but it cannot be wholly eliminated in the distribution of beliefs and customs.

In this connexion it is interesting to observe that in the paper read before the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1924 Dr. Jones found a confirmation of his thesis in symbols given particular prominence by the two most extreme exponents of diffusionism. The cowry shell and the mother pot, identified by Elliot Smith and Perry with the female genital organs and the Great Mother, and their respective life-giving powers, are referred back beyond Ancient Egypt to their ultimate source in the uterus of the mother of the individual, to which the unconscious desire ever is to return. So in the other essays in this volume, various aspects of the same fundamental theme are elaborated: e.g. mother right and the alleged ignorance of paternity among 'primitive people, the representation

of the generative organs in palaeolithic art, the significance of Christmas as a nativity feast, the 'God complex' and the Oedipus situation, and the lengthy discussion of the legend of the conception of the Madonna through the ear, regarded as a female receptive organ fertilized by breath and constituting a reaction to an unusually intense castration phantasy. Of a more general character is the judicious consideration of freedom of thought reviewed from the standpoint of psycho-analysis, a paper that should be read in conjunction with the dissertation on 'Free Will and Determinism.'

Fantastic as some of the interpretations may appear, perhaps not solely to the uninitiated and the sceptical, it would be wrong to underrate the value of a serious attempt to elucidate unconscious symbolism by the aid of a carefully selected mass of anthropological data, the deeper significance of which is admittedly often obscure.

E. O. JAMES

Photographies Aériennes. By P. Chombart de Lauwe. Paris (Armand Colin), 1951. Pp. 140, 118 text figs. Price 900 francs

60 This is a straightforward account of the methods employed in taking and interpreting air photographs, and their application to the study of humanity, past and present. It follows the more generalized and elaborate volume, *La Découverte Aérienne du Monde*, published in 1948, under the editorship of M. Chombart de Lauwe of the Musée de l'Homme.

A practical introduction to this subject is of the greatest value. Its lack is much felt in the teaching of archaeological and anthropological students in this country. For air photographs, clearly enough, are permanently established as a means of research, recording and discovery in the study of man. With the technical improvements of recent years, they have become a primary source of information, as essential as maps but potentially more informative. This is evidenced by the post-war beginnings of air-photograph libraries in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The field archaeologist or anthropologist should make it one of his first duties to enquire for, or arrange, air-photographic coverage of his region. Through military and administrative needs, extensive areas throughout the world have been photographed in recent years, and access to much of this material can be had by arrangement with the relevant authorities.

Since the notion that this method of research and discovery is a freak or a luxury is now obsolete, it is more than ever necessary that those who need its services, and make use of it in teaching, should know fully how to handle the resources of this technique. There is nothing mysterious about it in execution, nor do the photographs when taken require any elaborate apparatus for their examination. The general principles of their use may be found outlined in the work of Crawford, Riley and St. Joseph in this country, of Poidebard in Syria, Schmidt in Persia, Baradez in North Africa and Williams-Hunt in South-East Asia. In the study of human ecology and the settlement patterns of modern primitive peoples from the air, *The Face of South America*, by J. L. Rich, and *Focus on Africa*, by Upton Light, are examples of pioneer work of great value in more remote areas. A summary of the application of this technique to human ecology, and advice on planning and carrying out of the flights, can be found in my article on 'Humanity from the Air,' in the *Archaeological News Letter*, July, 1948.

The present book by M. Chombart de Lauwe gives a well balanced account of the way in which the photographs should be taken, and of their examination stereoscopically (by which the terrain, and all other features, are seen in relief). Vertical photographs can, of course, be scaled as easily as maps, and precise measurements made from them. The importance of corresponding ground control by fieldwork is rightly stressed. Air photography naturally does not eliminate the need for hard work on foot, but it often gives it direction and speeds it up. The author concludes this section with some sound suggestions for the arrangement of a Photographic Print Library.

The interpretation of the photographs is naturally a matter that calls for skill and experience, if accuracy and discovery are to be maintained. They are specialized documents, and their detailed interpretation is a matter both of practice and flair. But the recog-

nition of the topographical essentials does not present any difficulty. In this book there is, as an example, an ecological study of one small area, the village and environs of Urt in the Basses-Pyrénées. This is used to show the way in which a region can be most fruitfully dissected and anatomized from the air, in conjunction with data from geology, hydrography, archaeology, etc. The same method of analysis is devoted to the siting of the famous palaeolithic station of La Roche de Solutré. This compilation and collation of the various 'intelligence sources' for a given region is reminiscent of the Le Play approach in human geography, but offers far greater possibilities when linked with oblique and vertical air photographs as its graphic basis, and infused with the new facts and presentation that they provide.

Later sections are devoted to particular topics. One of these deals with archaeological discovery from the air. This is no new theme in this country, but it is to be hoped that it will inspire activity in France. Another section shows the way in which the relationship and interaction of mankind and terrain can be illustrated by air photographs of land-utilization of different forms in France and Africa. This leads to a consideration of their use in anthropology, and particularly in its ethnological aspect. This is the field in which I consider that the most decisive progress is waiting to be made.

Disappointingly little use has been made of air photographs by anthropologists up to the present time. With a few notable exceptions (e.g. in Professor Evans-Pritchard's book *The Nuer*) they are rarely found in specialized monographs or generalized syntheses. Yet their value for the study of the lay-out of primitive settlement and cultivation is unequalled, and is all the greater in remote areas difficult of access. This was well brought out by Major Williams-Hunt's recent paper in *MAN* (1949, 63) on 'Anthropology from the Air,' illustrated by R.A.F. photographs of Malaya. There is no need to go over the ground he covered, for the application of the technique to anthropology was most clearly set out and explained in its practical details. This should remove any lingering misapprehensions. An anthropologist remarked recently: 'Oh, my people would have fled from the din and alarming appearance of your aircraft just above their heads. It would spoil everything.' It was necessary to explain that today it is normal for vertical air photographs to be taken from heights of from one to four miles, when the aircraft is no more than a speck in the sky. With a standard 20-inch or 36-inch focal-length air camera, working at these altitudes in average visibility, individual houses, trees and topographical minutiae of all sorts are perfectly clear, and their size can be measured with great exactitude from the photographs with the aid of the Photogrammetric Tables that have been printed for quick reckoning.

It is a pity that the illustrations, which are the essence of M. Chombart de Lauwe's book, have all been printed among the text pages. This may have achieved a lower price for the book, but a few have become smudgy and so have lost most of their value. Nothing is more seriously affected by loss of detail in reproduction than air photography, and only glossy paper is ever really successful in its publication.

Some minor spelling misprints were noted, but these were unimportant details not detracting from the value of a most intelligent and stimulating book—an excellent example of the use of science and technology in the humanities, opening up endless possibilities.

J. S. P. BRADFORD

Notes on the Prehistoric Metallurgy of Copper and Bronze in the Old World. By H. H. Coghlan. Oxford (Pitt Rivers Museum), 1951. Pp. 131, 16 plates, 21 line drawings. Price 15s.

61 In a survey of the prehistoric metallurgy of copper and bronze the author retraces the familiar track left by the early workers in metal, though he barely acknowledges the value to them of the experience they gained by the working of gold. This was a metal which could not have gone for long unnoticed and unworked, and from their experience with it the practices of both annealing and of melting would have been learnt. The earliest works in copper are simple pins, hooks, awls, etc., which would be made from native copper. Annealing would be discovered early: it is an essential concomitant of bowl-making. Smelting probably arose as a result of the

craftsman's efforts to melt out from its matrix some arborescent native copper. Then, with gold and copper in constant use, the smith would test other ores to discover whether they also might provide something useful. The heavy, shining masses of tin ore (cassiterite) would attract his attention, and he would heat pieces of it to see what might happen. The white substance (tin) which came from it, though attractive in colour and malleable, would not have been found very useful for bowls owing to its tendency to melting. But it happened that a welcome use for it was discovered at last: it could be mixed with pieces of copper ore, or matrix containing copper, and bronze, a more useful material than copper, came from the furnace.

The author discusses the use of lead as an alloy of copper. But copper cannot be alloyed with lead. It may be mixed with it, and it is so employed in some modern bearing bronzes. Lead has been found mixed with many ancient bronzes, either as a substitute for some of its tin, or to facilitate casting.

Mr. Coghlan makes a survey of the occurrence of native copper and of other ores from which the early smiths obtained their metals. Of these the oxidized ores were probably the first to be worked, for they could be found at no great depth, and some of them, notably cuprite, malachite and azurite, are brightly coloured. Now the temperature of an ordinary wood fire does not exceed some 600°-700° C., so it is not high enough for general copper-smelting. But, as shown by surviving examples of pottery from Mesopotamia and Egypt, the early workers had pottery furnaces in which a temperature of 1000°-1200° C. was attained, and at such a temperature copper could be smelted. Many years ago Professor Gowland demonstrated at the Royal School of Mines that bronze could be produced from the ores of copper and of tin when smelted together in an open furnace, excited by a blast. It would not be likely, however, that the early workers would employ such a practice until they had learnt by experience the value of tin as an ingredient in the alloy.

The author gives a description of the 'sand casting' of metals as practised in a modern foundry, but he fails to produce any evidence that the sand-casting process, with its necessary complement of pairs of 'casting flasks' or 'moulding boxes' into which the sand is pressed round the pattern, was ever used in the ancient world. Where is the evidence? Moulds in baked clay are known from many parts of the ancient world. Moulds in stone are well known. Early Iron Age bronze moulds for palstaves and other tools are to be met with occasionally. Cores of sand, with traces of some binding material, perhaps bone or sawdust and dung, are known in Egypt; but there are no sand moulds. And there is no evidence that sand moulds were ever employed in early times. We may note that neither Pliny nor Theophilus has a word to say about them, though Biringuccio, in the sixteenth century, gives a good description of their use. It would be interesting if the author would produce evidence for the use of sand for moulds (except open moulds) of earlier date than the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D. It was during those centuries, with the rise of the iron industries, that many advances in the form of furnaces and the making of moulds were made, and it is to this period that we may look for the introduction of moulding flasks and casting in sand. Mr. Coghlan discusses the casting of copper, and

shows that good castings may be obtained in this metal if the founder will but provide a well shaped mould with a long pour and vents. Many ancient founders were skilled enough to produce good castings in copper.

The diagrams illustrating methods for casting hanging bowls, after Oldberg, are defective in that no vents are shown, and without vents such moulds could not produce satisfactory results. The illustrations demonstrating the evolution of furnace design omit that early type in which the crucible rested on the floor of the furnace and the flame was blown upon it almost entirely from above.

In his section on practical metal-working, the author seems to overlook the fact that till at least as late as the fifteenth century B.C., as illustrated by paintings on the walls of the tombs of Rekhmire and others, there were no firmly gripping tongs or pliers in use. Only a springy folded strip of metal or wood was available for the manipulation of a piece of heated metal. Any metalworker would point out the impractical nature of such a tool for use in forging even a spearhead or in the raising or the sinking of a bowl. The ancient worker would undoubtedly prefer to do the work cold, and to hold the metal in his hand, for he would have far greater control thus. His traditional knowledge of when and how to anneal metal reached back to before the beginning of the third millennium B.C., so he need fear no surprises from that side. In the ancient world there was no clear line of distinction between forging and sheet metalworking. An ingot of copper or bronze would be beaten out into a circular plate by a series of blows from a curved-faced hammer and from that plate the smith would make a bowl of any shape he desired. From an ingot of suitable size he would beat out a spearhead with its thinner-walled socket for the shaft. Or he would cast the blade and socket in a mould of his own making, and sharpen and harden its edges by cold hammering. In all these operations the principal part of the hammering would be done cold. In modern times, with more developed appliances, the hot forging of metal has become a commonplace operation, but cold working and annealing were the more usual methods in the ancient world.

The drawings of the raising hammer and stake on p. 92 are not good. The face of the hammer should extend to the full width of the head, though its actual corners are rounded; it should not be angular, as shown. The working ends of the stake should be undercut to an angle of some 20° from the vertical plane.

A report by Dr. E. Voce, of the Copper Development Association, on a metallographic examination, and a critical discussion of the methods of manufacture, of certain works in the Pitt Rivers Museum, is most valuable. More work on these lines would be welcome. Dr. Voce also describes some experiments in the casting of metal implements in ancient moulds, experiments which showed that the moulds could be employed safely for bronze-casting.

Mr. T. K. Penniman, Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, contributes some useful notes on and photographs of successive stages in the casting, by the waste-wax process, of a bronze figure by a Burmese metal-founder, and of a head by a Yoruba brassworker.

To sum up, the book is an interesting contribution to the study of ancient metal-working, but it needs revision.

HERBERT MARYON

AMERICA

A Study of Classic Maya Sculpture. By Tatiana Proskouriakoff. Publication No. 593 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., 1950. Pp. xii, 209, 110 illus., map

62 Compared with his colleagues who study the ancient civilizations of the Old World, the student of Ancient America is at a great disadvantage. There is practically no written literature, and what survives is only a few garbled legends written in European calligraphy after the Spanish conquest. Our knowledge is therefore limited to what the archaeologists have been able to glean from the ruins of ancient cities, temple pyramids and plazas buried in the dense tropical forests of Guatemala, south-eastern Mexico and Yucatan, from pottery, some of it beautifully painted, from precious jade ornaments and from carved monuments and time-markers, usually in the form of monoliths or stelae.

To know what manner of men they were and how they lived

we must rely on the patient work of the archaeologist and the epigraphist, who working from the slender account of the Maya calendar left by Bishop Landa have been able to decipher, without the aid of any 'Rosetta stone,' some part of the mathematical and calendrical content of the inscriptions on the monuments.

We know that in an area covering what is now the Peten District of Guatemala, Yucatan, British Honduras, Chiapas and the north of Honduras there dwelt a people whose civilization can be differentiated from that of the Totonac and Aztec, and other civilizations of Central America. Like them it must have grown out of a culture of simple farming folk growing maize in forest clearings, and worshipping fertility gods and goddesses, whose images, in the form of little pottery figurines, they made in large quantities.

The civilization which we call the Classic Period of the Maya is characterized by the elaborate stela cult, a hieroglyphic writing

chiefly concerned with the astronomical calculations of a 360-day year, elaborate pyramids surmounted by temples and grouped together in the form of elaborate courts and plazas; it apparently flourished about the beginning of our era for nearly a thousand years.

The first contemporary dated inscription, the Leyden plate, corresponded to A.D. 230. The monuments of this period bear little resemblance to the figures we have mentioned above, but they must have evolved over a long period from similar deities. Thanks to the work of such great archaeologists as Maudslay and Morley, to mention only two, many monuments have been dated beyond doubt. Many others, alas, are too eroded by time and the elements to afford a clear interpretation, and we have to fall back on a judgment of the style of the monuments and on studies of pottery to provide a dated skeleton of the history of this civilization. Such a skeleton is of course more prominent in the thoughts of archaeologists because of the very dearth of literary material, and many indecipherable monuments have been placed in their estimated chronological position by a process of stylistic appreciation. Such a method suffered from the grave objection that it is bound to be subjective, and therefore to some extent unreliable.

It is with the object of eliminating the subjective factor that Miss Proskouriakoff has undertaken the work under review. Her method, briefly, is to record the various elements—posture, headdresses, ornaments, accoutrements, etc.—of the monuments which are definitely dated, and by this means to build up the chronological range of each known variant of each element. Then, plotting the chronological range of all the elements found in a particular undated sculpture, to build up a 'style graph,' which resembles an irregular mound. The outline of this is roughly sketched in and the date of the monument is believed to be somewhere near the peak of the mound. Since most of the elements in question were used over a long period, the overlapping portions of the graph are obviously the important points, and the overlaps build up the highest points. The method is probably satisfactory for an approximation, and Miss Proskouriakoff's graphs when applied to dated stelae give very close approximations to the known dates. The method which she employs in this study of the individual elements appears to be an elaboration of Spinden's method in his great *Study of Maya Art*, and even without the graphic method would be of the greatest value to the student.

As Miss Proskouriakoff is at pains to observe, the work is limited in its scope. The sculpture she discusses is restricted almost entirely to the esoteric, and the painted ornament of the pottery is ignored, but certain lessons for the archaeologist emerge, notably the interesting similarity of some of the early sculpture of Uaxactun to the peripheral sculpture of pre-Toltec Yucatan, and to certain non-Maya sculpture of considerably later date. She shows, as we have already seen, that the essentially religious and symbolic nature of the early classic material is superseded by a more aesthetic approach in the golden age of Maya sculpture in the early part of Katun 9. This in turn gives place to a certain over-elaboration and decadence towards the close of the period of the Old Empire. With the Toltec-influenced sculpture of the New Empire cities of Yucatan, erected after the old cities of Peten, the home of Maya sculpture, had been abandoned, she is not concerned.

Owing to the intentionally objective nature of this section of the book a certain tediousness is observable; this no doubt is in part due to the practice of numbering stelae rather than naming them. Miss Proskouriakoff might have encouraged her readers to further effort in a difficult chase by some reference to the immense stakes involved in the elucidation of Maya chronology, no less a reward than a yardstick to measure the contemporary history of the whole of Central America.

The remaining chapters are descriptions arranged chronologically of the monuments found in the various regions of the old Maya Empire. Here a more humanistic approach is discernible. Perhaps the author herself held that a primitive society was evolving towards a higher and less priest-ridden approach to life and the arts. Her statement that the artist, a figure whose place is not clear in the Maya hierarchy, gradually achieved a status of his own, not merely that of priest or priestly acolyte, would bear enlargement, as also the suggestion that he became an urban intellectual out of touch

with the emotions of the peasantry to whose emotional life he had once ministered. In that case the cleavage between esoteric and popular arts must have been complete.

ADRIAN DIGBY

Hollywood—The Dream Factory: An Anthropologist Looks at the Movie-Makers. By Hortense Powdermaker. London (Secker & Warburg), 1951. Pp. 342. Price 18s.

63 This book consists in the main of an indictment of those responsible for the production of films at Hollywood, whether as executives, producers or directors. They are pilloried in potted biographies under such names as Mr. Smart Guy, Mr. Mediocre or Mr. Kowtow, and are in general portrayed as uneducated, incompetent bullies. The script-writers come off better; their sufferings from incessant thwarting in their efforts to write decent scripts are described sympathetically. As for the stars, it seems that everyone at Hollywood hates and despises them, though their moral standards are somewhat higher than newspaper accounts might lead one to expect.

The author, who takes as her subtitle 'An Anthropologist Looks at the Movie-Makers,' drags in from time to time comparisons with the customs of savages, but these are quite irrelevant; there is no analogy between a genuine taboo and the arbitrary censorship rules which Hollywood has imposed upon itself in the hope of avoiding external censorship.

In spite of its slangy and somewhat slipshod style—e.g. 'flaunt' when 'flout' is meant—the book is very readable, but its claim to be regarded as a work of science cannot be taken seriously.

RAGLAN

Reality and Dream: Psychotherapy of a Plains Indian. By George Devereux. New York (Internat. Universities Press), 1951. Pp. xxi, 438. Price \$7.50

64 The publication of the complete record of a psychotherapeutic case is rare; Dr. Devereux's publication of the 'transcultural psychotherapy' of a Plains Indian is probably unique. While anthropologist to the Winter Veterans Administration Hospital in Kansas, U.S.A., Devereux treated a Plains Indian suffering from a brain injury and neurosis. After a lengthy introduction entitled 'Theory and Technique,' we are presented with a full verbal account of the 30 counselling interviews, a discussion of the patient's development, interview by interview, and full protocols of the psychological tests administered before and after therapy, with an interpretation of these tests by R. R. Holt.

Devereux seems to have begun the book with the verbatim record of counselling sessions and a set of ideas about 'transcultural psychotherapy' and Plains Indian basic personality. The patient's progress is dramatically shown in the interviews, but the account of his development, written a year after the patient left the hospital, is not entirely convincing. It is a pity that the interviews were not annotated at the time, and a description of the therapist's aims and the patient's development placed after each interview rather than in another section. Furthermore, Dr. Holt's reports of psychological tests show no therapeutic triumph. All the inexpert reader can be certain of is that the patient's headaches, nightmares and some other symptoms disappeared, that he developed self-confidence, and that he did not seek further treatment in the year following Devereux's counselling. In this case 'transcultural psychotherapy' seems to involve the use of psycho-analytic concepts applicable to all human beings; Plains Indian behaviour patterns and basic personality are introduced only to help explain differences between this patient's character and that of White patients.

Devereux's views about the concepts of culture area, the areal culture pattern and the areal basic personality are perhaps of more interest to anthropologists than is his account of the therapeutic process. In the interest of concealing the patient's identity, Devereux 're-analysed [for publication] the entire factual material' and discovered that 'as far as our concrete data were concerned, the patient could have belonged to any one of scores of typical Plains Indian tribes' (p. 1). He continues: 'in other words, what seemed to have influenced the patient's character formation and the development of his neurosis was not primarily the specific culture of his tribe, but the culture pattern of the large Plains Indian culture area, and

the present condition of the Plains Indians' (pp. 1f.). Devereux distinguishes the cultural items ('customs, institutions, etc.') of a culture area or tribe from the culture pattern, composed of 'the values, means-end schemata, and the like, which these concrete cultural items "implement"' (p. 31). The areal culture pattern is generalized and abstracted from the culture patterns of the tribes in it, but 'contains only those values which all tribes belonging to that area share in common, and which each of these tribes puts together in the same manner' (pp. 31f.). Thus the areal culture pattern is not identical with the culture pattern of the 'climactic' or 'typical' tribe.

The areal culture pattern or ethos, Devereux says, is 'the most vitally significant and viable essence of the individual tribal ethos of that area' (p. 34). The tribal and areal culture patterns, he claims, are more likely to persist through periods of cultural change than are concrete cultural items. Like the areal culture pattern, the areal basic personality 'can be viewed as the nucleus, and as the functionally most significant part of the tribal basic personality' (p. 37). It is the culture pattern, rather than specific techniques of infant and child care, which is responsible for the basic personality. The ethos, first areal and secondly tribal, is the primary determinant of the basic personality. Devereux argues that the nature of 'contacts between

Plains tribes necessitated the formation of fairly similar basic personalities' (p. 39). The Plains Indian basic personality, and not the Indian's marginal position in American society, determines a Plains Indian's personality today. Devereux's argument consists mainly in the re-stating of these points with an abundant use of italics.

Lest the 'areal basic personality' should become fashionable, however, some objections might be raised. The culture-area notion, not to mention the areal culture pattern, has not been applied with much success outside North America, perhaps because of different conditions of population density, mobility and culture contact in other continents. No anthropologist had the opportunity to describe the Plains culture area, culture pattern or basic personality in their aboriginal state; thus there is no way to check some of Devereux's assumptions about their persistence from the past. He gives no description of Plains Indian basic personality beyond presenting a list of 'working hypotheses' (pp. 54-6) which are said to be based upon it, and assumes that the idea of basic personality has been generally accepted. Without a full account of the Plains Indian basic personality, as well as the basic personality of other areas, I think we must await further work before adopting the concept of an areal basic personality.

PAULA BROWN

ASIA

Cave Explorations in Iran, 1949. By Carleton S. Coon. University of Pennsylvania Museum Monographs. Philadelphia, 1951. Pp. 124, 15 plates. Price \$1.50

65 The name of Dr. Coon will be familiar to readers of MAN as a distinguished exponent of physical anthropology; in the present publication he provides a thorough preliminary report of his recent important archaeological excavations in Northern Iran. It sometimes happens that a specialist in one field working in another related field of enquiry is able to bring to the latter a fresh point of view and original ideas of a stimulating character. Dr. Coon's new work is a notable case of this kind. His systematic and statistical training as a physical anthropologist has stood him in remarkably good stead when interpreting the contents of stratified caves, and should certainly be carefully studied by all who are concerned with this type of site and comparable occupation sites in the open.

Of the four caves examined three produced undisturbed ancient deposits. Tamtama and Bisitun in the north-west provided Pleistocene faunas in some quantities, in both cases including very fragmentary remains attributable to Neanderthaloid hominids, at Bisitun associated with several layers of Levallois-Mousterian industries stratified below a deposit of historical date.

It is in the Ghar i Kamarband or Belt Cave on the shores of the Caspian that Dr. Coon's methods are seen at their best and yielded the most interesting results. At this site was discovered a stratified deposit containing abundant traces of cultural activity in the form of bones, worked flints and other objects throughout a thickness of some 15 feet. Petrographically three zones each about four feet thick could be distinguished in addition to a basal sterile formation and a surface deposit. Since the surfaces of these were either approximately horizontal, or irregular without any general trend away from the horizontal, the excavator's method of removing them in spits 20 centimetres thick seems justified. Subsequently the yield of the various spits was tabulated and recorded under various headings, and it is these statistical results which provide the most original part of the report.

The most interesting conclusion reached has an obvious bearing on the date of the first appearance of domestication of animals in this stratified sequence. The quantity of bones obtained from all three stratigraphical units was extremely large, and on examination it was found that an appreciable number such as horns and teeth could be assigned to immature, as opposed to mature, animals. The main species identified were gazelle, wild goat, wild sheep, wild cattle, seal, pig and wild horses. But whereas in the two lower strata (and in the two earlier Pleistocene deposits which also yielded the same creatures) immature animals contribute on the average about 25 per cent., in the upper stratum the proportions of immature sheep and goats rise respectively to 66.7 and 53.8 per cent. Associated

with this change is the first certain appearance of pottery and ground stone tools. The deduction seems obvious that we have here the first signs of the control of the herds of sheep and goats, with exploitation mainly of the younger animals, the older being preserved for breeding and perhaps for milk. If this is correct the observation is clearly one of cardinal importance, and the Carbon 14 dating of 6135 B.C. $\pm 1,500$ years of great interest. It is to be hoped that Dr. Coon will obtain a closer dating based on a larger sample (preferably of charcoal) during his next visit to the area.

Other interesting statistical results concern the proportion of articular fragments as opposed to shaft fragments of bone, and the proportion of raw flakes, cores and trimmed tools, all of which are found to vary significantly in different layers and sites. In the principal Pleistocene site, Bisitun, the bones from eight superimposed spits were found to show a differential frequency of horse and deer suggestive of a long-term climatic change from relatively dry to wetter conditions, during the Levallois-Mousterian occupation.

Finally an interesting ecological point is suggested by the consistently higher proportion of bird bones associated with the post-Pleistocene industrial remains. C. B. M. MCBURNEY

History and Culture of the Indian People: Vol. I, The Vedic Age. Edited by R. C. Majumdar. London (Allen & Unwin), 1951. Pp. 565. Price £1 15s.

66 In 1944, the Bhāradīya Itihāsa Samiti (Academy of Indian History) was founded by Sri K. M. Munshi to prepare a new history of India from an Indian point of view. Though styled *The Vedic Age*, this volume, the first of ten, summarizes what is known of Indian history from the Palaeolithic Age until approximately 600 B.C. An adequate evaluation of this book could be made only jointly by archaeologists, anthropologists, historians and scholars of Sanskrit. Here a mere outline of the scope of the work is attempted.

The volume is divided into seven Books. Book I (Introduction) opens with chapters by the Editor on method and on the sources of Indian history. Two points are emphasized which distinguish Indian history from the histories of the western civilizations. One is the continuity of Indian social and ritual institutions from the earliest known periods until the present. The other is that though the Rigvedic hymns were compiled at least 3,000 years ago, and though, beginning from them, Hindu religious literature provides an unparalleled record of elaborate ritual forms, sophisticated philosophical concepts, and profoundly moving mystical experience, no historical record appears until after the Muslim conquest, in the thirteenth century A.D.

Further chapters in the Introduction include an outline of archaeological explorations by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit; and essays on Geographical Background, by the editor, and on Flora and Fauna, respectively by Drs. G. P. Majumdar and B. K. Chatterji. These chapters set the stage for the books which follow, but are unrelated to each other in aim and subject matter.

Book II, *The Prehistoric Age*, includes chapters on Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Copper Ages by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, and on the Indus Valley Civilization by Dr. A. D. Pusalker. Both summarize the information available before 1944. An Appendix outlines the recent important information on Harappan chronology and military fortifications. No reference is however made to the recent classification of megaliths by Dr. V. D. Krishnaswami ('Megalithic Types of Southern India,' *Ancient India*, January, 1949).

Between the archaeological accounts is a chapter by Dr. S. K. Chatterji on Race Movements and Prehistoric Culture. This summarizes the main conclusions of Professor Hutton, Pater Schmidt, Dr. B. S. Guha and others, on the succession of prehistoric migrations into India, the present racial composition of the population and the broad classification of languages and cultures among modern tribal and Hindu groups. Six main racial immigrations are distinguished: Negrito, Proto-australoid, Mongoloid, Dravidian, 'Western Brachycephal' and Nordic. With the entry of each of these groups are tentatively associated certain artifacts, languages, religious beliefs and ritual forms. This attempt to disentangle the several strands of a culture and derive them from separate racial immigrations which took place thousands of years ago is perhaps more justifiable in India than elsewhere. For the distribution of tribal groups, and the partial segregation from each other of Hindu castes with different bodies of custom have worked against the formation of a composite culture. But the ethnological method seems to me entirely trustworthy only when supported by literary traditions—as it is, for example, in Dr. Chatterji's interesting discussion of the adoption of the pre-Aryan *pūja* offering (of flowers, leaves, fruits and water) by the Aryans about the period of the Bhagavad Gita (c. A.D. 400), and its subsequent replacement of the Vedic fire sacrifice as the central rite of Brahmanical public worship.

Books III to VI deal with the Vedic Age proper and are derived from literary sources. Book III (*The Aryans in India*) includes chapters by Dr. B. K. Ghosh on the problem of the original home of the Indo-Europeans, on early Indo-Iranian relations, and on the contents and probable dates of the Vedic literature proper. In this are included: the four Samhitas (the Rigveda, or hymns used in the sacrifices of the early Indo-Aryans, the Samaveda, or texts of melodies sung in the sacrificial rites, the Yajurveda, a guidebook for the priests who performed the sacrifices, and the Atharvaveda, a book of hymns and spells believed to have been used by the common people); the Brahmanas, speculations on the details of the sacrifices; and the Srauta Sutras, later rules for the performance of sacrifices. Book III ends with a chapter by Dr. A. D. Pusalker on the names and habitats of the Aryan tribes.

Book IV (*Historical Traditions*), also by Dr. Pusalker, is an attempt to reconstruct the early history of the Indo-Aryans from the Puranas and the two great Epics, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, all of which, in their present recension, probably belong to the Gupta period (fourth and fifth centuries A.D.). The result, as the writer admits, is neither myth nor history, and the dates calculated from Puranic dynastic lists are startlingly at variance with those given earlier by Dr. Ghosh. This approach to myth as distorted history does not of course commend itself to modern anthropologists.

Books V to VII (*The Age of the Rik-Samhita*, *The Age of the Later Samhitas and the Brahmanas*, and *The Age of the Sutras and the Upanishads*) are each divided into four chapters: Language and Literature (for the Samhitas by Dr. Ghosh and for the Upanishads and the Sutras by Dr. M. A. Mehendale); and Political and Legal Institutions, Religion and Philosophy, and Social and Economic Conditions, by Dr. V. M. Apte. Though some of the Upanishads and the Sutras were probably written as late as the third century B.C. and therefore post-date the rise of Buddhism and Jainism in the sixth century B.C., they are included in the survey, since they represent a direct offshoot of Vedic literature proper.

These last three Books are of greatest value to the social anthropologist working in India today. From them it is possible to correlate certain trends of development in economy, political institutions, kinship usages, rites and philosophical beliefs between the time of the Rigvedic Aryans and the period of the later Sutras and the Upanishads. These trends include the expansion and settlement of the Aryans as a predominantly agricultural rather than a pastoral people; the gradual elaboration and hardening of the caste system; the development from a narrow-range bilateral kinship system to a patriarchal extended-family organization with exogamous patrilineal clans; the gradual decline in economic value and legal privileges of high-caste Aryan women; the extraordinary proliferation of ritual forms reserved for men; and finally the attempts of the Upanishadic mystics to escape from the rigid formalism of caste, of kinship etiquette, and of ritual prohibitions in a highly abstract pantheistic philosophy whose ideal was non-attachment to the world of human relationships. It is unfortunate that in tracing the evolution of philosophical concepts and ritual forms Dr. Apte omits reference to the work of Hubert and Mauss on Vedic sacrifice.

This is a purely historical and not a sociological work, and it cannot be judged by sociological criteria. It is difficult to evaluate, for it abounds in ethnocentric moral and aesthetic judgments. Many readers may sympathize with Dr. Apte's round condemnations of the later Brahmanical oppression of low castes and women; fewer, perhaps, with his mild censure of the Vedic Aryans because they gambled with dice. Nevertheless, the painstaking research on which this book is based must not be underestimated. If the succeeding volumes maintain the same high standard of scholarship, the series will undoubtedly become an essential reference work for all students of Indian society.

KATHLEEN GOUGH

The Tribal Art of Middle India. By Verrier Elwin. London (Cumberlege), 1951. Pp. 214, 229 illustrations. Price 30s.

67 The tribes whose art Dr. Elwin surveys in this book are those of Madhya Pradesh (Central Provinces), Orissa and, less thoroughly, of parts of Bihar. The plan consists of 22 short chapters on the types of objects or the occasions which stimulate the artistic abilities of the tribesmen and on the leading motifs; for instance, 'The Decoration of the Body,' 'Art and the Wedding,' 'The Comb,' 'The Elephant,' 'The Cult of Bhimul.' The chapters relate the particular manifestation of art—the word, it will be seen, is given a wide application—to the peculiarities of tribal culture which produce it. For example Dr. Elwin says (p. 4), 'The Murias . . . ornament combs and tobacco cases and, like all tribes that preserve the dormitory and enjoy a vigorous pre-marital sexual life, they have a high standard of personal aesthetics.' How far is this true in other parts of the world? The wall paintings of the Saora are the expression of their close relationship with the spirit world; artists even take spirit wives, and there is an amusing account of the troubles of a man who took two of them. The variety in these tribal cultures is astonishing. Some, like the Bondo, lavish their skill on the decoration of their women; the Bison-horn Maria concentrate on their magnificent headdresses; only the Santals make elaborate carved marriage litters. When an art form, such as wall drawing, is found throughout the area, the style and the concept from which it springs differ from tribe to tribe.

The chapters, though short, are adequate because the excellent and plentiful drawings and photographs make detailed description of the objects unnecessary. With few exceptions the photographs are Dr. Elwin's own and the drawings are of pieces in his own collection. His main reason for making this collection is that the tribal art is rapidly disappearing, and where the form survives the traditional materials are giving way to metal, paper or other introduced substitutes. It is interesting to find Dr. Elwin including objects made by Hindu metal-workers, carpenters or weavers to the traditional pattern, often closely supervised by the tribesman who commissions the work.

Dr. Elwin admits that as art the work of these tribes does not reach the standard of, for instance, New Guinea or West Africa, but he regards the comparison as unfair because the area is one of 'cultural débris' where degeneration and acculturation have been taking

place for a long time. He even traces certain motifs back to the Indus Valley civilization.

Though the book is complete in itself, since it both describes and

explains the arts of these tribes and does both more than adequately, it is also a valuable supplement to Dr. Elwin's other works on the same tribes.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

The Herald's Staff

68 SIR,—Hocart has pointed out (*Kings and Councillors*, ch. xiv) that in various parts of the world a herald always carries a staff as part of his insignia, and has mentioned in particular that a Samoan herald, when he speaks, leans on his staff (p. 187). When reading Professor Forde's Presidential Address, (*J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. LXXIX) I was struck by the resemblance of the Yakö 'Village Speaker' to Hocart's heralds, and wondered whether he carried a staff. There is no mention of it in the text, but on Plate IIA he is shown making a ritual oration and leaning on a staff. This is a striking example of how widely the items of ancient ritual have been diffused. Even the wildest anti-diffusionist would hardly maintain that such a trait is due to instinct, coincidence or environmental compulsion.

Usk, Monmouthshire

RAGLAN

Shaving off Hair as a Sign of Mourning. Cf. MAN, 1950, 231

69 SIR,—When an *Omanhene* (King or Paramount Chief) of the Akan of the Gold Coast dies, all the inhabitants of the town used formerly to shave off all their bodily hair, as a sign of mourning, on the last day of the funeral rites. The hair of the royal lineage is still stored in an earthenware vessel which bears a representation of the deceased, and this is placed on the grave. The hair of the subjects is tightly wrapped up in leaves and deposited behind the grave. The hair—everlasting—is regarded as money; the term used for money is *sika* (gold), which is everlasting and has life-giving powers according to Akan belief; hair is therefore equated here with the giving of life. The dead is in need of something that gives him 'life' in the *samandow*, the nether-world where gold cannot be used as currency. The hair of the *Omanhene's* subjects placed on or near his grave has therefore the significance of 'giving life' to the dead king, apart from being a sign of grief and a pledge of attachment.

London

EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ

U.N.E.S.C.O.'s New Statement on Race. Cf. especially MAN, 1952, 3

70 SIR,—I have read the article 'U.N.E.S.C.O.'s New Statement on Race' in the January issue of MAN, and would like to explain our position in regard to the publication of the 1951 Race Statement.

The earlier Statement had been criticized by many scientists as an *ex cathedra* pronouncement, with dogmatic undertones. Obviously, such an impression was to be avoided in the case of the new Statement. Therefore, I made it clear to the members of the Committee that the draft Statement which they had completed was to be submitted to as many prominent anthropologists and biologists as possible, with a request for criticisms and comments. This object could be obtained by circulating among scientists mimeographed copies of the draft Statement and by publishing it in scientific journals, with an indication that this was still an interim version. I was grateful to the editors of MAN and of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* who agreed to publish this text with a short preliminary notice to that effect.

Soon after the June meeting, Dr. Ashley Montagu prepared in Paris a factual article containing the gist of the one which appeared in the *Saturday Review of Literature*. I saw the draft of it and I did not object to its eventual publication. I certainly did not realize, however, that Dr. Montagu proposed to publish the Statement itself so soon and in a magazine not of a scientific character. It is not impossible that in this a misunderstanding arose. Actually, we were so little inclined to release the draft Statement to the general press that

we asked the Committee to prepare a short statement summarizing the main conclusions, so as to inform the public at large of the results of the conference, without giving the full text of the Statement, which was still in an imperfect form.

The U.N.E.S.C.O. Department of Mass Communication agreed to hold up the official release of the Statement until such time as it could be considered final. It was through this Department that I learned that the *Saturday Review of Literature* had published the original version of the Statement, a version which, in August, was already obsolete.

The Department of Mass Communication suggested to the Department of Social Sciences that, since the draft Statement had appeared in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, it was now in the public domain and ought to be released to any paper that wanted it. On mature consideration, this view was rejected. Rather than run the risk of having wide publicity given to a portion of the Statement which might subsequently be amended in the light of comments of scientists consulted, it was felt that the publication should be postponed until these scientists had had the opportunity of sending their comments. U.N.E.S.C.O. accordingly asked the editors of MAN and the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* to withhold publication until that time.

It seems regrettable that it has not been possible to act entirely in accordance with what several scientists regarded as a wise and sound procedure. However, I hope that the new Statement in its final version will be published in the near future and discussed in an atmosphere of serenity.

ALFRED MÉTRAUX

Department of Social Sciences, U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris

Note

The Hon. Editor is most grateful to Dr. Métraux for his very clear account of the circumstances, and is glad to learn that Professor Ashley Montagu did not, as he had been given to understand last October (during Dr. Métraux's absence in America), publish the draft entirely without consultation with U.N.E.S.C.O.

At the moment of going to press, a letter has been received from Professor Ashley Montagu enlarging upon this aspect of the matter in reply to Dr. Métraux's letter above. It will be printed in the next issue of MAN.—ED.

Social Anthropology: Past and Present. Cf. MAN, 1950, 198, 254 and 271; 1951, 33-5, 62, 78, 120, 150, 199 and 250; 1952, 14 and 48

71 SIR,—Professor Evans-Pritchard may or may not have been strictly correct in imputing to Malinowski the remark about history cited by Dr. Leach in his letter (MAN, 1951, 199), but those who were in touch with Malinowski in his heyday during the earlier nineteen-thirties will recognize it as being at least in character.

Nevertheless Malinowski's historical leanings can be traced considerably further back than Dr. Leach's quotation from *Africa*, to 1924 indeed, when, as possibly not many will recall, he reviewed at some length in *Nature* that notorious book, *The Children of the Sun* itself. Therein Malinowski permitted himself to acknowledge that '... Mr. Perry ... emphasizes at every opportunity the importance of regarding human civilization as an organized whole, the necessity of studying every item and aspect of culture in its functional dependence upon the others,' and to reflect: 'with such sound methodological foundations, the conceptions of Professor Elliot Smith and Mr. Perry are capable of being developed still further and of deepening our understanding of human culture and its history.' Although he had not himself been converted from his faith in evolutionism,

he admitted that '... certainly Mr. Perry's books and Professor Elliot Smith's teachings are making a very strong case in all their positive claims.'

That some residuum of such historical leanings persisted thereafter occurred to me when, at times in his L.S.E. seminars, Malinowski would make some remark, generally an aside, which ran counter to the conventional attitude of spurning the Elliot Smith—Perry doctrines out of hand, or admonished some too urgent student critic of them to acquaint himself more fully with the ideas before venturing on criticism. Perry used to remark that Malinowski, in conversation with him, often acknowledged the soundness of the diffusionist ideas, and towards the end of 1945 Perry recounted to me a long talk he had with Malinowski just before the latter left for America, during which he had declared himself, a little jocularly, perhaps a little wistfully, a convert to diffusionism.

It does seem then that Malinowski perhaps was not in reality as contemptuous of history, at least in its Elliot Smith—Perry form, as his fulminations in public controversy and his scorn in his writings for historical reconstruction and 'antiquarianism' made it appear. Could it be that they were rather his reaction to the forcefulness and sincerity of Elliot Smith's advocacy of his claims?

Hence it may be that Professor Evans-Pritchard's conflict with the dominant functional theory and with the views of most of his anthropological colleagues might have had the sympathetic if unvoiced approbation of the chief subject of his strictures. Nevertheless, despite Dr. Leach's whimsical fears, no 'Children of the Moon,' or 'Megalthic Culture of Nova Scotia' is likely to emerge from the select circle of the Association of Social Anthropologists if only because, as was pointed out by Professor Gluckman recently (*Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*, No. 16, p. 27), most of the fertile ideas in anthropology have emanated from armchair students. Only they, serenely perched above the murk of the everyday functioning of an infinitude of societies, can distinguish the wood from the trees, can glimpse that vision of human culture towards which, as Malinowski admitted in his review, the *Children of the Sun* was 'the first systematic and daring theory... and the first scheme of its birth, history, spread, and partial decay,' and to which, as he once modestly claimed, ethnology is but a handmaiden, albeit the first (*Economica*, 1922, p. 219).

London

C. E. JOEL

Caste in India. Cf. MAN, 1951, 235

72 SIR,—In his otherwise judicious review of Hocart's *Caste* Professor Hutton ignores the fact that the Indian caste system, as it exists today, is purely ritual. The rules which compel the inhabitants of a village to wear distinguishing marks, to refrain from eating together and so on, serve no natural function or economic purpose, and have the highest religious sanctions. In the absence of evidence, from any part of the world, that the sacred has ever developed out of the profane, we must suppose that the system was ritual in origin, and we may note that of the 15 factors or groups of factors which Professor Hutton himself lists as having probably contributed to the development of the system, no less than nine are concerned with ritual (*Caste in India*, p. 164).

It is quite true, as Professor Hutton says, that Hocart's thesis is by itself insufficient to account for the Indian caste system, for if it were the systems in India and Fiji would be much more alike, and it is at least possible that secular causes have influenced its development. The factors which he lists, both ritual and secular, are however far too widespread and general to account for the origin of so peculiar a system. It is to be hoped that anthropologists will one day begin to realize that general causes are insufficient to account for particular effects.

Usk, Monmouthshire

RAGLAN

The Ostrich in South-Western Asia. With a text figure

73 SIR,—The virtual disappearance of the ostrich from the region makes it desirable to record all available data from travellers in south-western Asia during the past 30 years. The evidence compiled so far is as follows: (a) in 1927 I saw two ostriches tied to a stake outside the tent of Mohammed Abu Tayi at

El Jafar in south-eastern Jordan; they had been caught by two Sulubba (Sleyb) in the Laha Depression to the east near the Saudi Arabian border; (b) on 17 April, 1928 an ostrich was seen by Eric Schroeder, member of the Field Museum North Arabian Desert Expedition, about 40 miles west of Rutba Wells in western Iraq; (c) in the Wadi Feiran between Abu Zeneima and Feiran (anc. Pharan) in south-west Sinai, we photographed in 1948 an ostrich hammered on a limestone block (fig. 1); and (d) a number of travellers from 1850 to 1910 (Burton, Doughty, Musil, etc.) and more recently (Philby and Thomas) described seeing ostriches in the Arabian Peninsula.



FIG. 1. GRAFFITO OF AN OSTRICH, SINAI

Since I am compiling data on the occurrence of the ostrich in south-western Asia since 1920, any records from travellers would be most welcome.

Peabody Museum, Harvard University

HENRY FIELD

'Thailand: Nature and Industry: Ethnology.' Cf. MAN, 1951,

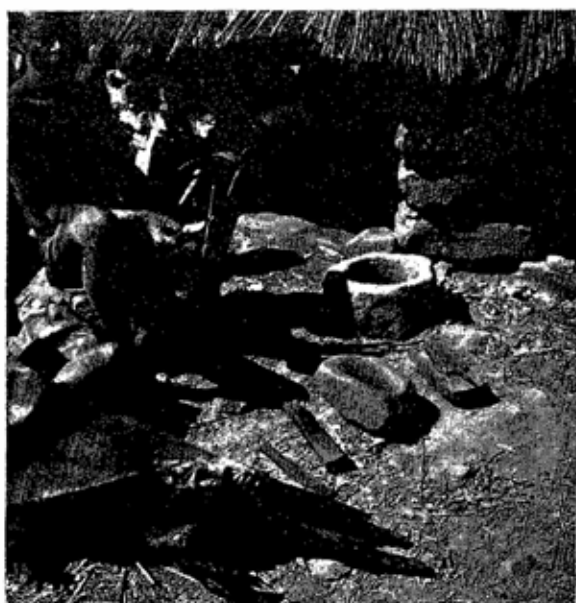
74 ⁵⁶ SIR,—In reply to Dr. E. R. Leach's review of the above revised reprint I would like to point out that I alone am responsible for any alterations occurring in said reprint from the original text, as Dr. Kerr died during the last world war. However, from pious considerations I have still retained the name of my old friend as co-editor. With regard to the alterations of the spelling of certain tribal names, as for instance Kaw to Ko, Kawi to Kui, Lishaw to Lissu and Muhsö to Musso, these changes are due to my personal observations. However, owing to my inability to read the proofs the diacritical signs in my manuscript were omitted by the printer in Bangkok. It should thus be Kō, not simply Ko, and Mussō, not Musso. Mr. Graham, whom I have had the privilege to know very well, has certainly given a very good and often amusing description of the various tribal communities in North Siam, but his classifications of the various ethnic groups, as well as some of his dicta, are not quite unassailable; e.g., his pictures of what he calls Maeo girls are really those of Kō girls. From Mr. Graham's description of the Maeo women's dresses it is evident that he never visited a Maeo village or even met any Maeo people. I point this out without any intention of detracting from the contents of his otherwise excellent book *Siam* (though his historical chapter is no good).

Dr. Leach may of course question my authority in these matters, but having lived in Siam for fully 40 years, many of them in government service, and having travelled in nearly all parts of the country and had the opportunity to meet and study almost all the various ethnic groups of Siam (see for instance my contributions to the *Journal of the Siam Society*) I do think, in all modesty, that I know something of what I am speaking about.

Lynby, Denmark

ERIK SEIDENFADEN

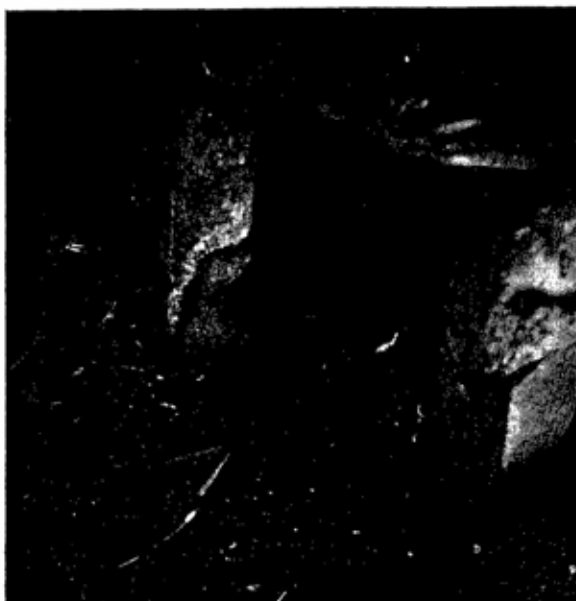
Major, late of the Royal Siamese Provincial Gendarmerie,
Past President and Honorary Member, the Siam Society



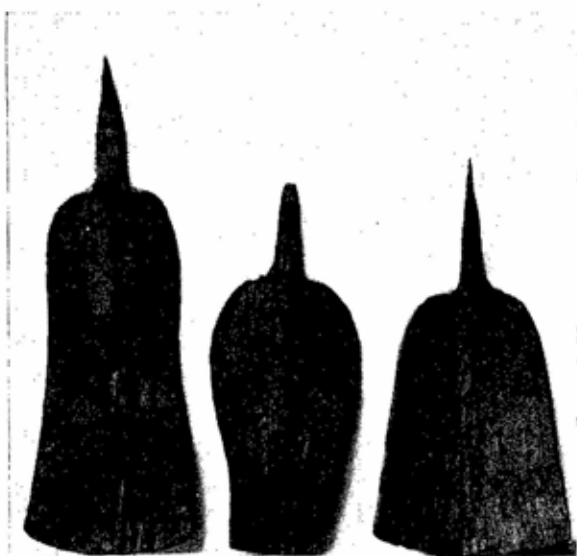
(a) The smith with his tools outside the forge: from left foreground, the bellows (with spare pair behind), two iron hammers, the stone matrix, an unfinished hoe (d, centre) and the stone waterbowl



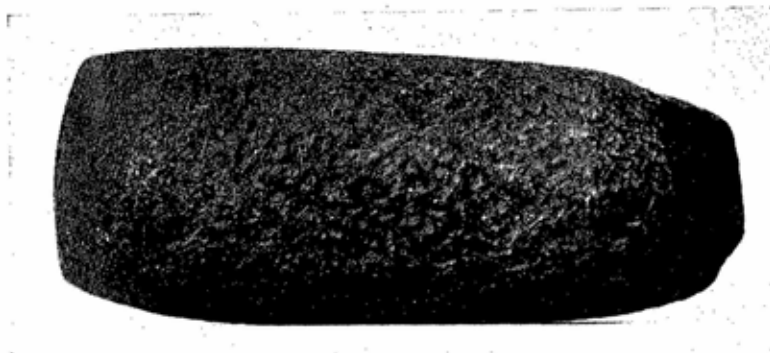
(b) The smith transfers the hoe, now concave, from the matrix to the anvil. At his feet are the two iron hammers and (by threshold) the stone hammer (e,f); foreground, another stone hammer



(c) The stone-roofed hearth. At right centre the glowing nozzle of the tuyère can just be seen. Left foreground, the hoe held in the tongs; at left, part of a basketwork tray



(d) Three stages in making a hoe. Left and centre, discards partly beaten with the stone hammer, but not on the matrix; right, the finished hoe, 8½ inches long



(e, f) Two views of the stone hammer seen in (b) above; length 9¾ inches

IRONWORKING WITH A STONE HAMMER AT TULA, NORTHERN NIGERIA

To illustrate article 76. Photographs: (a-c) William Fagg, 1949; (d-f) by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

SOME NOTES ON THE BIKOM BLACKSMITHS*

by

M. D. W. JEFFREYS, M.A., PH.D.

Department of Anthropology, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

75 The Bikom tribe is a small one in the Bamenda Division of the Trust Territory of the British Cameroons. Its material culture is altering rapidly under the impact of European culture. Thus, European matches have almost eliminated the two old methods of making a fire, by fire sticks (*finge fongo*) and by flint, steel and tinder; the former is the method of the forest tribes and has been acquired by the Bikom from the Widekum people with whom they are in contact. Cheap European iron hoes, matchets and knives have sounded the death knell of the local foundrymen, though this craft revived during the war when European supplies of ironware were cut off. I was detailed in 1941 by the Nigerian Government to report on the ironworkers of Bamenda and the following notes are from that report.

The Blacksmiths

The Fon of Bikom told me that his people brought their own smelters and smiths when they migrated, and that the village of Mbetsinoku was until recently the centre of their iron industry, but that as the result of a recent land dispute their craftsmen had migrated to Oku, so that only farmers are left in Mbetsinoku. The chief of Oku is himself a blacksmith. At present there are only two families in Bikom who are smelters and only four foundries, i.e. places where iron is produced from ore. At Abu are settled the two original Bikom blacksmith families of Jang and Nganganu. There is a foundry at Limiwo and another at Abu.

I visited the two families at Abu and saw both the old men. There were, however, a number of younger men who were apprenticed to the craft. These two blacksmith families said that there was no tradition among them as to how or where or when they had learnt this craft. They had always been ironworkers, but none of them had ever visited the similar workers at We and Isu and hence they were unaware that these other workers employed a different technique.

The Ore

At Laakom I was shown a local ore site in the path at the back of the Rest House. This site was an old iron slag heap, as I found by breaking a sample or two and finding bits of charcoal in them. Nevertheless I was told that this was the only ore used. Nearby I found in the basalt thin stringers of low-grade iron ore. The smelters refused to look at it, saying that it was just ordinary stone and that they never used it for supplies of iron. At Abu I took specimens of the ore used from one of the baskets in the foundry. It appeared to me to be large lumps of iron slag and had been brought from Mbetsinoku, where there is plenty of it. When I suggested that these ore sites were really the slag heaps of ancient smiths, the Bikom ironworkers repudiated the suggestion and said that this ore was the work of God and not of men. I broke open several

*With six text figures. Cf. the following article.

lumps of the Mbetsinoku ore and found in some of them bits of occluded charcoal. I pointed out this fact; the foundrymen replied that they knew that some pieces had charcoal in them and that others did not, but even then they considered that their ore supplies were natural. The amount of iron obtained by these foundrymen as against slag rejected appeared to be much greater than that obtained by the We and Isu workers, who used a poor limonite ore and not an iron slag.

At Iba, a village between Oku and Babungo, I was shown some iron ore found scantily scattered through the soil and was informed that foundrymen from Bikom, Oku and Babungo came to Iba to collect it.

An analysis of specimens of limonite ore used by the Isu and of the slag used as a source of ore by the Bikom gave 40 to 50 per cent. of iron in the limonite and 43.6 per cent. in the slag. The advantage of using slag as a source

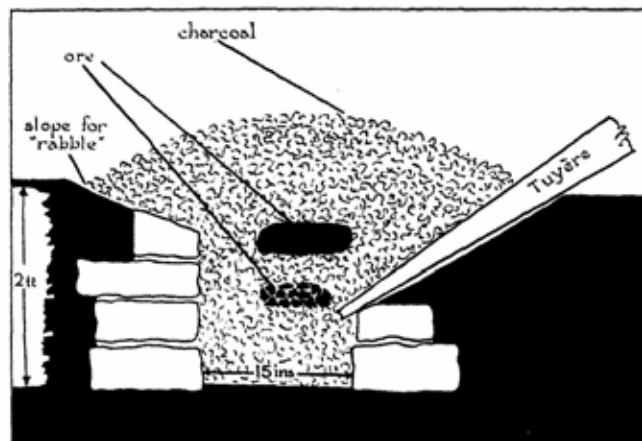


FIG. 1. SECTION OF THE BIKOM FORGE
Not to scale

is that it acts as a flux and enables the iron to be puddled into a bloom at the low temperatures reached in such primitive open hearths. 'Iron ores,' says Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 1948, p. 274), 'can be reduced to metal, in the presence of carbon, at a temperature not exceeding 500° C. and the iron becomes a pasty mass that can be worked at from 800° C. to 900° C., but it does not become liquid enough to be poured for casting until about 1530° C., which is much too high a temperature to have been obtained anciently, and furnace construction only advanced sufficiently for this to be done in the fourteenth century. . .'

Thus it is a mistake to think that African foundrymen handle cast iron. To start with, cast iron is brittle and will not stand hammering. All African iron work is wrought iron, wrought from the bloom that comes from puddling.

The Forge

The forge was of the Catalan type and consisted of a hole in the floor of the foundry. This hole, about two feet deep and one and a half feet wide, was lined with blocks

of granite. Two *tuyères* were used. A sectional diagram of the forge actually in use is seen in fig. 1.

The Tools

The tools are primitive. The anvil was a granite block, which has advantages in that the heat loss from the material being manufactured is less than with the European steel anvil. Consequently, speedier work is possible because the material is malleable longer, and so is worked longer and returned less often to the hearth for reheating.

Heavy, square, flat-faced granite hammers weighing about 35 lb. and lighter ones weighing about 22 lb. are



FIG. 2. TWO IRON HAMMERS

used to expel the slag and to reduce the bloom to a pig and the pig to a rough shape of the article wanted. The final shaping of the iron is done with square, bevel-faced granite hammers weighing about 15 lb. and 8 lb. respectively. These hammer stones have no handles and are gripped with both hands, raised above the head and brought down vertically on the iron.² To trim the faces of these hammer stones and also that of the anvil there were a number of round trimming stones (illustrated in my recent letter in MAN, 1952, 19). For finer work two iron hammers of the shapes shown in fig. 2 were used; that on the left is technically known as a martel. In addition there were a mop consisting of the outer leaf sheaths of maize cobs tied to a stick, a long iron spatula with a wooden handle, and wooden tweezers.

The bellows is of the normal twin-bowl variety with brayed animal skins over the wooden bowls and with long wooden plungers attached to the centre of the skins. There is a gap between the nozzle of the bellows with its two nostrils, one to each bowl, and the *tuyère* in the hearth; this gap acts as a suction inlet on the upstroke in lieu of a valve. The blast is maintained by relays of blowers, the relief being roughly every half-hour. The bellowsman sits on a platform about eight feet above the bellows which he works by a long stick in each hand. This arrangement frees the floor of one group of encumbrancers.

Smelting and Smithying

When I arrived at the foundry a smelt had just been completed. The bloom was held by wooden tweezers, which, though they had been soaked in water, nevertheless burst into flames. The bloom was shingled with heavy wooden mauls on the granite anvil into a circular disc or cake about one and a half inches thick and four inches in diameter which sells for 6d. to the local blacksmiths. Two such cakes are required to make a hoe; there were 25 cakes in the smithy.

I watched the start of a smelt. The ore was broken up between two stones into pieces about half an inch in diameter. Both smelting and smithying, as will be seen,

take place simultaneously in the open hearth. A bed of wood charcoal is put down, then glowing coals, then more charcoal, which now covers the nozzle of the *tuyère*. About two handfuls of ore, separated from each other by a layer of charcoal, were put on the hearth in two different places. On top was piled a cone of charcoal and on top of this cone were placed an iron rod about a foot long and half an inch in diameter and two of the cakes of bloom which were to be welded together to fashion a hoe. I asked whether the cakes would not become fused with the ore, and was told that they would not be allowed to sink so far down through the charcoal. The bellows were now started and a man now came into action with the mop; it was his duty to keep the charcoal heaped up and to quench the outside layer of charcoal with water.

The two cakes and the iron rod were taken out when white-hot. The rod was placed between the two cakes and these were hammered till rod and cakes were fused into one. This welding was achieved by a few blows of the heavy, blunt-faced stone hammer. This iron rod now

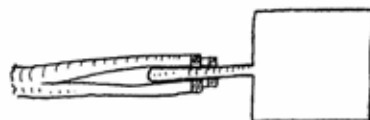


FIG. 3

served as a handle whereby the bloom could be manipulated; the rod was fitted into a wooden holder, as shown in fig. 3. This pig was now heated and hammered until it was oblong in shape, and the part furthest from the handle was beaten out to form the socket of the hoe (fig. 4). At



FIG. 4

this stage the pig was cooled off and the rod broken off; a wooden handle was fitted to the flattened end and the pig was then reheated and hammered out into a heart-shaped, socketed iron hoe (fig. 5).



FIG. 5

The hoe turned out by the Bikom smiths, while of the same heart shape as that of the Oku, differs in the pattern of the handle and shows an economy of metal over the Oku hoe. The iron handle, before being bent at right angles to the blade so as to take a straight haft and not the bent or forked stick type, is shaped as shown in fig. 5. When the handle is ready for the wooden haft, it is bent at an angle to the blade and the two lugs at the top are bent round to clasp or grip the haft. The haft to take this hoe handle is trimmed as in fig. 6. The hoe handle is then

lashed to the haft with fibre. These hoes sell at two shillings each and are said to last two to three years only. The metal of the local iron hoe wears more rapidly than does that of the European iron hoe.

Armchair scientists have concluded that with such tools it was not possible to handle red-hot iron. Thus Lucas says (1948, p. 526): 'Also, the only kind of hammer the Egyptians knew until late, apart from wooden mallets, was a stone hammer without handle, with which it would not have been possible to have beaten red-hot metal.' The

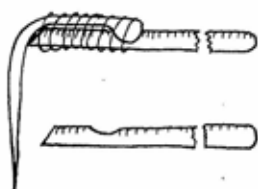


FIG. 6. FITTING OF THE HOE TO THE
WOODEN HAFT

Bikom blacksmiths have solved the problem by the use of an iron rod, but the Isu ironworkers in the Fungom area of the British Cameroons do not even use that (see my article 'Stone Age Smiths,' *Arch. f. Völkerk.*, Vol. III, 1948, pp. 1-9).

While this smithy proceeds the ore is being reduced in the hearth. The *tuyère* is cleaned every eight or ten

minutes by having a long sliver of bamboo rammed down it into the hearth, much as one cleans a rifle barrel with a ramrod.

After several hours the long spatula on the wooden handle was thrust into the hearth and the ore prised up into the furnace to enable the bloom to separate from the slag. This operation was repeated at intervals until finally the slag was lifted out and put aside. The bloom was heated up again and when white-hot was removed with wooden tweezers and shingled with mauls on the granite anvil into a cake or loaf. The bloom was then put back into the furnace, the charcoal heaped up over it, and the slag put on the top. After another hour of blowing, the slag was removed and the amorphous bloom again shingled into a disc about two inches thick and four inches in diameter. The cake was then plunged into cold water. One blow gives one cake and two are required to make a hoe.

In the smithy I saw a considerable amount of scrap, such as broken hoes, hatchets, etc., and was told that this scrap was either for sale or for use by being reformed.

Note

¹ 'The people of Mambwe are famous for their skill in working iron. . . . For forging they use heavy stones, wielded with both hands; for finer work, mallets. The articles made are arrow-heads, spear-heads, hatchets and picks. They know nothing of tempering' (Declé, L., *Three Years in Savage Africa*, London, 1900, p. 298).

IRONWORKING WITH A STONE HAMMER AMONG THE TULA OF NORTHERN NIGERIA*

by

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76 The frontier between Northern Nigeria and the British Cameroons, like that between the British and French Cameroons, and indeed like most political boundaries in West Africa, cuts across tribes which have a good deal in common in the way of material culture; cultural and ecological zones—as in this case the Benue Valley—tend to be roughly at right angles to the frontiers and parallel with the coast. This brief note on a smithy which I visited in December, 1949 (in company with Mr. Bernard Fagg, Government Archaeologist, Nigeria, who had suggested and arranged the visit, and Mr. Hugh Sandford, the Assistant District Officer) at Tula Wange, chief village of the Tula tribe of south-east Bauchi Province, some 28 miles from the Benue, is intended for comparison with Dr. Jeffreys's interesting account of Bikom ironworking.

The Tula are a small tribe speaking a Sudanic language and practising terrace cultivation in an extremely efficient manner on their steep and craggy hillsides; their situation and way of life are probably among the most pleasant and 'unspoilt' still surviving in West Africa—although

*With Plate D and a text figure. Cf. the preceding article.

only 15 miles away, at the Tangale village of Biliri, is to be seen a 'development' scheme which seems strikingly at variance with the natural ecology.

The forge now to be described is used only for smithy-ing, and not also for smelting like the Bikom one. Smelting was formerly carried on in the bush outside the village, and we gathered that two or three years' supply of iron would usually be smelted at one time; but the last smelt had been about three years before, and it seemed unlikely to be repeated since imported iron was now becoming readily available—though the smiths emphatically assured us that this was much less hard and satisfactory than the locally smelted iron.

The forge is situated not far from the village chief's house in the main part of the village which lies at the top of a great cliff of red limestone. It is a small round hut standing somewhat apart from the living huts in the smith's compound. It is of about the same internal diameter as these—eight or nine feet—and has a similar sub-conical thatched dome; but in place of the usual mud it has dry-stone walls, no doubt to allow freer ventilation, and these are no more than three feet high, so that it is impossible

to stand inside without bending forward. As can be seen in the floor plan (fig. 1, based on a rough sketch made at the time) there are two doorways about two and a half feet wide, which are entered on hands and knees. The centre of the floor is occupied by a stone structure resembling a miniature dolmen, the roof of which is formed by a single slab of tabular limestone rather more than two feet square; this structure houses the hearth and is entirely open on the side next to the smith (Plate Dc), while there is a smaller opening on the opposite side, presumably to assist draught. The large clay *tuyère* is inserted through the

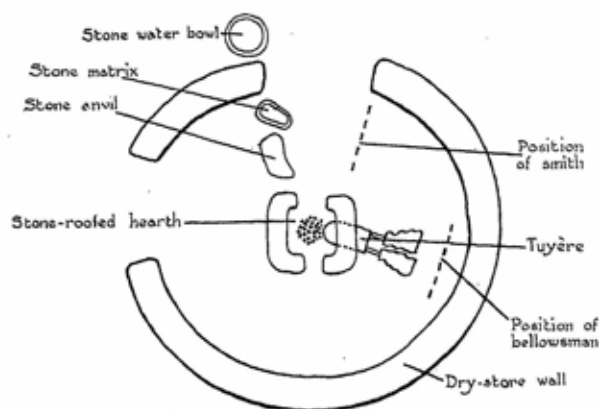


FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE SMITHY AT TULA

Not to scale; the hut is about eight or nine feet in diameter.

wall of the structure and the bellows boy, an apprentice, sits between it and the hut wall rhythmically working his bellows, which are of the bag type, made usually of goat-skins, and not the bowl type as among the Bikom; the Hausa bag bellows seems to have recently supplanted the bowl type among many of the pagan tribes in Northern Nigeria. The fire itself is of charcoal and is laid not in a pit but at ground level, or at least in the shallowest of depressions.

When we asked the smith to demonstrate his craft, he sent the apprentice to revive the fire, which I believe had been in use earlier that morning, and then produced his raw material, a long strip of imported iron, about two inches wide and $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch thick. From this he struck a length of some eight or nine inches and this was placed in the fire until red-hot. It was then beaten with two iron hammers of the normal Hausa type (Plate Da) into the shape of a hoe on the smooth flat stone anvil which was sunk in the hut floor; this anvil was of a hard stone different from the local limestone. The hoe was handled with a pair of iron tongs of the usual form which can be seen in Plate D. The stone hammer was now brought into play; this is a kind of outsize celt of extremely hard and heavy stone, perhaps containing iron, which has been battered and pecked into a roughly cylindrical form with chisel-like edges at each end, the butt end however being only roughly flaked and left uneven (perhaps for possible finishing later), whereas the other end has been carefully bevelled and finished by pecking and grinding; the slightly curved edge is not very sharp, but whether by design or

through wear in use, presents a narrow, flat or slightly rounded surface, perhaps $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch wide. This specimen, which I acquired for the British Museum, appears to have been in use for some time; it is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, its greatest diameter is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches and its weight is just over 7 lb. It appears to be similar to the smaller of two hammers illustrated by Dr. Jeffreys in fig. 7 of his article 'Stone Age Smiths' in *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, Vol. III (1948), pp. 1-9.

The smith grasped this massive implement in his right hand about the middle, with the striking edge downward and at right angles to his body, and wielded it with an up-and-down motion, holding the hoe with the tongs on the flat anvil, in such a position that the straight edge of the hammer struck always in line with the long axis of the hoe. The hammer was raised about a foot or so before each stroke, and produced deep contiguous furrows in the metal; it was noticeable that the smith beat the whole surface of the far right-hand quarter of the more or less rectangular hoe before proceeding to the near left-hand and so to the remaining two quarters. This process, carried out on both sides of the hoe, being quickly completed, he transferred it still flat, and with the tang away from him, to the stone mould or matrix seen in Plate Db to the right of the anvil; in the top of this was a beautifully fashioned and very even concavity, presumably produced by pecking, and corresponding to (but somewhat larger than) the desired final form of the hoe. For this operation the metal had been made very hot, and he now battered it into the matrix with the same stone hammer until it had fully taken this form, the edge still striking along the long axis; since, however, the hammer edge is not curved so much as the matrix, the effect on the surface of the hoe is now rather a series of dents than of long furrows. Finally it was returned to the flat anvil (Plate Db) and beaten carefully over small areas of the concave surface with one of the iron hammers (probably the smaller) to flatten out the worst of the ridges and depressions produced by the massive blows with the stone hammer; the finishing touches were also put to the tang. The whole operation had taken half an hour.

It will be seen that the stone hammer and the matrix (which the smith would not part with) here perform the same function as the pressing machine with which car bodies and other products are stamped out of sheet metal in the ironworks of modern industry. The special advantages of the stone hammer would appear to lie in its great weight and mass, concentrated along a narrow line, and also no doubt in its low conductivity of heat. It would certainly seem well adapted for consolidating and driving the enclosed air out of the low-grade porous metal now used in making these hoes, and no doubt was specially efficacious with the superior locally made metal formerly used.

The practice of tempering with water was unknown to the smith, although just outside the door of the hut there stood an interesting stone bowl (Plate Da) containing water, apparently for damping the fire and cooling the tools when necessary.

Among other objects noted in the hut were a second stone hammer, the working face of which was flat or rounded rather than edged (Plate Db, c, foreground); a circular basketwork tray (Plate Db, c) which I believe contained charcoal to replenish the fire; and a heavy iron axe blade in an iron haft (held, with the tongs, in the smith's left hand in Plate Da), used for cutting metal with the aid of an iron hammer.

It is perhaps permissible to speculate on the possibility that the ironworking techniques described in this article

and by Dr. Jeffreys are survivals from what I venture to call the West African Siderolithic, when iron and stone tools co-existed and copper and bronze or brass were still, so far as we know, some centuries in the future. This seems to have been the case for example in the Nok culture of the last few centuries before Christ, where Mr. Bernard Fagg has found *tuyères* and other evidence of ironworking in association with stone axes as well as with pottery sculpture, which includes a representation of a man carrying a hafted stone axe.

PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS OF NORTHERN BUSHMEN

by

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77 In his paper on the Sandawe, Trevor (1950) has critically discussed some measurements of Southern Kalahari (*?auni-khomani*) Bushmen published by Dart (1937), and Northern (*!khū*) Bushmen published by Seiner (1912) and by Lebzelter (1931). He comments:

Dart [says] that the Southern Bushmen are 'generally acknowledged to be the purest of the Bushman type,' but such positive evidence as is yielded by his sample of twenty suggests that it is the Northern Bushmen that are more differentiated from the other populations under consideration. At the same time, attention must be drawn to the fact that Lebzelter's Northern Bushmen display some peculiar mean values, notably for *B'* (*per se* and in relation to *B*), *J* and *NB*,¹ which may cast doubt on the comparability of his technique with that of other observers. In such a case, Dart's series, small as it is, would represent the head measurements of Bushmen better than the larger one of Lebzelter.

While attached to the University of California African Expedition's anthropological unit directed by Dr. E. M. Loeb, I obtained physical measurements of 43 male and

36 female adult *!khū* Bushmen of Eastern Ovamboland and the adjacent part of Angola. This series provides independent data relating to the 11 characters for which Trevor has drawn upon Lebzelter's results. As far as I can ascertain, my technique in measuring these characters agrees with that of Trevor.

Table I gives the estimated S.D.s (standard deviations) for these characters in my Northern Bushman series, in the Bushman and Hottentot series analysed by Trevor and in a series of the Bantu-speaking Kwanyama of Ovamboland measured by me. The mean weighted S.D.s calculated from these data are of the same order as those furnished by the material collated by Trevor. It will be noted that the S.D.s of my Bushman series are in all cases considerably lower than the mean weighted S.D.s and, for all but two (*G'H* and *NB*) of the eight linear characters, less than those of any other series. In this connexion it must be remembered that my subjects belonged to six neighbouring bands which in effect form one inbreeding group.

TABLE I. ESTIMATED STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF NORTHERN BUSHMAN AND OTHER SERIES *

Sex	Character	Northern Bushmen (Wells)	Northern Bushmen (Seiner)	Southern Bushmen (Dart)	Hottentots (Schultze)	Kwanyama (Wells)	Mean Weighted S.D.
♂	KH	5.13 (43)	6.32 (72)	5.41 (20)	6.51 (73)	6.85 (100)	6.31 [303]
	L	4.48 (43)	—	6.17 (20)	5.45 (74)	5.72 (100)	5.45 [233]
	B	3.32 (43)	—	5.48 (20)	3.92 (74)	4.87 (100)	4.66 [233]
	B'	2.99 (43)	—	5.03 (20)	—	4.75 (100)	4.32 [160]
	J	3.84 (43)	—	5.32 (20)	4.17 (74)	5.00 (100)	4.56 [233]
	G'H	5.73 (43)	—	5.08 (20)	7.09 (74)	5.76 (100)	6.11 [233]
	NH	3.08 (43)	—	3.81 (20)	3.76 (74)	3.25 (100)	3.43 [233]
	NB	2.70 (43)	—	2.59 (20)	2.36 (74)	3.07 (100)	2.74 [233]
	100 B/L	2.35 (43)	—	2.60 (20)	2.64 (74)	2.99 (100)	2.73 [233]
	100 G'H/J	4.34 (43)	—	3.94 (20)	5.11 (74)	4.30 (100)	4.54 [233]
	100 NB/NH	7.41 (43)	—	10.97 (20)	10.03 (74)	8.48 (100)	8.98 [233]
♀	KH	4.93 (36)	5.80 (18)	5.76 (21)	6.30 (28)	6.09 (64)	5.69 [162]

* The units are centimetres for KH and millimeters for the remaining absolute measurements. The number of observations, *n*, on which each estimated S.D. is based is shown in parenthesis (). The number of degrees of freedom, *φ*, in the case of each mean weighted S.D. is shown in brackets []. The S.D.s of Seiner's Northern Bushmen, Dart's Southern Bushmen and Schultze's Nama Hottentots are those given by Trevor. The absolute and indicial values for characters which were probably measured in a different way from the rest appear in sloped numerals.

Comparison of Northern Bushman Series

From Table II it will be seen that in my male group the mean stature is somewhat greater than in those of Seiner and Lebzelter, but less than that recorded by Miss D. F. Bleek (1927) for O !khū Bushmen of Central Angola. None

TABLE II. MEAN STATURES OF NORTHERN BUSHMAN SERIES *

	♂	♀
	cm.	cm.
Seiner (1912)	156.60±0.74 (72)	148.23±1.34 (18)
Bleek (1927)	159.30±1.35 (22)	148.80±1.21 (22)
Lebzelter (1931)	157.70±0.83 (58)	—
Wells (present series)	158.18±0.99 (43)	148.53±0.95 (36)

* The standard errors have been found from the mean weighted S.D.s. in Table I.

of the differences are, however, statistically significant. The mean for my female series is almost identical with those of Seiner and Miss Bleek.

For the other characters my series can only be compared with that of Lebzelter. Table III shows that the mean for *J* is almost identical in the two series, and that for *L* very nearly so. Trevor's scepticism regarding the low value for *J* in Lebzelter's series is therefore not justified. Both *B* and *NB* are somewhat greater in my series than in that of Lebzelter, the difference in each case being approximately 2.6 times its standard error. Trevor had already questioned the extremely small nasal breadth attributed to the Northern Bushman by Lebzelter. Whether these differences arise from sampling or from technique is not evident. The mean for 100 *B/L* in the two series is practically identical; Lebzelter's figure is higher than might be expected from his means for the two measurements.

The means of the remaining characters are grossly discrepant. Lebzelter's figure exceeds mine by almost 11 mm. in the case of *B'*, by more than 8 mm. in that of *GH'*, and by more than 7 mm. in that of *NH'*. These differences,

as well as that for *NB* already mentioned, are reflected in the means for 100 *GH'/J* and 100 *NB/NH'* in the two series; I find the Northern Bushman considerably shorter-faced and broader-nosed than does Lebzelter.

As Trevor has pointed out, Lebzelter's value for *B'* appears improbably high when considered in relation to those of *B* and *J*. I suspect that the measurement given by Lebzelter is not *B'* as measured by Trevor, Dart and myself. In the case of *GH'* and *NH'* the discrepancy is most plausibly explained by differing judgments regarding the position of nasion. Having handled a considerable number of Bushman crania I feel that I should be able to locate this point in the living subject fairly accurately. At the least I consider my measurements of *GH'* and *NH'* unlikely to be as much as 7 mm. below the true value, and think that Lebzelter's values probably err in excess as much as mine in defect, if not more.

In sum, I find the Northern Bushman to be short, dolichocephalic, mesoprosopic and platyrrhine verging on mesorrhine; Lebzelter would have them leptoprosopic and mesorrhine verging on leptorrhine.

Comparison of Northern and Kalahari Bushmen

The mean stature of the Southern Kalahari Bushman, both male and female, is less than that of any of the Northern Bushman series, but the differences are not significant. It cannot therefore be asserted that the Southern Bushmen are shorter than the Northern, although larger series might still show this to be the case.

Dart's Kalahari Bushmen significantly exceed my Northern Bushmen in all four transverse diameters, *B*, *B'*, *J* and *NB*. The difference in *B* is partly offset by a smaller, nonsignificant difference in *L*, so that the difference in 100 *B/L* is not significant.

The marked discrepancy between the two series in *GH'* and *NH'* is probably due, as Trevor has inferred, to a difference in technique. Thus the values for these two measurements, and for 100 *GH'/J* and 100 *NB/NH'*, are not comparable. The face and nose of the Kalahari Bushman

TABLE III. MEANS OF NORTHERN BUSHMAN AND OTHER SERIES *

Sex	Character	Northern Bushmen (Wells)	Northern Bushmen (Lebzelter)	Southern Bushmen (Dart)	Hottentots (Schultze)	Kwanyama (Wells)
♂	<i>KH</i>	158.18±0.99 (43)	157.70±0.83 (58)	155.82±1.41 (20)	162.42±0.74 (73)	170.92±0.63 (100)
	<i>L</i>	188.86±0.86 (43)	188.02±0.72 (58)	190.20±1.22 (20)	192.12±0.63 (74)	192.88±0.55 (100)
	<i>B</i>	141.40±0.73 (43)	138.88±0.61 (58)	144.85±1.04 (20)	140.00±0.54 (74)	145.48±0.47 (100)
	<i>B'</i>	100.02±0.68 (43)	111.00±0.57 (58)	105.10±0.97 (20)	—	105.58±0.43 (100)
	<i>J</i>	128.74±0.72 (43)	128.96±0.60 (58)	133.45±1.02 (20)	132.47±0.53 (74)	139.10±0.46 (100)
	<i>GH'</i>	108.88±0.96 (43)	117.00±0.80 (58)	102.05±1.37 (20)	105.91±0.71 (74)	119.57±0.61 (100)
	<i>NH'</i>	46.98±0.54 (43)	54.14±0.45 (58)	39.90±0.77 (20)	41.91±0.40 (74)	50.10±0.34 (100)
	<i>NB</i>	40.21±0.43 (43)	38.72±0.36 (58)	42.17±0.61 (20)	41.66±0.32 (74)	45.20±0.27 (100)
	100 <i>B/L</i>	74.92±0.43 (43)	74.97±0.36 (58)	76.17±0.61 (20)	72.90±0.32 (74)	75.16±0.27 (100)
	100 <i>GH'/J</i>	84.62±0.71 (43)	91.09±0.60 (58)	76.61±1.02 (20)	80.55±0.52 (74)	86.21±0.45 (100)
	100 <i>NB/NH'</i>	86.83±1.41 (43)	73.00±1.18 (58)	109.27±2.01 (20)	100.15±1.04 (74)	90.56±0.90 (100)
♀	<i>KH</i>	148.53±0.95 (36)	—	145.97±1.24 (21)	149.70±1.01 (28)	160.14±0.71 (64)

* The absolute and indicial values for characters which were probably measured in a different way from the rest appear in sloped numerals. The standard errors have been found from the mean weighted S.D.s. in Table I.

may well be shorter as well as wider than those of the Northern, but the figures before us cannot be taken as proving this.

Comparison of Northern Bushmen and Hottentots

Schultze's Nama series differs from the Northern Bushman in being significantly taller, longer-headed, broader-faced and broader-nosed. There is no significant difference in head breadth, and so the value for 100 B/L is significantly lower in the Nama. The values for GH' and NH', and consequently for 100 GH'/J and 100 NB/NH', show discrepancies which are again probably due to differences in technique.

Comparison of Northern Bushmen and Kwanyama

The Kwanyama, the Bantu-speaking neighbours of my Northern Bushmen, significantly exceed them in all linear characters. There is, however, no significant difference in the mean for 100 B/L or for 100 GH'/J. In the case of 100 NB/NH' the difference is doubtfully significant, being approximately 2.2 times its standard error. It is noteworthy that the difference between the series in GH' is much greater than that in NH', i.e. the lower portion of the face is proportionately deeper in the Kwanyama.

Non-Metrical Features of the Northern Bushmen

Records of facial colour assessed by the von Luschan scale (after drastic cleansing of the face) are available for 40 males and 20 females. These can be compared with Dart's records of facial colour in the Kalahari Bushmen and my own in the Kwanyama. To ensure a true comparison I have utilized only Dart's data for his adult subjects. The data for the two sexes have been separated, since in all three groups the females tend to be lighter in colour than the males.

that in the former the medium brown class predominates over the light brown, whereas in the latter the reverse is the case; the χ^2 test shows this difference to be significant. The female series does not reveal a corresponding difference, but it must be pointed out that the Northern Bushman series is concentrated around von Luschan's categories 19 and 20, whereas the Kalahari Bushman series is dispersed over the whole range of light brown colours. Thus the Kalahari Bushmen of both sexes tend to be lighter in colour. Although dark brown individuals are proportionately more numerous in the Kalahari Bushman series, the difference is not statistically significant. The Northern Bushman and the Kwanyama could hardly be more strongly contrasted, only two Bushman subjects overlapping the lower limit of the Kwanyama range.

The mode of growth of the scalp hair was recorded in 33 male and 29 female subjects. Nine males and one female showed 'fleecy' hair; all the remainder had the discrete 'peppercorn' distribution.

Steatopygia in the Northern Bushman is essentially a female characteristic. Only three of the males showed this phenomenon even slightly, whereas of 42 women and girls, 10 displayed slight, 19 moderate and 11 pronounced steatopygia. On the average this condition is less strongly developed in my series than in Dart's Kalahari Bushman females.

The head form of the Northern Bushmen is characteristically an obtuse pentagonoid, with the greatest breadth high on the parietal bones. In profile the glabella is flat, the forehead vertical, the vault flat and the parieto-occipital region flattened and sloping. The interocular region is consistently flat and appears broad in proportion to the face, and there is a distinctive infra-orbital prominence of the cheek bones. All these are accepted features of the Bushman type.

TABLE IV. FACIAL SKIN COLOURS OF NORTHERN BUSHMEN, SOUTHERN BUSHMEN AND KWANYAMA

Von Luschan Categories	Northern Bushmen		Southern Bushmen		Kwanyama	
	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀
6, 12-20	15 (37.5%)	17 (85.0%)	11 (55.0%)	16 (76.2%)	—	—
21-25	23 (57.5%)	3 (15.0%)	7 (35.0%)	3 (14.3%)	—	—
26-32	2 (5.0%)	—	2 (10.0%)	2 (9.5%)	63 (63.0%)	56 (87.5%)
33-35	—	—	—	—	37 (37.0%)	8 (12.5%)
Totals	40 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	21 (100.0%)	100 (100.0%)	64 (100.0%)

Trevor (1950) has grouped skin colours in three broad classes: (i) yellowish brown and reddish brown to light brown (von Luschan 6 and 15-20), (ii) medium brown (von Luschan 21-25), and (iii) chocolate and darker brown (von Luschan 26-32). With a minor extension of the first class to include von Luschan 12-14, this grouping has been accepted here, but to accommodate the Kwanyama it has been necessary to add a fourth, near-black, class (von Luschan 33-35). The distribution of the series in these classes is shown in Table IV. If the Northern and the Kalahari Bushman male series are compared, it will be seen

The Northern Bushman as a Physical Type

My Northern Bushmen do not have the unusually broad forehead or the unusually long face and nose suggested by Lebzelter's evidence; nor do they have so markedly narrow a head and nose. The differences between these Northern Bushmen and those of the Southern Kalahari are therefore not as considerable as appeared to Trevor. Nevertheless the two series differ significantly in four out of seven metrical characters and also in skin colour, so that they represent two distinct populations.

Dart has shown that his Southern Kalahari Bushmen are

practically free from recent Negro or other intrusion, and are a mixture, in nearly equal proportions, of two distinct physical types, one dwarfish (male stature below 150 cm.), gracile and small-headed, the other taller, more robust, larger-headed and coarser in features. He emphasizes that these two types are more akin to one another than either is to the Negro or any other race of mankind, and are variants of the fundamental 'Bushmanoid' or Khoisaniform type. The dwarf type appears to have preponderated among the */xam* Bushmen of the north-western Cape Province; investigators who were most familiar with this group of Bushmen have therefore regarded it as the 'pure' Bushman type. Dart terms the more robust type 'Boskopoid', but its features are more exactly represented by the Fish Hoek fossil skeleton than by that of Boskop.

Dart's 'Boskopoid' type appears to be much less strongly represented in my Northern Bushman group than in the Southern Kalahari Bushmen, and must play a considerably smaller part in determining the average characters of the group. Yet in stature the Northern Bushman deviates even more markedly than the Kalahari Bushmen from the 'pure' dwarf type.

There is undoubtedly some Negro admixture in the Northern Bushman series, but this intrusion has only slightly modified the Bushman type in such features as skin colour and head and face form. Nor do the cranial and facial diameters of this series suggest any strong Negro influence. It seems unlikely therefore that the greater stature of the Northern Bushman is due wholly to Negro admixture. The suggestion that the taller stature and low cranial breadth of the Northern Bushman group are due to

Hottentot admixture seems to be negated by the marked difference in head length and facial breadth.

The late Miss D. F. Bleek some years ago suggested to me that there is a distinct Northern Bushman type, gracile and small-headed like the dwarf Bushman of the south, but appreciably taller. I consider my Northern Bushman series to represent this type only slightly modified by 'Boskopoid' and Negro admixtures. If this interpretation is admitted, we may be tempted to carry it a step further, and to suggest that the Northern Bushman is the more primitive Bushman type, the dwarfish Southern Bushman being a later specialization. This would accord with the widely held view that the dwarfing of the Bushman stock in the Cape Province is historically a quite recent development.

Note

* The symbols employed by Trevor and in this paper to represent the characters studied are: *KH*, stature; *L*, head length; *B*, head breadth; *B'*, minimum frontal breadth; *J*, bizygomatic breadth; *GH'*, total facial height; *NH'*, nasal height; *NB*, nasal breadth; *100 B/L*, cephalic index; *100 GH'/J*, total facial index; *100 NB/NH'*, nasal index.

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ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

PROCEEDINGS

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

78 Volume LXXXI (1951), Parts 1 and 2 (published together), of the *Journal* of the Institute is in an advanced state of preparation and will be published shortly. It will contain the following papers:

- 'Some Features of Nuer Religion' (Presidential Address), by Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard.
- 'The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology' (Huxley Memorial Lecture), by Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.
- 'The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage' (Curl Bequest Prize Lecture), by Dr. E. R. Leach.

'An Ape or the Ape,' by Professor S. Zuckerman, C.B., F.R.S.

'Tobacco in New Guinea and the other Parts of Melanesia,' by Dr. A. Riesenfeld.

'Marriage and Family in the Dedza District of Nyasaland,' by Dr. Lucy P. Mair.

'A Transitional Industry from the Base of the Upper Palaeolithic in Palestine and Syria,' by Professor Dorothy A. E. Garrod.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, Reports of the Council and of the Honorary Treasurer, and combined index of the *Journal* and *MAN* for 1951.

SHORTER NOTES

IV International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Vienna, September, 1952

79 The Organizing Committee of the Fourth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences have now issued the Second Circular of the Session to be held in Vienna from 1 to 8 September this year. With it is circulated the Membership Form, on which prospective members should state their requirements, titles of papers, etc., as soon as possible. The information not already included in the First Circular (*MAN*, 1951, 256) is as follows: libraries, museums, academies,

etc., may enrol as institutional members to obtain the Proceedings and other Congress publications; title of papers to be read should reach the Secretary by 15 April and abstracts not exceeding 250-300 words by 15 June for distribution to members at the beginning of the Congress; except in special cases, the time allotted to each paper will be 20 minutes, with 10 minutes for discussion; they may be read in English, French, German, Italian or Spanish; the membership fee of 200 Austrian schillings (or about £3) may be either paid in Vienna at the beginning of the Congress or sent in advance to Creditanstalt-Bankverein,

Vienna I, Austria, Account No. C-395, 'Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques'; prices of rooms have risen since the First Circular, but are now likely to remain stable at 75 to 175 sch. for single and 125 to 265 sch. for double rooms in first-class hotels, 30 to 80 sch. for single and 40 to 150 sch. for double rooms in second-class hotels, and 8 to 10 sch. a bed in student's hostels. The circular also mentions that almost 1,000 people have already announced their intention to enrol as members. It may be obtained from the Secretary, Professor W. Koppers, Institut für Völkerkunde, Neue Hofburg, Corps de Logis, Vienna I, Austria.

It is learnt that the membership fee and the cost of one day's lodging may be paid to the Continental and Oversea Travel Co., 220, High Street, Kensington, in advance, and that a lump sum may similarly be paid to cover the whole cost of lodging during the Congress; but it appears that any such payments (less the agents' fee) will be charged against the British travel allowance of £25. Details of an additional allowance to be made by the Bank of England to a limited number of British delegates have been circulated to Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

XXX International Congress of Americanists, Cambridge, August, 1952

80 The Second Circular of the thirtieth session of the International Congress of Americanists, to meet in Cambridge from 18 to 23 August this year, has now been issued, and the following is its substance in so far as this was not included in the First Circular (MAN, 1952, 4).

Abstracts not exceeding 200 words of papers offered should reach the Secretaries as soon as possible and in any case not later than 1 June. Their titles and details of slides and films should be

entered on the form enclosed with the circular. Lanterns will be available for all normal sizes of slide and safety film strip, cinema projectors only for 16 mm. safety film, with or without sound.

The reception office will be open for enrolment and payment of subscriptions from 10 a.m. on Monday, 18 August. The Congress will be opened by the Vice-Chancellor in the afternoon and there will then be a plenary session. From Tuesday to Friday will be held meetings of sections, formal receptions and informal meetings of members. It is hoped to arrange a subscription dinner during the period (evening dress optional). After the Congress there will be some short excursions to places of archaeological interest. Places of interest in Cambridge include the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, the Fitzwilliam Museum, the Scott Polar Research Institute and the College buildings.

Accommodation specially recommended (for unaccompanied men) is that in St. John's College, at £1 7s. 6d. per day inclusive.

The Hon. Secretaries are Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell and Mr. A. Digby, the Hon. Treasurer Mr. Webster Plass.

II Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, Algiers, September-October, 1952

81 As already briefly announced in MAN (1951, 166), the second session of the Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, originally to be held in South Africa last year, was later arranged for Algiers this year. The First Circular, recently issued, announces that it will take place from Monday, 29 September, to Saturday, 4 October, 1952. It has been timed to follow the XIX International Geological Congress (8-15 September) and its excursions. It will be held in the Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistoire du Bardo, 3, Rue F. D. Roosevelt, Algiers; communications may be addressed to the Secretary, M. Lionel Balout.

REVIEWS

AFRICA

The Sacred State of the Akan. By Eva L. R. Meyerowitz. London (Faber), 1951. Pp. 222, 2 maps, 8 text figs. and 101 photographs. Price 2 guineas

82 Mrs. Meyerowitz was Art Supervisor of Achimota College on the Gold Coast, when she was asked by the *Burlington Magazine* to write on Ashanti gold ornaments. To understand their purpose, she studied their history and symbolism; and with the help of a studentship from the Emslie Horniman Fund of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and a grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, she has produced both this book and another on *Akan Traditions of Origin* which will be ready in 1952.

Including the Ashanti Confederacy, there are over 70 Akan States on the Gold Coast. In all these the Chiefs, Queen-mothers and Elders have been most willing informants, even on very abstruse matters, and valuable help has been given by learned Africans. It thus comes with the highest credentials, backed by the already considerable literature, in which the names of Bowdich (1819), Danquah (1944), Freeman (1898) and Rattray (1916-1930) are conspicuous.

Since the first reference to a 'King of the Acanes' in 1520, there is fairly continuous history, and folk memory goes back to about A.D. 800. The Bona kingdom was conquered and Islamized about 1595. The kingdom between the Black Volta and the coast forest, founded in 1295, was conquered by the Asante in 1740; and so forth. There is thus much mixture of peoples, aboriginals and invaders. The Akan (Twi) speech was brought in from Kumbu and became the leading language of Asante, and the Domaa States; and the Fante dialects are related to it.

The state among the Akan tribes is conceived as owned by the 'Queen-mother'; she may appoint a male 'King' as its ruler. Succession is in the female line. The 'Queen-mother' represents the Moon, who created the universe by giving birth to the Sun, personified as Sun God. Moon, Sun, and five planets rule the universe, and

are represented by seven matrilineal clans which form a federal state. Their federal chiefs form the state council, and live in the capital, but are subordinate to the King. They look after their tribesmen, and the women are supervised by the local 'queen-mother.' The matrilineal clans are exogamous, but children belong to their mother's clan, which has a totem which may be an animal with symbolic meaning and heraldic use. Some clans appear in more than one state; and Asante had eight clans till recently. The State is thus a territorial and military confederation. A confederate state could go to war with another, but the king usually intervened; and towns within a state could transfer allegiance. Mrs. Meyerowitz compares the structure of the mediaeval German *Reich*, with its Emperor. Land belongs to the deity of the territory, and ceremonies symbolize former territorial conquest. But the Queen-mother owns the State and looks after its women, while her son rules and makes war. She supervises agriculture and female crafts and fashions, and has her own household and treasurer.

The King represents the Sun. He is chosen by the Queen-mother and the people, and his soul (*kra*) is filled with the luminous life-giving fluid of the sun. After death he 'goes elsewhere'; his *kra* rejoins the sun, and his body is preserved in a temple hut. He has secular initiative and is supreme priest.

The Supreme Deity, Nyame, both male and female, separated the male and female forces, and so created sun and moon. She gives life with her fiery arrows, and at certain seasons the girls imitate this. The underworld goddess is another child of the Great Mother, and the fig tree, the palm, the antelope, and the crocodile are other symbols. There are goddesses of the fertile and the barren earth. The sun, Nyankopon, has other symbols, and a creator-god forms a trinity with him and Nyame.

The divine *kra* is the source of energy, human and physical, and has its elaborate cult. Man has also a shadow (*sunsum*), more frail

and the origin of ghosts and evil spirits. At birth a child acquires through it a destiny (*nkabea*) with which its conscious will contends. Kings and Queen-mothers have a mortal *saman*, but an immortal *kra*; in the place of rest these reunite with a *honhom* which provide them with breath. Here is a very clear-cut metaphysic and theology, with elaborate symbolism of living things and numerals, which become decorative on clothes and goldweights. The ceremonial stool and its base represent the waxing and waning moon.

In Takyiman the *ntoro* cult became obligatory about A.D. 1431-65, and spread through the forest region. *Ntoro*, the male fluid, is distinct from *Nyame* and perpetuates the family. The ideal number of *ntoro* groups is twelve, usually but not always exogamous, and concerned with religious and domestic affairs and military controls. This cult is connected with river gods and fertilizing waters. It has no human sacrifice.

In Asante, the state god Tano, the river god of the old Bono kingdom, was acquired by conquest, and was a powerful 'fetish'; everyone possessing some object charged with his potency. He has a long story, revealed to the author by his chief priest at the river source (ch. viii). Another holy place is the Rock of Taa Kora, where priests attained political power after the fall of the Bono kingdom. Another deity, Taa Kesse, is worshipped at Takyiman; and there are others with local shrines and oracles.

There is a calendar year of 360 days, lunar, in twelve months of 30 each named after seasonal occurrences. The state calendar, *Adaduanan*, in nine periods, is coupled with a week of seven days sacred to planets.

The Etsi-Fante fishermen have a star calendar, and the Asebu an agricultural variant of the *Adaduanan*. State festivals and rites are determined by the calendar. Some are only observed by certain tribes; the *Apo* festival of the Bono at Takyiman and at Wankyi, the *Sannaa Kesse* at Takyiman, the *Odwiira* at Kumasi; the *Adae* commemorating dead Kings, the *Akra-Dware*, soul-washing of the King.

The cities (ch. xi) of Bono-Mansu, Fomase-Akyerekere and Twifo-Heman, the earliest Akan centres, destroyed in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, and overgrown with forest, had regular plan and sub-divisions, and main road 'crossing the sun's path', i.e. north to south, separating the abodes of Queen-mother and King. The foundation ceremonies were formal, but there were neither walls nor gates. A few ruins of stone houses remain, but houses were of mud-brick, and elaborately decorated and planned.

Gold is found in many places, in soil and gravel, or in reefs, and its extraction is highly organized, for it symbolizes the *Kra* of *Nyame* and is life-giving, and hoarded as 'souls' gold' by the state, the clans, and individual families. A finder of gold retains one-third; the rest goes to the state treasurer. State gold-fields were formerly worked by slave labour to depths of 100-150 feet, and in trenches of a third of a mile. Both men and women could stake claims and wash their gold. In Bono-Mansu individual finds were weighed by the treasurer, who retained one-third; of the rest, one-third went to the owner's paramount chief. A slave gave all to his master in trust, till he married or had other need for it. War booty in gold was taken by the Bono. After the Asante conquest, gold currency and its apparatus passed to the Asante, but with less strict observances. The old Bono weights are preserved and treasured. Their origin, Indian or Portuguese, is disputed, but probably they were learned from the Sudan. The Bono gold trade culminated early in the eighteenth century. But the real wealth of Bono and Asante was not gold but the red kola nut of the Gold Coast forest fringes, grown in state plantations with slave labour.

This is only an outline of the scope of this admirable book. There is little commentary, but there is to be another volume. The bibliography and the numerous photographs add greatly to its value.

JOHN L. MYRES

Scavi Sahariani: Ricerche nell' Uadi el-Agiál e dell' Oasi di Gat della Missione Pace-Caputo-Sergi. Extract from *Mon. Ant. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei*, Vol. XLI (Rome, 1951), cols. 149-552, with 20 plates and 69 text figs.

This publication gives the first full account of the results of the work done in Tripoli by Professors Pace, Caputo and Sergi during

three and a half months of excavation near Wadi el-Agiál and Gat in 1933 and 1934.

In Part I Professor Pace discusses the buildings and tombs found at Germa, Gat and Taglelt, and traces the influence of Romans, Arabs, Turks and Negroes on the architecture. He feels that there is ample evidence in the form of irrigation channels, forts and other buildings to show that a highly developed civilization was flourishing in this part of Tripoli from the first to the fourth centuries A.D.

The remainder of his section is devoted to the archaeological and literary evidence for believing that the Phazania, Garama and Garamantes of Herodotus are the equivalents of the modern Fezzan, Germa and Tuareg. Professor Pace refers to the various Roman expeditions into the Sahara and, on the evidence of finds in this area, in the Sudan and in West Africa, argues that the Romans had either direct or indirect contact with Africa south of the Sahara until the third century A.D. He admits that there are various difficulties in studying Saharan archaeology, among them being the facts that the climate has changed within relatively recent times; that many of the finds are made on the surface of the soil; that the cultural influences of Arabia, Rome, Byzantium and ancient Egypt are difficult to disentangle; and that the area was invaded by Negro tribes from Kanem in the thirteenth century. He concludes that the Garamantes were Mediterranean in race and not Negro, as was once thought, and he expresses the opinion that modern archaeology has 'made the Garamantes live.'

In Part II of this volume Professor Caputo writes more specifically of the finds made in the various tombs, which are fully described and illustrated. Plate III, in colour, showing some of the pottery is particularly striking. On the basis of finds of glassware, Professor Caputo has evolved a classification of Fezzan glass, which he believes to be Roman in origin but showing Alexandrian influence, especially in the square-shaped bottles.

Professor Caputo also refers to the burial customs found in the area. Some bodies were cremated, but of those that were not many of the skeletons are buried in a contracted position. Various rituals seem to have accompanied the burials, including the cooking of a funeral meal. Apart from neolithic household goods, including pottery, the excavations reveal little of pre-Roman Fezzan. Professor Caputo believes that the Roman invasion of North Africa had some influence on the crafts in the area, but that in general the invasion, and the subsequent one of the Arabs, caused an involution of culture and a return to the old ways.

According to Professor Caputo, the Garamantes were known to the West African Negroes, and he examines the possibility that they communicated with West Africa by controlling the camel routes and helped to carry there certain features of Roman civilization, which might account for the Benin bronzes and the design of the Bornu chiefs' armour. He sees no real reason for agreeing with Frobenius that the Garamantes were 'brothers in civilization to the Etruscans.'

Part III is by Professor Sergi, who contributes a section on the ancient population of Fezzan. From a study of the pre-Roman, Roman and post-Roman tombs, he divides up the human remains into four groups: I and II, Euraficans; III, Negroid Euraficans; and IV, Negroes or Negroids. The physical characteristics of each of these groups are given, and Professor Sergi shows that people of Group I are represented in the pre-Roman tombs, those of Groups II and III in tombs of the Roman epoch, and those of Group I also in tombs of the third century. The Negroes appear late, and at Gat he thinks that there is considerable evidence of race mixture.

Professor Sergi believes that the members of his Group I can be identified with modern Targui nobles and that those of his Group II are like modern Tuareg. He supposes that the people represented by his Group I are primitive Euraficans, in contrast to Professor Leblanc's opinion that they show a degree of Negro intermixture of ancient origin. Professor Sergi inclines to the view that his Group II people have connexions with the Egyptians described by Petrie, Thomson and MacIver, Pearson, Warren and Fawcett.

Professor Sergi also makes a study of the peculiarities of the hair styles of the present-day Libyans, which resemble those illustrated in Egyptian drawings of the Garamantes, and he concludes that the persistence of this ancient method of hairdressing testifies to the antiquity of the Libyan peoples. Towards the end of his section

Professor Sergi advances the theory that members of his Group II comprised the sedentary population while those of his Group I were the nomads and soldiers. As the latter are buried in monumental tombs, he identifies them as the nobility. In Roman times Group I moved south-west to escape Roman domination, just as the Tuareg did quite recently to escape Italian domination. Professor Sergi concludes by saying that more investigations are needed for results to be determined with statistical accuracy, and one is inclined to agree, since those now arrived at are based on the study of the carefully reconstructed remains of no more than 29 individuals.

There are two appendices to Part III. The first deals with the anthropological position and characteristics of the Tuareg, and in it Professor Sergi criticizes Professor Leblanc's theory of the connexions between the Garamantes and the Tuareg; the second concerns the definition of Negro and non-Negro, and is a plea for the use of Professor Sergi's own method of studying skeletal remains by craniograms, which he claims gives a better idea of the morphology of the skull than do metrical characters.

While I agree most heartily with his dictum that 'statistical methods badly applied lead to a blind alley,' surely every cranio-logical study has room for both graphical and quantitative treatment, provided that the second is thorough and not misused.

MARIE C. NUTTER

West African Psychology. By Geoffrey Parrinder. London (Lutterworth Press), 1951. Pp. ix, 229. Price £1 5s.

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There was a time when some Africanists seemed to think that all there was to know about the African mind could be largely dismissed as superstition. This attitude has altered much since then. The field of study has become so wide that even missionaries, many of whom distinguished themselves in the past by their ignorance and intolerance of African culture, have commendably begun to approach African problems with some humility.

The westernized African, whose early missionary education denied him knowledge and appreciation of African culture, will find little or no superciliousness in Dr. Parrinder's book. On the contrary, he will find its sympathetic and orderly presentation a great help to his own research. The title of the book, however, is misleading since it so obviously makes one anticipate a full study of African religious beliefs from the viewpoint of academic psychology.

There are certain fundamental differences between African religious thought and the Pauline exposition of Christianity which Dr. Parrinder sadly fails to emphasize in his chapter dealing with the development of Christianity in West Africa. For example, puritanical missionary adherents of St. Paul's teachings do not appear to realize how difficult it must be especially for the adult African convert to accept the doctrine of original sin and its attribution of the flesh to the devil. For 'while the body is not the person, yet in West Africa, there is no Manichean dualism, no suggestion that the body is evil and to be renounced or tortured for the sake of spiritual refinement. The body is good, physical life is clung to, and every effort is exerted in perpetuation of it.' Moreover, it is obvious that Dr. Parrinder does not share the views of brother missionaries who believe that African life is forever fearful of its own physical and social environment. 'The life after death is real to the African, but it

is usually regarded as a life of cold and shade, and speedy return to the warm earth is the greatest reward for the righteous.'

Orthodox European Christian attitudes towards sexual matters do not seem broad enough in knowledge and vision to substitute monogamy for polygamy without unwittingly shattering the family unit and lowering the standards of African sexual life. Dr. Parrinder erroneously believes that 'polygamy is largely [my italics] explicable from the laudable design to "multiply and fill the earth." Unhappily polygamy and unbridled sexual licence seem to defeat their own ends and to diminish rather than to enhance fertility; this provides one of the strongest inducements to monogamy the more it is understood.' 'Polygamy and unbridled sexual licence,' however, are not synonymous in Africa. Like monogamy in Europe, polygamy in Africa has its own moral and aesthetic codes even though individuals in both countries often transgress them openly and secretly. It must be remembered that no legal sanction exists against monogamy in African society; monogamous and polygamous marriages were practised side by side in Africa long before the European impact. Dr. Parrinder may have scientific reasons for believing that polygamy diminishes fertility; even so one sees little virtue in the enhanced fertility of monogamy in a world that is fast becoming dangerously over-populated.

The belief of some European anthropologists in African inability to think logically or in abstract terms dies hard. It is indeed astounding that this should be so. Parrinder quotes Dr. Lucy Mair thus: 'The Baganda are content to say that such an action produces such a result; they do not inquire into the means or attempt to account for what happens by an analogy with physical processes. This indifference to logical consequences of one's assertions is a universal characteristic of minds untrained to abstract speculations.' Hasty judgements of this kind need to be soberly reconsidered in so far as they are meant to be an evaluation of religious thought. Mysticism and philosophy often proceed from cause to effect without accounting 'for what happens by an analogy with physical processes.' This peculiarity may be untenable from the viewpoint of the more recent mathematical trend in philosophy, but theologians who believe in mysteries or supernatural events and philosophers who make *a priori* assumptions are far from being 'minds untrained to abstract speculations.' Dr. Parrinder must have realized this when he said: 'West African peoples can no longer be called primitive, in the sense that their thoughts about the world are the most elementary and closest to the mentality of children. Indeed the fact that one can quite justifiably talk of Bantu philosophy, shows that their thought is developed and logical, even if often different from our own.'

There are many good studies of African religious thought by European anthropologists, but *West African Psychology* is highly commended to those who wish for a clear exposition chapter by chapter of such absorbing subjects as Soul, Personality, Reincarnation, Over-soul, Departed spirits, Metamorphosis and other kindred studies. It is a matter for regret that this book deals neither with the practical application of African religious thought to daily life, nor with the symbolic expression of religious ideas in African poetry, sculpture, music and dancing, and rituals.

S. D. CUDJOE

Archaic Jades in the British Museum. By Soame Jenyns. London (British Museum), 1951. Pp. xxxviii, 40 plates. Price 16s.

85

This work is mainly a catalogue illustrating the unique collection of archaic jades in the British Museum. Of the 500 pieces in the collection, Mr. Jenyns has chosen 145 to illustrate. In only 21 pages of introduction he deals concisely with the various aspects of jade in Chinese culture; the work is copiously annotated.

The study of jade, fascinating to the collector and antiquarian, is also of importance to the anthropologist. Worked jade, for use, for ritual and magic, and for aesthetic enjoyment, has been found throughout China from neolithic times to the present day, and yet there is no authentic record of the raw material having been found in China proper. Boulder jade is mined high in the mountains of Chinese Turkestan, while pebbles or 'seed jade' are collected from the river beds. It is generally agreed that the worked jades of the

ASIA

Shang-Yin dynasty, found in the neighbourhood of Anyang, are from the latter source. Thus by 1500 B.C. jade was so fundamental to Chinese culture that it was carried some 2,000 miles, and was worked with extreme skill. Neolithic jade implements have been found, and others which, from their forms, must be regarded as belonging to the Bronze Age also exist. [Indeed, Andersson looks upon jade as being so essential to Chinese civilization as to form a bond between prehistoric and dynastic China, differentiating the Chinese from all other peoples (*Prehistory of the Chinese, B.M.F.E.A.*, No. 15, p. 261). To be likened to precious jade is still the highest praise. Scholars delight to handle carved pebbles, the wealthy to possess bowls and vases, and even the poorest peasant contrives to wear some small jade ornament. Many archaic jades were carved for the ritual treatment of the corpse, while others described as amulets or pendants, found in graves, may well have been used also by the

living. Jade objects were also used in ceremonies for the worship of Heaven and Earth, and the Four Quarters; insignia of rank were also made of jade. The forms of such objects were described in the classics, and the symbolism carried on by tradition; in spite of this interest in jade from classical times to the present day, the actual use of ritual jades is largely a matter of conjecture.

The hard, smooth texture of jade and the great variety in colour,

as well as the natural forms of the pebbles, make it a perfect medium for the genius of the Chinese artist and craftsman.

It is to be hoped that when archaeological research can be resumed in China, light may be thrown on to the problem of the introduction of jade into China, and the sudden rise in late neolithic times of the advanced culture in Kansu and Honan, with its superb painted pottery.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

EUROPE

Altsteinzeitkunde Mitteleuropas. By L. F. Zotz. Stuttgart (Enke), 1951. Pp. vi, 290. Price DM. 22

86

Apart from a few famous sites, the Palaeolithic of Central Europe is too little appreciated in this country. Professor Zotz's intention, in writing this book, was to review the material critically and to describe it where it is inadequately published. He defines his area as approximately within a circle centred on the Fichtelgebirge and 500 kilometres in radius.

The two opening chapters are on the history and the present state of palaeolithic research. A large outstanding question is the origin and homeland of the Aurignacian, which appears ready-made in Central Europe.

There are no human artifacts in the area demonstrably earlier than Riss, though some in the deposits may be derived. Clactonian and Acheulean are sparsely represented and the sites are discussed. Levallois is found both in river deposits (e.g. Markkleeberg and Lehringen) and in the loess (Murg), where it is probably dated to Würm I. Micoquian occurs in Last Interglacial—Würm I cave deposits, but is seldom fixed stratigraphically. The Tayacian is dismissed as a 'dump' for a mixture of atypical industries.

Mousterian seems to combine two traditions, those of Micoquian and of the side scraper; numerous sites are critically examined. It is typologically, but not stratigraphically, distinguished even in the loess sites of Moravia.

Just over a fifth of the book is devoted to the Pre-Solutrian and Solutrian. The former is a new conception and appears to evolve in place, in the First Interstadial, from the Mousterian. Proof of continuity with the Solutrian proper is here lacking. Ranis and Mauern are two of the chief sites. An intermediate stage, with 'poplar-leaf' points is best seen at Moravany, where it belongs to Würm II, but still precedes the Aurignacian (Gravettian) which appears in Würm III.

The Aurignacian has an Early stage (Aurignacian s.s.) and a Late (Gravettian). The wonderful Moravian sites are described and it is shown how small a proportion of the knowledge they could have yielded has actually been won. Neither excavation nor publication has been satisfactory. At Moravany collections were formerly assembled by deep-ploughing the loess and picking up flints and ivories like potatoes!

The Magdalenian belongs to the height and retreat of Würm III.

One of the most important aspects of the book is the insistence on the application of methods of sedimentary petrography to cave earths and loesses. The final chapter describes some of these. We in this country have much to learn from the work of Laus in this

field, which has brought science, instead of mere jackdaw acquisitiveness, to bear on deposits containing palaeolithic remains. The resultant datings are of great interest.

Critical though he is, Professor Zotz is not unfair. If he holds up the more discreditable past of palaeolithic researches as a warning to the present and future, among the examples given figures an early excavation of his own. We, too, are not in any position to throw stones.

A serious omission is that of a map for the use of readers who are not Central Europeans. Some subdivision of the text, as by cross-headings, would make for easier reading. Illustration could, with advantage, have been much fuller, but with this the author would, no doubt, concur.

I. W. CORNWALL

Sprichwort und Volkssprache. By Mathilde Hain. Giessen (Schmitz), 1951. Pp. 131. Price Dm. 8

87

From 1938 to 1943 Dr. Hain, Docent at Frankfurt University, has collected proverbs which were in common use at Ulfa, a rather isolated Hessian village. By actually sharing the farmer's life she has gained an unusually deep insight into his earthbound and concrete mode of thought, immune against aesthetic, historical or cosmic influences. Only his reluctance to speak about death causes the farmer to take refuge in almost poetical parables. Few young people quote proverbs. From 25 years onwards they are more frequently mentioned; but the full wisdom of the proverb is revealed only when it comes from the lips of an experienced and mature person. Older countryfolk quote proverbs either when discussing the past in reflective mood with people of their own age group, or when instructing the following generations in the generally accepted code of behaviour. Proverbs save them from formulating afresh their own experience and help them in stressing their individual opinion by referring to the wise sentences coined by their ancestors. An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the language spoken by those who return after a long absence to their native village: home-coming soldiers and other villagers who have made themselves respected slip back immediately into their homely dialect, whereas those who have been failures put on great airs by speaking in the 'refined' way which they have acquired in the meantime. This investigation will retain its value, although the homogeneous conditions of Hessian country life have undergone considerable social and cultural changes during the war and its aftermath, because the author has in spite of her scientific training not lost her human interests, a danger of which the late Canon MacCulloch warned foreign folklorists.

ELLEN ETTLINGER

OCEANIA

Kunapipi: A Study of an Australian Aborigine Religious Cult. By Ronald M. Berndt. Melbourne (Cheshire) (U.K. Agents: Angus & Robertson), 1951. Pp. xxxi, 210

88

This admirable study is based on several years of field work by the author and his wife in Arnhem Land in the extreme north of Western Australia; it is a detailed treatment of an extremely complex Earth Mother fertility cult.

Throughout a large area in the northern parts of Western Australia and the Northern Territory, a basic feature of aboriginal religion is a belief in an original Mother (or Mothers), an embodiment of the fertility principles of all nature, who is responsible for the creation and continued existence, not only of man, but of all natural species. In north-east Arnhem Land, the name Kunapipi expresses a dual concept, meaning both the Fertility Mother herself and the great Rainbow Serpent: symbols of the male and female organs of fecundity. Since, in these regions (in contrast to most other parts of Aus-

tralia), the physical facts of procreation are known, sexual symbolism is heavily emphasized throughout the Kunapipi ritual, and ceremonial copulation is a prominent feature of it. The basis of the ritual is a series of saga-like myths in the form of long song cycles in esoteric, symbolic language (Mr. Berndt's analysis of the association symbols of the songs is extremely well done). The ritual is, to a large extent, a re-enactment of the adventures of the Fertility Mothers as related in the song cycles, and the main theme is always the natural cycle of reproduction and fertility. The performance of the ritual is necessary to release the 'life force' inherent in the Ancestral Beings, without which the course of nature could not be maintained.

The last chapter of the book concerns the effect on native religious life of European contact which, in Australia, more perhaps than in most places, destroys the whole moral fabric of the people.

The finest achievement of this book is its success in presenting the Kunapipi Cult as a living religion and the understanding it shows of

the significance of these beliefs to those who hold them. Two other interesting features are the use of drawings especially done for the author by native artists to illustrate certain aspects of myth and ritual, and the presentation of informants' dreams with an analysis of their symbolism.

One would make a few minor criticisms. The opening discussion of the geographical and social background of the Kunapipi is regrettably short, and the reader has difficulty in placing the Kunapipi in the framework of everyday life. Again, the concept of *dal* or ancestral power ('mana') is not at all clear and a much fuller explanation would have been welcome. And the single tantalizing paragraph on general Yirrkalla religious philosophy might have been expanded.

Finally, Mr. Berndt's infrequent references to totemism suffer from this same inadequacy: when he says that various natural species 'became totemic through her (the Mother's) divine influence and association,' and that 'the totem bears the sacred imprint of its religious or mythological connexion with the Mother' (p. xxvii), he is using the word 'totem' and its derivatives in a way which may be correct, but which is sufficiently unorthodox to merit further explanation.

D'ARCY RYAN

Art Mélanésien. By Patrick O'Reilly. Paris (Nouvelles Éditions Latines), 1951. Pp. 43, 25 plates

89

This little book is issued in connexion with an exhibition in Paris of the drawings of Somuk, a native of Buka in the Solomons. Somuk is mission-educated and a Christian, and his style owes a great deal to these influences, but his work mostly illustrates traditional tales or mythological personages. They have vigour and movement, and excel in quality the work of some other Buka artists which is also illustrated; but the latter is sometimes more interesting ethnographically, showing for instance masks and mourning costume. The booklet consists of a short account of Somuk by Father O'Reilly, a story illustrated by Somuk, and a number of miscellaneous drawings by him and by other artists. As all of these are natives of Buka the title is a little misleading.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Transformation Scene. By Ian Hogbin. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. xii, 326. Price 30s.

90

This study of culture change was made in a New Guinea village which with a population of 600 is well above the average for that territory. It is a distinct political unit in the sense that, until the advent of European rule, its inhabitants recognized no authority outside their own membership and so can fairly be described as 'a society.' It is in close and continuous contact with a Christian mission, the European township of Salamaua, and officials of the administration. To trace the progress of culture change by comparing centres at different stages, as anthropologists have tried to do in large African tribes, is of course here impossible, and in so far as change is measured, this can only be done by comparing observed present with remembered past. Dr. Hogbin's data on this head come on the one hand from recorded history and on the other from a 'flashback' technique. His central study is Busama today. He himself saw it through an eventful period, the beginning of its recuperation from the total destruction of the village by bombing and the imposition of labour for the armed forces on a scale which made cultivation nearly impossible, but these catastrophes do not appear to have had a permanent effect on the social structure.

Busama now takes Christianity for granted, subject to its own interpretation of myth, dogma and moral code. It has experienced the abuse of power by authorities appointed by Government in an unusually dramatic form. It has a tradition of the assembly of the elders for the discussion of village affairs, which was revived soon after the war, but, like so many elsewhere, is interested only in

a limited number of the matters which Governments expect 'native local governments' to pursue—'building the new school, cleaning the roads, adultery, thieving,' but not sanitary rules or the law against dynamiting fish. Men have been going away to work for wages since 1900, first to copra estates and later to the goldfields, but this has not had all the socially disruptive consequences observed elsewhere. With the market at Salamaua close at hand, the elders too can earn money and so are not wholly dependent on the young men; the people have been literate so long that absent labourers have always kept in touch with their families; and although marriage payments are no longer made, marriage is still by exchange and the young men are dependent on their elders to secure them brides. An eyewitness account of the way the returned war labourers settled down into village life after a short period of undisciplined behaviour is most interesting; as are, here and elsewhere, the comparisons which Dr. Hogbin is able to draw from his wide experience of societies in the South Pacific.

L. P. MAIR

The Pacific Islands. By Douglas L. Oliver. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Univ. Press) (London: Cumberlege), 1951. Pp. 313, 30 decorations and maps. Price 32s. 6d.

91

When an ethnologist writes of a culture in the present tense it is often difficult to know whether the culture still exists as he describes it, whether it was so when he wrote but is no longer, or whether he is reconstructing the culture as it was before alteration by European contact. Often, as in New Guinea, a culture may survive almost intact in some areas, while not far away the people are Christians, wear shorts and trilbies, and work on plantations or as lorry-drivers or houseboys. This is particularly true of Oceania, where the last war had fundamental effects on some groups and relatively little on others. The Bishop Museum publications supply some up-to-date information for parts of Polynesia, but a survey of conditions in the whole Pacific area, such as this book provides, is very welcome.

Mr. Oliver sets the stage with a brief account of the ethnic groups of Oceania and of the main features of the various culture areas. He traces the history of Oceania since the advent of the white man: the period of exploration, the impact of the whalers and the early traders and missionaries, the blackbirders, the development of plantation economy and later of mining, and the record of the various nations as administrators. He then deals in more detail with missionary activities, linked as they often were with the political aims of governments, and marred by the rivalries and bigotries of the sects, but nevertheless doing a great deal to counter the excesses of traders and blackbirders. The effects of the different types of exploitation on individual islands and groups are described: copra, sugar, pearls and pearl shell, phosphates and gold, and finally the race for bases. Lastly he discusses the effects of the second world war, the present trends of administration, and the prospects for the future. One of the greatest problems is that of the thousands of Indian, Javan, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino plantation labourers who have been imported and who now sometimes outnumber the original inhabitants. In Hawaii, where this process has gone farthest, the survivors of the Polynesian Hawaiians buy fresh fish caught by Japanese or tinned fish imported from America.

Mr. Oliver's sympathies are clearly with the native peoples, but he is generally fair and shows that the intentions, at least, of the colonizing powers have often been admirable. The Germans and the British probably appear in the best light, though our own record is marred by the atrocious extermination of the Tasmanians. The book is clearly arranged and has a good bibliography and index. Such words as 'politicking' detract from the pleasure, though not from the value, of reading it.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

Documentation of Ethnographical Specimens

92 SIR,—During a recent visit to various museums in the United Kingdom I was asked on a number of occasions to identify various objects, mostly originating from the Malayan aborigines, which were incompletely documented and thus relatively valueless. I have been aware of this problem for some time

and you may care to reproduce the circular memorandum which I sent to all Administrative Officers in Malaya in 1950 and which appears below. Speaking as one originally trained as an archaeologist, I must confess to an impression that many anthropologists are exceedingly casual in their material-culture documentation, to an extent that no self-respecting archaeologist would permit.

COLLECTING AND DOCUMENTING ABORIGINAL MATERIAL CULTURE

'It has been noticed that a number of individuals in the Federation are collecting examples of aboriginal material culture with the avowed intention of presentation to various museums.

'This is a very worthy undertaking, but to be of any value objects collected must be properly documented. This is particularly so in the case of material sent to museums outside Malaya. Undocumented or inadequately documented material merely become pieces of junk to be disposed of at the first opportunity and are a trying problem to museum curators. The standard technique adopted by this Department is given below. It will be seen that this is a somewhat tedious undertaking but it is really not worth while collecting unless such documentation is done.

'Most museums prefer objects that have been in use, even if they are slightly soiled, and amateurs should confine their collecting to this category. Extreme caution needs to be exercised in getting objects made to order. Usually with aborigines objects made to order are poorly executed or, in some cases, fantastic items are produced bearing no relation to things in normal use. Only where normal items are too big for easy collection, boats, houses, large traps, etc., should models be made. Anything made to order must be clearly marked as such.

'The following data must appear:

MALAYA

- (i) Aboriginal Ethnic Group Name.
- (ii) Racial Group: *i.e.* Negrito, Senoi or Aboriginal Malay.
- (iii) Placename: give the aboriginal placename followed by the Malay placename. If one or both do not appear on the standard map series state so.
- (iv) Map series: normally standard 1-inch series.
- (v) Map grid reference.
- (vi) Lat. and Long.: these are essential for objects going out of the country, as few museums will have access to Malayan maps.
- (vii) The aboriginal name of the object followed by a brief description of its use.
- (viii) The names of all the various parts. This requires particular care. Names should include the aboriginal names of all decorations and their meanings, the scientific names of dyestuffs, plants or woods used. A note should be added of the methods employed in preparing these items.
- (ix) The name of the collector.
- (x) Purchase price.
- (xi) Date.

'A typical label might read as follows:

MALAYA

Ethnic Group: Semai Senoi
Racial Group: Senoi (Sakai)

CHEBAT LEMOI

Kuala Sg. Lemoi, Pahang
Ref. Map, Malaya, 1-inch series, 2 N/11
K 509550
Lat. 4° 27' North; Long. 101° 36' East

TAPOK

Small pouch of Mengkuang (*Pandanus* gen.) for holding small objects, tobacco, etc.

Mengkuang	SIKEIT
Coarse inner pouch	SENIGROK
Yellow painted pattern (Tortoise pattern)	BUNGA SEL
Yellow dye (dye prepared by pounding root of <i>Circuma domestica</i> . This is not a fast dye and will fade gradually on exposure to the light)	REMET
Collector	Ali bin Mat
Purchased	15th October, 1950
Cost	50 cents (Malayan currency)

'Where it is possible to do so, specimens collected should be supported by photographs of the process of manufacture and the completed item in use. Some museums like to have examples showing stages in manufacture and samples of the tools used. Where this is done it should be stated clearly what tools are made by the aborigines and what tools are purchased. In the latter case the prices paid and whether obtained by cash payment or exchange of jungle produce should be added.'

P. D. R. WILLIAMS-HUNT,
Kuala Lumpur, Federation of Malaya
Adviser on Aborigines

Tree-Fern Sago. Cf. MAN, 1948, 156 and 1949, 60

93 SIR,—Brandis (*Indian Trees*, p. 654) gives the distribution of *Caryota urens* Linn. as 'Subhimalayan tract from Nepal eastwards, ascending to 5,000 ft. Assam. Khasi hills. Manipur. Chittagong. Upper Burma. Pegu. . .'. There is little room for doubt that the sago palm of the hills of Northern Burma is of this species; it is certainly not *Metroxylon*, with which one soon becomes familiar in Sarawak. It is known to the Kachins as *ulai* and to the Nungs as *aleh*, and occurs wild over considerable areas; it is also cultivated locally, all the plantations I observed being small ones sited along the bottom of damp, shady ravines at 3,000 to 5,000 feet, *e.g.* in the Konglu area, in the Nam Tamai and in the Taron (in which inhospitable valley the Nungs seem to depend very much on this food). My informants stated that the palms are normally felled and utilized when 15 to 20 years old.

Dr. Leach also refers to *tup* and *majawng*. *Tup* is the Nung name for the tree fern, which the Kachins call *mawin*; it is widespread in the hills of Northern Burma, and is eaten by the Kachins and Nungs in times of scarcity, but not cultivated by them so far as I know. *Majawng* is a Kachin name for a fern tuber, which is sliced, boiled with water, dried in the sun and pounded into flour; it is astringent and normally used to improve the flavour of rice beer, the mixture being known as *majawng-tja* or *majawng-charu*.

Turning to Borneo, Dr. Mjöberg (*Forest Life and Adventures in the Malay Archipelago*, p. 161) refers to many kinds of wild sago and writes: 'It is "kajatt" sago which is obtained from the *Eugeissonia* palm.' In the sub-district of Belaga this sago is known as *pantu*, and the nomadic Punans are to some extent dependent on it; hunting parties of Ibans, Kayans, etc., out after game or collecting rotans also use it if they run short of rice. This palm is armed with spines and is much smaller than *ulai*; whereas a large *ulai* may keep a family for two or three months, one *pantu* will last only one or two weeks.

My information on Burma is derived from observations made during a journey in the Nam Tamai from the beginning of December, 1943, to early March, 1944, covering the area from Htawlang in the south to the Adung valley in the north, including the Ahkyang and Taron valleys to the frontier; I have checked my notes with my Kachin orderly, who comes from Nawngkhay village near Putao and who was with me throughout the journey. I agree with Dr. Leach that much remains to be recorded about the sago-yielding plants of South-East Asia.

B. E. SMYTHIES
Assistant Conservator of Forests, Sibiu, Sarawak

Note

Dr. E. R. Leach adds the following: 'I am delighted that my letter should have stimulated Mr. Smythies to this authoritative comment and also relieved to find that my notes on *ulai*, etc., though inadequate, were not too inaccurate, except in saying that *ulai* "is mature after about 50 years." The moral is that informants' statements of this kind should always be treated as a figure of speech. C. R. Stonor's figure of 40 years (MAN, 1948, 156) is possibly likewise suspect.'—ED.

The Dusun House. Cf. MAN, 1952, 21 and 51. With a text figure

94 SIR,—The Dusuns and Kwijaus are neighbours of the Muruts and on the whole are considerably more advanced. Most of them cultivate wet padi and possess more pigs, buffaloes, goats, cattle, cultivated fruit trees and wealth in the form of jars, gongs and other brassware than the Muruts. Their villages usually consist of collections of family houses. While the communal house appears to be more suitable for Hill Muruts (indeed, there is a

lot to be said for making such villages with a minimum of 8 to 10 *pintu* or doors), the family house is being adopted by Muruts who are in better economic circumstances. Most of them adopt modifications of plans prepared for Government buildings by the Public Works Department; others follow the Dusun and Kwijau designs.

The following is a very brief description of a Dusun house as seen on the Tambunan plain. Designs are by no means stereotyped, but a common house is quite a simple affair about 24 feet by 20 feet. Steps (*tukad*) are formed of a notched log or short lengths of branches arranged transversely on a small bambu ramp. The front door opens into a roomy common room or *dulu*, which more often than

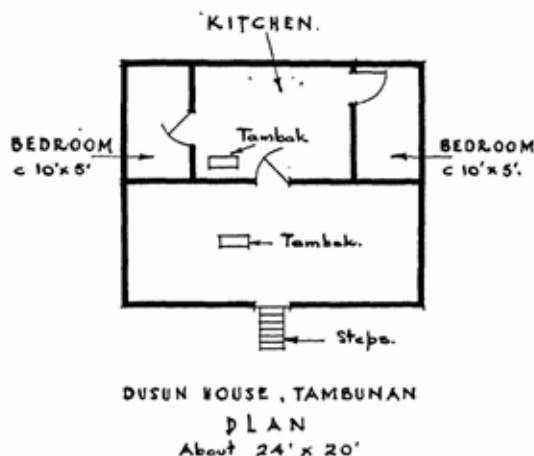


FIG. 1

not contains no furniture. To one side is a fireplace (*damporan* or *tampak*), useful in providing a light for smokers. On the far side of this lounge is a bambu partition with a door (*nanawan*) leading into a kitchen or *dapuan*. The *dapuan* has a cooking place (*damporan*) and a bedroom partitioned off at each end. The bedrooms are called *linimput* or *tadapon*, and each has a single bambu bed (*tumpang*) raised two or three feet above the floor.

The lounge, bedroom and kitchen have small windows (*titigau*), nearly always not enough of them.

The roof (*tinungusan*) is made either of sago-leaf attaps—sago is cultivated on the plain—or of *paring bambu* split into halves and arranged as sloping gutters on the roof, the gap between adjacent gutters being closed by similar lengths of bambu laid with the convex surface uppermost.

The walls and floors are made of *paring bambu* flattened out by chopping with parangs. The walls may last as long as 15 years, but the floor has to be re-covered with bambu in five to seven years, the roof attaps usually being changed at the same time. The uprights are made from hardwoods obtained from the jungle. *Mangkauyab* wood is said to be the best, lasting about 15 years, with *kayu penapok* as the second best.

All bambu on the plain and surrounding hills is privately owned. When a house is to be built there is a great deal of negotiating with the various owners in borrowing and buying bambu. According to native custom, for several days before and after the appearance of the new and full moons bambu for a house may not be cut, for if collected during these periods it will certainly become infested with borers very quickly.

Rotan *padas* is used for binding the various parts of the house together.

In selecting the site for a new house most Tambunan Dusuns still follow the ancient practice of putting in four bambu stakes in the contemplated position of the corner posts and then consulting the *babalian* or priestess as to suitability. This woman's opinion is based on the nature of dreams experienced at the time. For the consultation the builder pays a fee of one dollar, one fowl and two yards of cloth.

Sydney, Australia

M. C. CLARKE

Agriculture in New Guinea. Cf. MAN, 1952, 90

95 SIR,—I would like to explain what must appear as a lapse on my part in my recent book *Transformation Scene*. I refer to the fact that I quoted from one section of the *Report of the New Guinea Nutrition Survey Expedition* (Canberra, 1947) and ignored relevant material in another section. The explanation is simple. The *Report* carries the date 1947 but did not actually appear until a few months ago (1951); and when my work was being written I possessed only a portion of the MS.

A statement in the chapter of the *Report* dealing with agriculture, which I had no chance to use, is at variance with one of my own. On p. 298 of *Transformation Scene* I said that in January, 1947, the area under cultivation in Busama village, New Guinea, was 65 acres; and on p. 300 that three years later this had been increased to 106 acres, a figure which the natives regarded as normal. The expedition agriculturalist, however, gives 260 acres for June, 1947, made up of 180 acres fully planted with taro and 80 acres from which the taro had been harvested but not the residual crops (*Report*, p. 84). I cannot reconcile the difference, but would point out that I measured each individual garden, whereas the agriculturalist specifically states that he collected his material by 'sampling' during the month which he spent in the village. He warns that his figures 'cannot be used for accurate assessment.' It is worth noting, too, that if he were correct the average monthly yield for taro would be 90 tons, which is far in excess of local requirements (I found that in 1950 the people were producing less than 34 tons monthly).

I shall also take this opportunity to make a correction. I assumed that the natives allowed their land to lie fallow for about seven years between croppings and concluded that the 600 inhabitants of Busama needed a total of two square miles of arable land to support themselves (*Transformation Scene*, p. 71). I now discover that this was too low, perhaps by as much as 50 per cent. I was, of course, guessing—and said so—for the people, like the rest of the Melaneans, have no method of recording long periods of time and thus could not advise me. But more than seven years have now passed since I first went to the village, in 1944, and the areas then in cultivation are still not ready for replanting. H. IAN HOGGIN
Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney

U.N.E.S.C.O.'s New Statement on Race. Cf. especially MAN, 1952, 3 and 70

96 SIR,—Dr. Alfred Métraux's letter with respect to the publication of the 1951 Statement on Race requires, I am afraid, some comment from me.

Dr. Métraux writes: 'I saw the draft of it [the 1951 interim Statement on Race] and I did not object to its eventual publication. I certainly did not realize, however, that Dr. Montagu proposed to publish the Statement itself so soon and in a magazine not of a scientific character. It is not impossible that in this a misunderstanding arose.'

The facts are as follows. Having been responsible, with the approval of U.N.E.S.C.O., for the publication of the first Statement on Race in the *Saturday Review of Literature* I suggested to Dr. Métraux that it might be a good idea to publish the 1951 interim Statement in the same journal. I also suggested that the interim Statement be sent to *Science News* in London. To these suggestions Dr. Métraux gave his assent. I therefore remained in Paris to prepare this, together with another manuscript for another U.N.E.S.C.O. purpose, so that it might be sent out as soon as possible. The finished manuscript was submitted to Dr. Métraux and approved by him for immediate publication. Not only this, Dr. Métraux put me into immediate touch with the Press Relations Department, so that the manuscript I had prepared could be made available to whomsoever desired it. It was that Department which obtained the address of the *Saturday Review of Literature* for me and sent the manuscript by airmail to the editor of that journal. The accompanying letter explaining the nature of the manuscript was, of course, written by myself, and the manuscript was sent to the editor as from myself and not as from U.N.E.S.C.O. A copy of the manuscript was given by the Press Relations Department to a representative of a Chicago newspaper, but whether any part of it was published in Chicago I do not know. Dr. Métraux also put me into touch with the Department of Mass Communications, which Department actually, very kindly,

typed the manuscript for me, and raised not the least objection to its immediate release. Before being sent to the *Saturday Review of Literature and Science News*, copies were given to Dr. Métraux, Mass Communications, Press Relations and the Publications Department. The *Saturday Review of Literature* accepted the manuscript and slightly modified it in order to publish it as an editorial. *Science News* was unable to publish.

To the best of my knowledge, these are the facts.

Princeton, N.J.

M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU

Note

Professor Ashley Montagu wishes it to be known that the above letter was written after seeing an advance carbon copy of Dr. Métraux's letter which was published in the March issue (MAN, 1952, 70), but before he had seen the Shorter Note published in the January issue (1952, 3), to which he takes exception. The only statement in that note, however, which appears to require correction—the erroneous information, supplied in good faith to the Hon. Editor by U.N.E.S.C.O., to the effect that there had been no consultation between Professor Ashley Montagu and U.N.E.S.C.O. before his publication of the June draft in the *Saturday Review of Literature*—has already been corrected by Dr. Métraux's letter and the Hon. Editor's note appended thereto.—Ed.

Social Anthropology: Past and Present. Cf. MAN, 1950, 198, 254 and 271; 1951, 33-5, 62, 78, 120, 150, 199 and 250; 1952, 14, 48 and 71

97 SIR,—Permit me to comment upon an incidental reference to American anthropology made by Professor Radcliffe-Brown in his letter published in the January issue of MAN (1952, 14).

Perhaps I misunderstand the references in his sixth paragraph, as an American anthropologist still bewildered from half a year in Britain. But I suggest that one current view of our discipline in the United States is expressed in the familiar methodology of studying a whole society in its observable manifestations, recording and testing in the field, and eventually analysing the data both within itself and against that of other societies for perspectives that should lead to generalizations about man and society. So, within the scope of our resources, we study a people's experience, 'functionally', 'structurally' and comparatively, to understand that people specifically and thence to formulate theory; reconstruction may be introduced for richer perspective. But exploring, as we are, the nature of mankind (and is this separable absolutely from 'histories' of human groups?), interpretative and theoretical emphases are increasingly important and are pursued on various levels, often in collaboration with colleagues of other disciplines possessing special tools and orientations.

RUTH LANDES

Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh

The Measurement of Anthropoid Teeth, with Particular Reference to the Deciduous Dentition. Cf. MAN, 1951, 37, 38, 41, 60 and 61

98 SIR,—As reported in a recent issue of *Nature* (Vol. CLXVIII (1951), p. 1117), some new computations of our figures made by Dr. F. Yates and Mr. M. J. R. Healy (*ibid.*, p. 1116) have brought to light the fact that there was a systematic error in the computation of our estimates of the standard deviations of the distribution of individual measurements of the teeth of the anthropoid apes (*Philos. Trans. Roy. Soc. B*, Vol. CCXXXIV (1950), p. 471), all our figures being approximately $\sqrt{2}$ times the actual values. The standard errors of the means are correct as published. The mistake arose in the interpretation of the analysis of variance that was carried out to separate the component of variance due to differences between corresponding teeth in the same jaw from that due to differences between animals.

Because of this regrettable error, and the consequent fact that the variances used in our previous comparisons were too large, certain differences between the overall dimensions of the teeth of the South African fossil hominoids and those of existing apes emerged (*Philos. Trans. Roy. Soc. B*, Vol. CCXXXIV (1950), p. 485) as insignificant statistically ($P > 0.02$) whereas, when tested on the basis of the correct variances, they are significant ($P \leq 0.02$). The error makes it necessary to qualify a number of the conclusions drawn from our previous comparisons. These included observations relating to some

30 specific statements that had been made by other workers about the relation of the overall dimensions of the teeth of the South African fossils to the corresponding measurements in living apes. Our previous comparisons corroborated only about 20 per cent.; the correct figure is 50 per cent.

We are now engaged in a more comprehensive study, in which the dental dimensions of the fossil hominoids are simultaneously compared with those of various types of man as well as the great apes. We have added to our data the overall dimensions of the teeth of the large collection of chimpanzee and gorilla skulls in the Powell-Cotton Museum at Birchington, and those of a new collection of orang skulls made available to us by Dr. W. R. Geddes. Because of the inclusion of these new observations, our basic data have in any event had to be recomputed, and revised statistics will be published as soon as possible, together with qualifications where necessary of our previous observations about the existence or lack of existence of significant differences between the overall dimensions of the teeth of living and fossil hominoids. This new study is not only based on the comparison of individual linear dimensions, but will use statistical techniques which take into account the correlation between different measurements.

In the meantime we have corrected the error, where it occurs, in our paper 'Some Dimensions of the Milk Teeth of Man and the Living Great Apes' (MAN, 1951, 41). The object of this study was to examine the degree of correspondence between the overall dimensions of the milk teeth of man and the great apes, and also that between the overall dimensions of the deciduous teeth of the Australopithecinae on the one hand and man and the great apes on the other. Our human material consisted of the measurements of 331 deciduous teeth. The dimensions of right and left teeth from the same jaw were averaged, and as a result our final series of 'teeth' numbered 203. The error referred to above applied equally to the standard deviations for man and the extant apes, and before the new comparisons were made, each of our previous estimates of variance had to be adjusted.

Our previous, and incorrect, analysis showed that out of the total of 203 human teeth compared, 42 differed significantly ($P \leq 0.02$) in one or more dimensions and indices from the orang-outang, 66 from the chimpanzee and 170 from the gorilla. On the other hand, in the whole series of 203 teeth there were only eight which differed significantly from all three apes. The corrected figures indicate that 96 of the 203 human teeth differed in one or in more than one dimension or index from the orang; 114 from the chimpanzee; 185 from the gorilla; and 49 from all three apes. This method of comparison, after the estimates of variance of the dimensions of the anthropoid teeth have been decreased to allow for the systematic error in our previous computation, thus reveals a greater number of differences in the overall size of the milk teeth of men and apes than were apparent before.

Table I of our previous paper, in which the mean overall dimensions of the milk teeth of men and apes were compared, stands unchanged, as the error referred to did not apply to our estimates of the s.e. of the mean.

A corrected version of Table II, which shows the results of a comparison of the individual overall dimensions of each of 22 deciduous teeth of Australopithecinae with those of man and the great apes, is given below. The old (incorrect) figures are shown in brackets.

TABLE II.—COMPARISON OF 22 DECIDUOUS TEETH OF AUSTRALOPITHECINAE WITH THOSE OF MAN AND THE GREAT APES

No. of teeth examined	Numbers not differing ($P \leq 0.02$) in any overall dimension or index from				
	Chimpanzee	Gorilla	Orang	Chimpanzee, orang and gorilla	Man
	(7)	(12)	(19)	(21)	(15)
22	4	7	10	14	7

The new figures, like the old, indicate that in general the Australopithecine milk teeth tested correspond in their overall proportions more to the living great apes than to man.

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S. ZUCKERMAN



(a) A 'SIDE' STREET IN THE MAILU VILLAGE
OF DOMARA



(b) A HOUSE IN THE MAILU VILLAGE
OF DOMARA



(d) HOUSES IN A SIDE STREET IN THE KOITA
VILLAGE OF KILAKILA



(c) A MAILU MAN DISPLAYING
ARM SHELLS



(e) A 'DUBU' POST OUTSIDE HANUABADA
COUNCIL HOUSE (KOITA)

TWO SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA COMMUNITIES

Photographs: Raymond Firth. (d) and (e) are to illustrate Part II of Professor Firth's article.

NOTES ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOME SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA COMMUNITIES

PART I: MAILU*

by

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INTRODUCTION

99 In October and November, 1951, I spent a month in New Guinea in connexion with the work of the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. I had little opportunity for detailed inquiry, but I was able to collect some information about the social conditions of a few communities, as part of a more general appraisal of social and economic change. In particular, I was interested in the problem of their retention or loss of major social alignment over the years since the last monographs describing their culture were published. By social alignment is meant here that part of social structure consisting in the series of specific groupings and gradings in which the people of the community arrange themselves for social action. An important element of social alignment in this area is the system of kinship units commonly termed clans. Systems of this kind have been described in some detail for the Koita by Seligman¹ and for the Mailu by Malinowski and Saville.² Seligman's record refers to conditions more than 40 years ago, and Malinowski's to those nearly as far back, while Saville's most recent data are at least a quarter of a century old now. In the meantime, there have been great changes in the economic life of the people. New standards of consumption are before them. Opportunities for individual differentiation in occupation, in wealth and in living patterns are open to them through increased European contact, in a way unknown in the earlier years. Traditional art forms have also largely vanished, ritual institutions have been gravely modified, and the influence of the missions is profound. It would be plausible to think that the traditional social alignment might have been seriously impaired or even have entirely disappeared.

As part of our general attempt to identify the most significant or critical elements in a social and cultural system, we tend to assume that these will be the most persistent elements. If this be so, it is important to determine at the ethnographical level what elements of a system appear to be most persistent and most resistant to change. Comparison of the Mailu with the Koita brings out certain aspects of this.

MAILU

The Mailu are not greatly exposed to direct European contact, though they have had a great deal of influence from mission, government and traders.

I made the acquaintance of two Mailu villages: to Boru, about 12 miles east of Abau, I travelled on foot along the beaches, and returned by sailing canoe at night; to Domara, about the same distance to the west, I went by sailing canoe, the journey taking a couple of hours outwards, with the south-east trades, and about seven hours home-

wards. Both these villages are mentioned by Malinowski and Saville, but neither is described in detail.

A Mailu village has a very definite structure, in which physical alignment and social alignment are closely correlated. According to the descriptions of Malinowski and Saville, which coincide in most respects, a Mailu village formerly had a regular alignment of two parallel rows of houses, standing back some 100 feet from the highwater mark, and with a space some 30 to 50 feet broad between them, serving as a village street. The fronts of the houses were always turned to this street, which was entirely bare of vegetation, as was the immediate neighbourhood of the dwellings. The social alignment was a set of named patrilineal clans (*dubu*), and the houses of each clan always formed one block in the village. Usually there was a little distance between the blocks. Traditionally, each block, i.e. each clan, had a men's clubhouse standing transversely to the others, in the street. But even 40 years ago such clubhouses (*dubu*) were rare, and in 1914 there were none in Mailu village proper.

The village of Boru, as I saw it in 1951, approximated very closely to the above traditional description. It was set just back from the beach in the centre of Baxter Bay. It consisted of 21 ordinary dwellings, 10 of them backing close on the beach and 11 more facing them across a narrow street. In addition to these was one vacant dwelling on the rear row, in course of repair. A London Missionary Society church and teacher's house were at the eastern end of the village, and a large new house belonging to a mixed-blood trader stood some distance at the back. Socially, the community was divided into five primary patrilineal named clans (*dubu*). These were cited in a routine way which suggested an order of precedence, as follows: Warata; Womong; Gundubu; Lapi; Orimu.³ It was stated that the clans are not exogamous, but that close patrilineal kin, e.g. those calling each other *nabu*, brother and sister, may not marry. The last wedding that took place, about three months before I came, was of a Warata man to a Warata woman. His father was dead, and his mother, a Womong woman, had re-married, to a Womong man. For lack of ground the newly married pair were living temporarily on Orimu ground. As the plan (fig. 1) shows, there is a definite aggregation of dwellings of men belonging to the same clan, the grouping being according to precedence, from the eastwards of the village. But the blocking-out of houses into clan groups is approximate, not exact. If in earlier days the pattern was indeed invariable, then this is a feature where modification has occurred. But this is doubtful. Nowadays, for lack of a house site or other reason a man may sometimes build his house on his wife's ground, and this may well have occurred also in the traditional culture. In all such cases, matrilineal residence does not affect the clan affiliation of

*With Plate E. Part II will follow in the June issue.

the children. If a Womong man, for instance, marries a Warata woman and lives with her in her house, or on her land, their children are of Womong clan.

The village of Domara stands on a bare sandspit off the coast of Cloudy Bay. In 1951 it consisted of about 60 houses, with a population of about 520. It has a more complex alignment than that of the traditional Mailu village as described above—perhaps because of its large size. As the plan (fig. 2) shows, the pattern of two rows of houses on each side of a street exists, but is repeated

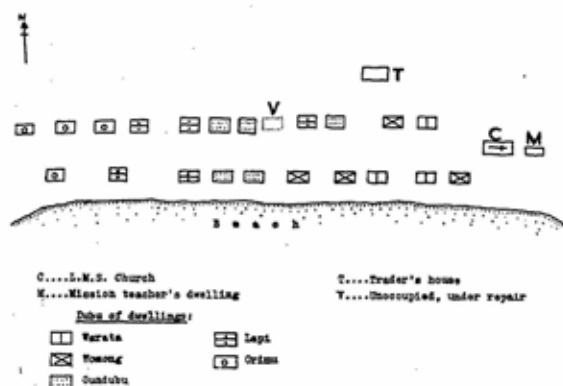


FIG. 1. BORU VILLAGE ALIGNMENT
Not to scale

(Plate Ea); and there are several clusters of houses in addition. There are even a couple of fences at one end of the village, their purpose being stated as a bar to the entry of pigs. Moreover, although there is some nucleation of houses according to their clan affiliations, this is by no means exclusive. Domara has four clans: Goibo; Bara'i; Makaubo; Dunari. What does appear from the plan is that the main 'street' of the village is flanked almost solely by houses of the first two clans, while houses of the other two are distributed in three main clusters around these. This distribution is interesting; it suggests that Makaubo and Dunari are junior in rank or secondary in accretion to village development. But I did not collect any information on this point. What is clearly relevant, however, is the alignment of the clans in social affairs. When I visited the village, two large canoes were being built to serve as lighters for a new copra society. The craft were both being constructed by cooperative labour, organized along clan lines. A point of significance was that one canoe was being built by men of Goibo and Bara'i; the other by men of Makaubo and Dunari. On inquiry, it was stated that the same alignment was followed in feasting and dance grouping. Here then was a moiety organization of an empirical type, developed *ad hoc*, it would seem, since no similar moiety alignment appears to exist in the multiple clan structure of the Mailu elsewhere.

Domara village had no clubhouse. But, as in the case of Boru a building of introduced type occupied a position somewhat analogous. A small trade store stood transversely to the main street, at the eastern end of it, and from its verandah the whole length of the street was visible. It was a cooperative store, unregistered as yet, and affiliated with

the copra association. It was a community affair, and a matter of pride, and as such occupied a significant social position in the village. It is not far-fetched, indeed, to regard it as a symbol of the way in which, in many of these New Guinea coastal communities, the cooperative organizations are tending to fill a gap left by the disappearance of traditional forms of association.



FIG. 2. DOMARA VILLAGE ALIGNMENT
Not to scale

The modern social organization of the Mailu is being adapted all the time to changing economic conditions. Their houses are still of bamboo and thatch (Plate Eb). They are still cultivators of yams, bananas, etc., and they rear pigs. Some, like the people of Boru, manufacture sago for food. They are fishermen and canoe-builders and some, like the people of Domara, are great traders. But these traditional forms of production are being modified and added to as relations with European culture intensify. In canoe-building, plane, axe, saw and hammer are used, though the hulls are finished off by a traditional method of charring by fire. In sailing, the canoes still tack in the conventional Oceanic manner, by reversing ends, not going about; but the rig is now of European sprit-sail type, not Oceanic crab-claw type, and the sail material is now calico, not rush matting. Mailu taste nowadays is for a range of European consumer goods as well as for local products, and money is needed to get them. Apart from the provision of labour services externally, one important source of cash at present is the sale of copra. At Boru, the manufacture of copra was estimated to bring in from £1,500 to £2,000 last year. At Domara, with relatively fewer coconut palms, the income is probably less. But the exploitation of copra has led to some new ways of using labour and capital.

Mention has been made of the copra association in Domara. This controls a new smoke-drier for copra, designed by three men of the village and built by village labour—a wood-and-thatch structure about 30 feet by 12 feet. The trade store, financed initially from the copra association, and with a turnover of about £320 in the nine months since its inception, carried a stock illustrative

of the present-day consumption interests of the Mailu people: bags of rice, cocoa, soap, baking powder, kerosene, kegs of nails, enamel mugs and washbasins, cotton vests, waistcloths, leather belts. The position of the pig is an index of the conflict between traditional and modern cultural values. In the payment of brideprice by the Mailu, one or two pigs are commonly given. But at Boru recently there has been discussion about the advisability of getting rid of their pigs. It is argued that they make the village untidy, and that they are uneconomic. When the people were persuaded by the Village Constable—a local Womong man—to put one coconut in the centre of the village for every nut given to the pigs it was discovered that each pig got about eight nuts a day. Considering the present high price of copra, it was concluded that this was waste. At a meeting of village councillors, opinion was divided between keeping the pigs in sties, and disposing of them altogether. If they are given up, then some substitute will have to be found for them as an element in the brideprice.

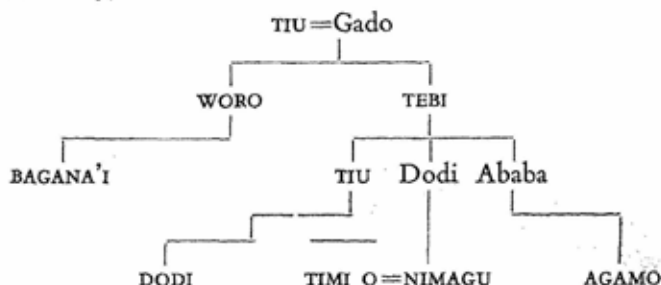
But it is interesting that though the symbols of bride value may thus change, the notion that it is important to present concrete equivalents of bride value persists strongly, among the Mailu as among most other New Guinea peoples. Mailu bride values as quoted to me ranged from £5 and a pig from a poor man, up to £20 and two pigs from a rich man (at Boru), and to two pigs, 30 or 50 armshells, £80 and about 30 fibre skirts (at Domara).⁵

Thus, while some aspects of the social organization are modified by the new economic conditions, others are retained with considerable intensity. This is so with the values attached to armshells. These are still very important tokens of wealth, and are displayed with pride (Plate Ec). They are used not only as an expression of the more symbolic elements of culture such as bride values, but also in ordinary commercial exchange such as the transfer of canoes. The people of Domara, for instance, play a significant role in the eastward trading movement of pigs and canoes, and a westward movement of canoes and armshells. A small canoe is sold for 30 to 50 armshells, a large one for about 100 armshells. A large armshell, a Conus ring five inches deep and more across, with an Ovula shell attached, is reckoned as worth from £4 up to £10. A large canoe is bought by setting out up to 20 of these large armshells in a row, and flanking them by about 80 smaller shells.

A further indication of the values attaching to some aspects of traditional social organization is in the kinship system. A conventional working team is still a set of kinsfolk. When I travelled on Mailu canoes, twice, I inquired about the composition of the crew. In the one case it comprised the owner-captain, his small son, his young *nabu* (father's sister's son) and his young *naivagu* (wife's brother). In the other case the pattern was more complex, but essentially of the same order, as the genealogy shows.

The owner of this canoe was Tiu, son of Tebi. The canoe was run by Nimagu, his sister's son, with Tiu's young son Dodi as a member of the crew. He is a *nabu* of Nimagu, and he will inherit the canoe when Tiu dies, with Nimagu intervening if Dodi is still a boy. Agamo, the other adult member of the crew, is another sister's son of

Tiu, junior to Nimagu. The crew was completed by Timi, another boy, described at first as 'just crew' and then as 'son of another man,' but who then turned out to be Nimagu's brother-in-law. For this particular journey the crew was added to by Bagana'i, a father's brother's son of Tiu. He had been responsible for hiring the canoe. The genealogy is as follows:



In retention of the kinship system as a basis of economic and social cooperation, of the armshell as a token of native wealth, and of the concept of tangible equivalents of bride value, the Mailu are implicitly indicating their intention to maintain a symbolic system which shall express values of their own, additional to anything they receive and incorporate from European culture.

Notes

¹ C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910.

² B. Malinowski, 'The Natives of Mailu: Preliminary Results of the Robert Mond Research Work in British New Guinea,' *Trans. & Proc. Roy. Soc. South Australia*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 494-706, Adelaide, 1915; W. J. V. Saville, *In Unknown New Guinea*, London, 1926.

³ Most of these names are not noted as *dubu* names in Mailu proper by either Malinowski or Saville. But in so far as the Boru people represent the product of a migration of the whole clan Oraido from Mailu (e.g. Malinowski, *op. cit.* p. 518), the Boru *dubu* names would be expected to be those of secondary lineages or sub-clans, which those authors have not recorded for Oraido. The name Warata, however, does occur elsewhere, in the form *Waratsa*, as a clan name in Derebai, and a sub-clan name in Bodeabo of Mailu (Malinowski, *op. cit.* pp. 519f.). I was also given the name *Walata* as one of the *dubu* of Laruro, near Mailu Island, thus: Moto; Gubare: Walata; Lapi: Boidubu; Dagodubu. With the exception of Lapi, these correspond closely with the *dubu* names given by Malinowski for this island (*op. cit.* p. 619). The name *Moto* was also given me as one of the *dubu* names in Dalava: it occurs in the form *Motsodubu* as a sub-clan of Maradubu in Mailu proper (Malinowski, *op. cit.* p. 520—but as *Motodubu* on p. 608). The processes of segmentation, migration of groups and uxori-patrilocal settlement of individuals are probably responsible for the differences in clan nomenclature over the intervening period.

⁴ According to Saville, *op. cit.*, p. 24, the village of Burumai joined up with Domara owing to depredations by inland people.

⁵ Lest these equivalents seem excessive, comparison may be made with quotations given to me in other areas. A Daru man paid £15 about 1938 in Port Moresby for a Hanuabada woman, and another Daru man paid £15 there during the war for a Hula woman; a Wanigela man living in Port Moresby paid £60 for his wife in 1949; recently, a Goaribari man living in Port Moresby paid £200 to marry a Hula woman. On the other hand, at Monum in the Markham valley, a tusked pig and £10 has been customary. But owing to mission influence, which deprecates the practice, some uncertainty has arisen. £2 or £3 is now reckoned to be about the right figure. 'Before e' no savvy talk belong God, 'e antap, too much dear. Nau'e hearim talk belong God, 'e liklik pay.'

KINSHIP STRUCTURE IN AN ENGLISH VILLAGE*

by

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100 Having been interested for some time in psychological aspects of family life, I decided that an examination of kinship structures in a specific locality might throw light on certain problems.

An analysis made in a village in Yorkshire showed that out of 208 households (of which 206 were simple families) 129 were cross related. Since some families were related through husband and/or wife to as many as 15 others, the village seemed suitable for a preliminary study of the significance of kinship in rural England. The standards taken for relationship were in the first place very simple: if one member of a family—it was usually the husband or wife—stood in any degree of blood or 'in-law' affinity to any member of another family, then the families were counted as related. Actually in all but three cases the relationship was closer than second cousin, and only in four other cases was there only an in-law relationship. Thus there were cross relationships of the order of parent, child, first cousin, uncle, grandparent, etc., in 122 families. In 15 other cases the family had close relatives either within the parish or within the social area centred on the village.

Family feeling is strong in the village. On the average visits are exchanged once a week (in many cases almost daily) between parents, children, nephews, nieces, uncles, aunts, grandparents, grandchildren, brothers and sisters. Small gifts are often taken on these visits and services performed almost habitually: a meal is cooked, the garden is dug, the laundry is collected. In case of excitement, emergency or perplexity the family throngs together, the younger generation usually seeking out the immediately older generation.

The position of in-law relations is entirely determined by their connexion to the core family, which we may take as being composed of the persons mentioned in the last paragraph with the addition of first cousins. For example, ego's sister's husband is ego's brother-in-law, but the brother-in-law's siblings stand in no accepted relationship to ego, either in nomenclature or in practice. The other type of brother-sister-in-law relationship, *i.e.* that between ego and his spouse's siblings, exists because of the immediate relationship to his wife who has become a member of his core family, and is normally closer, though it does not carry reciprocal functions.

Possibly the most significant relationship in determining the extent of operative family structure is cousinship. First cousins are known as 'own' or 'full' cousins, and considerable friendliness exists between them. Their association seems, however, to be often founded more on childhood memories of when, as children of siblings who saw a lot of each other, they constantly played together, than on reciprocal functions. It is noticeable that rifts may occur

*With a text figure

between cousins if one of them moves into what is considered a higher or lower social stratum. In this case there need be no actual quarrel, but merely a diminution and finally a cessation of mutual visits and interest. Although there may be violent enmities of a personal nature in closer members of the core family, this type of social split seems not to occur.

Although first cousins are definitely in the core family, we can see in that type of relationship the functional indeterminacy which leads in the case of second cousins to their virtual exclusion from the core family. It was of great interest to me that my informants—highly intelligent persons who had lived all their lives in the village and knew it intimately—did not realize that close neighbours of theirs were in fact their second cousins. Intellectually they understood this fact, since they were well versed in family genealogy, but it was not until they were specifically working out relationships with me that it impinged on them as a surprising social fact.

In subsequent discussion elsewhere it became clear that most people had no knowledge of their second cousins. Moreover, many intelligent and well educated individuals did not even know what the term meant. Still fewer understood the terms 'once removed' and 'twice removed.' Indeed the indeterminacy of these terms, which give no indication as to whether ego is in the older or younger generation, seems to indicate that these relationships have little significance.

The decrease in strength of family ties which is shown in cousinship seems to stress the importance of what might be termed the direct succession of the primary nurture function. In this, ego, his grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren are all directly connected. In this chain five (or occasionally even more) generations may be linked in the life of one individual, though seldom simultaneously, for it is rare for ego's grandparents and grandchildren to be living at the same time. If this should occur, ego may be linked by reciprocal functions to both limits of the chain of kinship, but it is unusual to find a chain of more than three generations, *viz.* ego, his parents and his children, in which reciprocal functions exist between the oldest and youngest generations.

It is from direct succession that relationships of cousinship and other 'lateral' kinship classes such as uncles and aunts derive. Whether these play a part in the core family or not seems to depend on the distance in generations from ego at which they derived from his chain of direct succession. As we have seen, two generations seem to be the maximum amount of separation from the chain at which close relationship can be expected to exist. For example, first cousins derive laterally from grandparents; nephews and nieces from parents, but the children of these have

rarely a close or functional relationship with ego. Only where propinquity or shared interests are more powerful determinants than affinity does an active relationship appear to derive from beyond a common grandparent.

Thus the core family is formed of direct descent in which ego may be concerned with five generations at various periods of his life, and of lateral relationships in which not more than two generations are involved. It seems, in fact, that any relationship which derives from the direct chain of succession beyond the furthest limit of ego's personal involvement ceases to have any functional meaning in terms of stereotyped expectations. Indeed there is almost an emotional blockage which renders people unaware of these relationships, even when they know the individuals concerned.

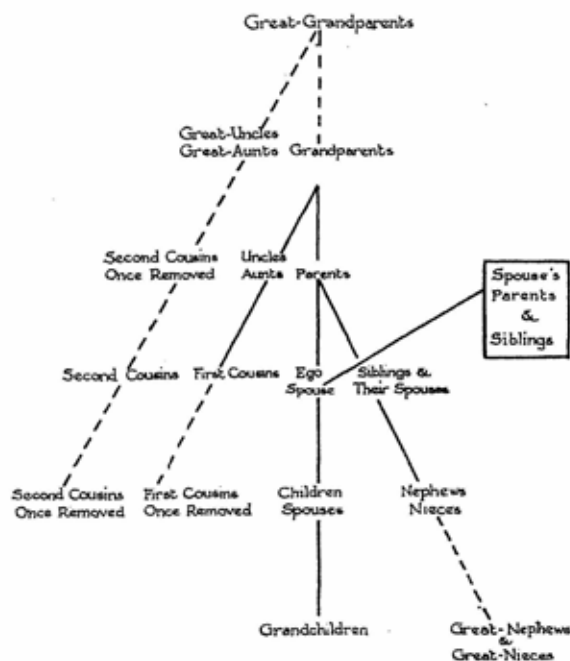


FIG. 1. THE CORE FAMILY

The core family is here shown (continuous lines) as deriving from individuals with whom ego has a personal relationship in the line of direct succession of primary nurture function.

It is interesting that the sphere of family activity should be so sharply delimited in a village where, on everyone's admission, the family is so potent a social force. Such limits are expected in a town, where many individuals are geographically separated from the rest of their family. But when the 'forgotten' members of the family live almost

next door and are known as friends, it would seem to indicate an essential quality of our kinship structure.

Probably in every society, the family has among its many functions the task of providing for the individual a framework within which he obtains assistance and support—incurring reciprocal obligations—in satisfying various of his needs, and within which he may find some psychological stability and security. In the present case the actual need for material interdependence between family members is considerably reduced, but the need for emotional support still exists, and this appears to stabilize a system which probably grew up in relation to a specific socio-economic structure which has now largely disappeared.

It is perhaps unprofitable to speculate upon origins, but the agricultural system which prevailed in the Middle Ages containing the vast majority of the population (four-fifths lived in rural areas in Queen Elizabeth's time), and continued in some places until the nineteenth century, may have been a formative influence. In the farming village, the family, rather than the clan, has for centuries been the predominating feature of kinship organization. Under the open-field system which, until enclosures began under the Tudors, covered most of England except Kent and the West Country, the family group of parents and children was the social and economic unit. Almost everywhere impartible inheritance obtained. Only one son inherited the land, while the others left the countryside or took up different trades. This stresses the importance of the direct chain of succession and the rapidly decreasing significance of lateral branches. It is noteworthy that in Celtic areas such as Scotland, where there was very little open-field husbandry, there was partible, or split, inheritance as well as a strongly marked clan system in which common descent from a remote ancestor entailed recognized kinship connexions and obligations.

In the great conurbations of contemporary industrial England, our kinship system, long divorced from its socio-economic context, is rapidly losing the traditions and patterns of culture which are still maintained by propinquity and the slower rate of change in the countryside. How far the individual can tolerate emotional separation from a body of kinsfolk, and to what extent a new structure may emerge from the present fluidity, are searching questions which have yet to be answered.

Acknowledgments

Especial thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Morgan and to Mr. and Mrs. Ellis White for their assistance in collecting the material upon which this paper is based.

OBITUARIES

Sir Charles Sherrington, 1858-1952

Through the death of Sir Charles Scott Sherrington, IOI O.M., former President of the Royal Society, we lose one of the great men of science. Far more than an ordinary leader of research, Sherrington voyaged out into new realms of thought with his many contributions, leading up to his famous *Integrative Action of the Nervous System*, published in the early years of this century, and reissued in 1947, without needing more than minor adjustments, with a new introduction which he

wrote. Sherrington's Gifford lectures, *Man on his Nature*, published in 1940 were modestly described by their author as a popularizing work by an old man; others would say humbly that it so stimulated thought as to take them into the empyrean. He was a philosopher and a poet, interested in the fine arts, and a man of wide sympathy and deep humility, who will have a permanent place among those who have made history in the advancement of science.

H. J. FLEURE

Frank Oswell Barlow: 4 October, 1880—12 November,

1951. With a portrait

IO2 Mr. F. O. Barlow, who died on 12 November, 1951, at the age of 71, rendered an important service to physical anthropologists by supplying them with exact and excellent casts and models of the fossil remains of prehistoric man. His career was a remarkable one and throws light on the evolution of the technical assistant in the service of the British Museum (Natural History). His father, Caleb Barlow (born in Staffordshire in 1840), came of a line of masons and entered the service of the Department of Geology in the Museum as a lad, his official title being 'mason.' In 1896 Dr. Henry Woodward, then Keeper



F. O. BARLOW

in Geology, permitted 'F.O.' to enter the department to under-study his father, Caleb, as a voluntary worker. In 1899 he received pay and was given the title of 'workshop attendant.' During his unpaid years he had worked at both art and science with a view to becoming a graduate of the University of London. In 1908, on the death of his father, 'F.O.' inherited from him the office and title of mason in the Geological Department of the Museum.

Young Barlow inherited from his father more than this office and title. In his spare time Caleb Barlow had worked for a firm established in Weymouth by R. F. Damon, a naturalist who col-

lected fossils of all kinds and sold them; Caleb was employed to make casts of the rarer forms. On Caleb's death, his son took his place in the Damon establishment, became a partner in the firm and ultimately its owner. In 1941, when he was 61 years of age, Barlow resigned his office in the Museum to devote himself to the business of Damon and Co., which was receiving orders from all over the world for casts and models of fossil man. It was not until 1928 that the grade of technical assistant was established in the Museum; Sir Sidney Harmer had a long fight with the Treasury to win for Barlow the title of 'First-Class Technical Assistant in the Department of Geology.'

I met Barlow first in 1909 when he cast and remodelled the Gibraltar Skull—the earliest discovery of Neanderthal man. Then, in 1913, came the discovery of the Piltdown fossil fragments, which were cast by Barlow under the direction of Sir Arthur Smith Woodward; so excellent were the plaster replicas that, when distributed, they enabled anatomists to check and criticize the reconstruction of the skull made by Sir Arthur Smith Woodward. In 1921 the Rhodesian Skull reached the Natural History Museum; Barlow not only made a very exact cast of the skull but succeeded in doing a very difficult thing, making a cast of its brain cavity. Later still he made very successful casts of the fossil people unearthed by Professor Dorothy Garrod and Mr. (now Professor) T. D. McCown in the caves of Mount Carmel. The excellence of Barlow's workmanship gained wide recognition and led to his employment by Professor Eugène Dubois, Professor Davidson Black, Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, Professor Raymond Dart and Professor J. H. McGregor.

When he retired from service in the Museum in 1941, Barlow lived in a home he had established in Sussex some years before, and there he devoted himself to the Damon business which had become a prosperous firm. His assistants joined the army and so he struggled, all alone, to fulfil pre-war orders. His health gave way in 1950, and he sought for some public body in Britain to acquire his unrivalled collection of moulds and models. Negotiations were unsuccessful, however, and, to his regret, a purchaser had to be sought abroad; just before his death his whole collection was sold to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, where it is now installed. He died at his Sussex home, The Old Parsonage, Merston, near Chichester.

In 1906 Mr. Barlow married Anne Alloway, who died in 1949. There were two children of the marriage, a son and a daughter.

A. KEITH

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Recent Developments at the Institute

IO3 Following the death of Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangiroa), who had been appointed Huxley Memorial Lecturer for 1952, the Council decided to award a second medal for this year, to Professor Kaj Birket-Smith, of the National Museum at Copenhagen, who has agreed to deliver his lecture in Cambridge during the meeting there of the XXX International Congress of Americanists in August. Professor Morris Ginsberg has been appointed to be the Huxley Memorial Lecturer for 1953. Two Rivers Memorial Medals have been awarded for 1952, one to Dr. L. S. B. Leakey for archaeological and anthropological fieldwork in East Africa, the other to Professor Monica Wilson for socio-anthropological fieldwork in Southern Africa. The Wellcome Medal for 1951 has not been awarded.

After consulting the Fellows, the Council has decided to alter the Institute's normal meeting day from Tuesday to Thursday for an experimental year beginning in July.

Miss Felicia Stallman has left the Institute's service after 10 years as Assistant Secretary; she will carry with her the good wishes of the Council and Fellows, who will remember with especial gratitude her work during the difficult years of the war. Mrs. A. C. Bowe is at present in charge of the secretariat.

Anthropological Problems Encountered during a Disease Survey of Malayan Aborigines. By Ivan Polunin, B.A., B.M., B.Ch., B.Sc.(Oxon.). Summary of a communication to the Institute, 4 March, 1952

IO4 I was fortunate enough to receive in 1950 a research grant from the newly founded University of Malaya, with a free hand to investigate diseases of Malayan aborigines. The method chiefly used was physical examination of all members of chosen aboriginal communities using a routine determined largely by the results of pilot surveys. Data obtained were transferred to punch cards for mechanical sorting.

Various physical characteristics were found which lay on the borderline between signs of disease and 'racial characteristics.' Characteristics common in a race may have a genetic basis with a pronounced racial incidence, or be evidence of suboptimal environmental conditions or of specific diseases. Conversely, the disease pattern seen may be influenced by genetically determined racial differences in disease susceptibility, such as have probably been an important factor in causing the appalling death rates in so many epidemics of aboriginal peoples.

It is possible that suboptimal environment and disease may modify the classical indices of race in highly diseased populations such as Malayan aborigines.

Some of the factors discussed may be important in determining body shape. Abdominal protuberance, often associated with marked lumbar lordosis, was found in 30 per cent. of Malayan aboriginal children aged '0-10 years.' This made the anterior abdominal wall pull outwards as well as downwards on the ribs, the lower ends of which were therefore sometimes bent forwards leaving a transverse groove similar to Harrison's sulcus, and the antero-posterior diameter of the chest was increased. The sternum was sometimes abnormally curved, with a depression of the lower end imitating in mild form 'funnel chest,' an inherited condition due to the inward pull of a congenitally shortened diaphragm. In Malayan aborigines the diaphragmatic shortening was thought to be only relative, owing to the increased chest depth.

The mean position of the cardiac apex beat was just outside the mid-clavicular line, which in Europeans would be considered evidence of enlargement or displacement of the heart. In 30 per cent. of cases the apex beat was in the fourth intercostal space. This upward and outward shift of the apex of the heart may be due to upward pressure of the diaphragm in people with distended abdomens. Abdominal distension in childhood was considered a major cause of the longitudinal midline hernia through a gap between the abdominal rectus muscles, found in 25 per cent. of aborigines.

The external auditory meatus was short, straight and wide in Senoi (Sakai), and the ear drum, rarely showing signs of disease, was easily visible on pulling back the pinna. One might speculate that the pharyngotympanic tube is also wide, thus preventing blockage which predisposes to middle-ear infections.

The parotid salivary glands were palpable in 67 per cent., and produced a visible swelling in 35 per cent. of 500 inland aborigines. The parotid might possibly lie more superficially in Malayan aborigines than in other races, but evidence from many countries suggests that parotid swelling of this type has a dietary cause, past or present. An X-ray of an exceptionally large parotid gland showed a normal duct system and hollowing of the superficial surface of the ascending ramus of the mandible, probably due to pressure of the gland.

Two eyelid characteristics were noted: the superior tarsal plates were always short and flimsy compared to those of white people, allowing the upper eyelid to be everted without dis-

comfort, and the lower eyelashes occasionally stuck upright and scratched the eyeball. In this condition, which is common among Malay children and may be a characteristic of Mongoloids, a well marked fold of orbital skin presses the eyelashes upwards. It must be distinguished from trichiasis due to disease.

Malayan aborigines usually live in small, isolated groups, in which changes in frequency of non-adaptive inherited characteristics can take place rapidly. In small populations one of the genes of a set of alleles may be lost by chance, and once lost can only be regained by outbreeding. Chance variations in the initial gene frequency in a small endogamous community may be great, and may be accentuated in subsequent generations. Changes due to non-random mating patterns become important, as exemplified by the greater tendency to polygamy among the headmen (among whom succession is often hereditary), of Malayan aboriginal communities. Genetic isolation prevents the genetic pattern of a group from being modified by that of other groups. If a small population becomes large its gene frequencies become more stable.

Absence of an allele or unusual blood-group frequencies in a community lacking distinguishing characteristics from other communities raises the possibility that it was formed from very few progenitors, and several Malayan aboriginal communities with an apparent paucity of genetic alternatives have been found. Highly significant differences have been found in ABO frequencies of otherwise similar communities, both among Negritos and among Malay-like aborigines. Hence data should be presented together with information on the numbers and distribution of the population, and any information on past history and breeding habits. In contrast to large freely breeding populations, gene frequencies may here throw more light on the mode of origin of a group than on its relationship to other groups.

However, ABO blood-group frequencies of all Senoi groups studied have been so different from those of Australian aborigines as to render improbable the relationship implied by the terms Proto-Australoid and Vedd-Australoid which have been used for the Senoi. My figures, with those of Green (1949) and Sneath, of ABO frequencies of over 450 Senoi are: AB=4 per cent., A=7 per cent., B=39 per cent., O=50 per cent. while the unmixed Australian lacks B (and blood group S, which Sneath has found in the Senoi).

The sickle-cell trait, due to a dominant gene, is of special anthropological interest, having been found only in Negroes and those with probable Negro ancestry, with the exception of the South Indian tribes studied by Lehmann and Curbush (MAN, 1952, 25). I did not find the sickle-cell trait in 150 Malayan Negritos. Sneath, however, found a high incidence (28 per cent.) of the R_0 (cDe) chromosome in 70 of these blood samples. R_0 is a common Rhesus-gene combination among the Negroes but is rare in South-East Asia and elsewhere, and Sneath found only one R_0 chromosome in 100 nearby aborigines, the Semai-Senoi.

Full accounts of work discussed here will be published later.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

An Autobiography. By Sir Arthur Keith. London (Watts), 1950. Pp. 721, 5 plates. Price £1 5s.

105 'It may be that years hence young men who devote their lives to tracing the evolutionary rise of mankind may care to know what one of their predecessors thought and did as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth century.' The account of Sir Arthur Keith's thinking and doing in pursuit of this, the chief object of his many-sided studies over 60 years, is of still greater interest to anthropologists today—not least to the many who

know him. This account, which forms one of the main threads in his autobiography, begins with the awakening of his interest in man's evolution by the anatomy lectures of his first years as a medical student in Aberdeen. He qualified in 1888. After brief medical practice in this country he was recommended by his former professor of botany for a post in Siam for which a medical man with botanical leanings was being sought, and eagerly took the opportunity of the wider experience it offered. The medical duties were with a mining company, on the east coast of the Malay

Peninsula, whose employees had 'an inconvenient habit of dying.' Malaria was the reason. It was eight years before Ronald Ross's discovery of how the disease was transmitted, and the young doctor, who himself contracted it and was to suffer from its effects for the rest of his life, was one of the few on the staff—whites and imported Asiatics—who survived as much as two years of the life there. In addition to his medical work, he was required to collect botanical specimens for Kew. On his jungle expeditions his observing eye did not, however, confine itself to the Malay Peninsula's flora: it was attracted also by the fauna, and in particular by the monkeys and apes—their habits, mentality and structure. He decided to make his career in the field of anatomy: 'to make a living by teaching medical students the structure of man, and devote my research to the elucidation of the origin of his body.'

He began making dissections. Observing the differences between the method of locomotion of gibbon and grey monkey, and also the radical differences between them in all parts of their anatomy concerned with locomotion and posture, he questioned the Lamarckian theory that erect posture had been acquired through learning to support the body on its lower limbs. He made no less than 60 dissections during his three years in Siam, 51 of them on anthropoids or monkeys, thus gaining a first-hand acquaintance with the anatomy of the ape world.

With the money earned in Siam he was able to meet the cost of two years' study in the London schools, working for his M.D. and F.R.C.S. For his M.D. thesis he collated, muscle by muscle, his own records of dissections of 50 apes with 105 published descriptions gathered from the literature.

It was more than a year after gaining these degrees in the spring of 1894 that he obtained an appointment as Senior Demonstrator of Anatomy in the school attached to the London Hospital. He used the interval to make a detailed study of over 200 skulls of anthropoids in the London museums, recording 150 observations on each—four skulls a day. The exciting news in February, 1895, of Dubois's discovery in Java of the 'missing link' prompted a close examination of a cast of the fossil: he attempted a reconstruction of its form and published his conclusion that it was no 'giant gibbon,' as Dubois then believed, but an early form of man. His study of the evidence relating to the antiquity of man, and of the other human fossils known then and later, dates from this time.

From this time dates also his habit of noting and comparing the physical features of different races. While in Leipzig, where he had gone to attend lectures by a great embryologist, Professor His, he found himself surveying the heads and faces of the audience, comparing the German students with those he had known in Aberdeen and London. He wished to compare them with the present-day inhabitants of those parts of Germany that had been the home of the Anglo-Saxons, and to this end toured the country round Hamburg on his way back. As he tells us elsewhere: 'I have always absorbed my knowledge through the eye'; 'things which could be seen and handled . . . made a special appeal to my kind of mentality.'

With the return to London, research went on again into anthropoid and human anatomy and the kind of variations to which each is prone. In a paper in 1895 'I expounded what I believed to be a new conception in Anatomy: if we were to understand the mode in which the evolution of man and of ape had taken place, we must record the anatomy of the group, not of the single specimen. . . . It was this early conception of the group which led me ultimately to my theory of human evolution.'

But the teaching of anatomy soon introduced a new motif into his research: 'I began to realize that the men I taught were not to become students of Man's evolution; the knowledge of Anatomy they needed was that which they had to apply when they entered the wards of the Hospital as clinical students. This realization not only altered my teaching but changed my enquiries to more practical ends. . . . I resolved that for the time being my research should be devoted, not to the evolutionary history of the structures of the human body, but to the part they played in the living organism—an aspect which had become much neglected by the 'descriptive' anatomy of the foregoing century.'

But evolutionary studies still played a part. A paper in 1900 gave evidence that already at that time he was cognizant of the law of

foetal inheritance. He wrote: 'Man is the most nude of all the primates and in this he appears to have assumed, as in the case of his skull and his brain, a condition seen only in the foetal states of the primates. . . . The fair skin of the whiter races is to be interpreted, I think, as so many other points are, as the retention of a foetal character.' The part played by different structures in respiration was one of his subjects of research during this teaching period: among other things, he found that—contrary to the teaching of the time—the central portion of the diaphragm as well as the right and left domes, as also the heart and the roots of the lungs, took part in the up-and-down movement. His report on this research was followed by a paper in which he sought to trace the changes in the respiratory machinery of the mammal from the amphibian up. Another subject of research was the mechanism of the heart. These investigations—in the course of which he dissected and examined microscopically some hundreds of human hearts, pathological and normal, and hearts of all classes of vertebrate animals—led to the inference that the 'pacemaker' of the heart movement was in the spot where the electro-cardiograph demonstrated it to be five years later. They also led to the interpretation of 'congenital pulmonary stenosis' as due to the failure to recapitulate completely, in the individual heart, an evolutionary development that he traced upward from the lowest vertebrate to man.

Sir Arthur's 13 years at the London Hospital ended with his appointment in 1908 as Conservator of the Royal College of Surgeons' Museum, a post which he held until illness forced his retirement 25 years later. Each of his predecessors had made a different kind of contribution to its development: Flower (1861–1894) had made of it 'the very home of research into human evolution.' Sir Arthur decided on a dual policy for his own museum additions and lectures: to provide information that surgeons were in need of, and to continue the tradition of Flower. As we follow the evolutionary thread of his chronicle through these years we see him playing one of the most active parts in the study of fossil man and of man's evolution. We see him advance new ideas, as when in 1908, through a comparison of acromegalic and Neanderthal skulls, he 'jumps to the conclusion that hormonal activity must be part—a most important part—of the machinery of evolution.' If he comes to a conclusion that he later thinks mistaken, he says so, not grudgingly but generously. Concerning the Taungs skull, for instance, which Dart had put nearer to man and Sir Arthur nearer to the gorilla and chimpanzee: 'Further discoveries, made many years later, proved that Dart was in the right: it was his judgment that was sound, not mine.'

The same generous feeling is shown in his attitude to people. Of Elliot Smith he writes: 'The death which made the greatest blank in my life at this time (1937) was that of Sir Grafton Elliot Smith. His was the ablest brain which appeared among British anatomists of my time. I strove for co-operation between us, but somehow it developed into rivalry. There was a warm understanding between him and Celia Keith, even at times when he and I were most estranged.' There are many thumb-nail sketches of people in these pages, and they may include criticism; but unlike Rebecca Offendort's funeral sermon, which 'Mentioned her virtues, it is true, but dwelt upon her vices too,' it is the positive qualities to which they give most prominence. His verdict on C. H. Watts could, one feels, be applied to none more fittingly than to himself: 'He has the hallmark of culture—tolerance.'

His connexion with the Royal Anthropological Institute was close from 1903 onwards. He served it as President for a double period during the difficult years of the First World War, and though he no longer attends its meetings he keeps in interested touch through the minutes of its Council meetings, through its publications, and through personal contacts. There are many familiar names among the anthropologists that figure in this story. Some are still alive, some dead. As to the latter, one feature of this autobiography which will make it a useful reference book is that Sir Arthur gives the dates of all the many men and women he speaks of that have already passed away. The book is also very thoroughly indexed.

One main thread in this narrative is the scientific one which has been touched upon. The other is the writer's personal and family

history, experiences and relationships, joys and sorrows, interests and reflections and much else that goes to make up the warp and woof of a full life with a large share of happiness. Here too the scientific habit of mind shows itself—in the candid self-criticisms and the analysis of motives with which it is interspersed. At 66, 'with a prospect of only three or four more years to live at most, he asked himself, as he began to recover from the acute phase of a severe illness, why he again stored knowledge. The answer was: 'Because, as long as we sit at the card-table of life we have to play our hand. Indifference is a certain sign of death.' He went on playing his hand. A decade later he was able to set about placing the coping-stone on his studies of the evolutionary rise of mankind by gathering together the lines of evidence assembled over 60 years, and presenting them to us with his final conclusions in what is perhaps his finest book, completed at the opening of his eighty-second year, *A New Theory of Human Evolution*. M. L. TILDESLEY

Race and Culture. By Michel Leiris. **Racial Myths.** By Juan Comas. Paris (U.N.E.S.C.O.) (U.K.: H.M. Stat. Off.), 1951. Pp. 48 and 52. Price 1s. 6d. each

IO6 *Race and Culture* sets out to define the scope and concept of 'race,' the difference between race, culture, language and religion, and the debt which the human individual owes to his race. It proceeds to review the stages by which we have arrived at our present anthropology, which regards man as possessing culture, and employing speech and tools in his dealings with his fellows and his environments. A culture is a 'configuration of learned behaviour and results of behaviour whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society' (Linton). This distinguishes culture, which is acquired by tradition, from race, which is strictly a matter of heredity. Culture is thus a paramount factor in the shaping of human personality; for the individual, whatever the general type under which he is classifiable, is biologically unique, and acquires his eventual endowment and character by experience of the mode of life in which he is born and reared, in a specific bio-geographical habitat. Cultures are not static, but modifiable by the behaviour of every individual exposed to it and modified by it. More especially individuals may be exposed to more than one culture, the characteristics of which may be thus diffused, and thereby modify another, through its members. Race peculiarities, in the same way, are transmitted by heredity, between members of different cultures, and modify the bio-geographical habitat of the next generation of hybrids.

It is difficult to formulate any hierarchy of cultures; and usually each culture includes varieties of tradition and behaviour, in regard to which the same questions arise. Western classifications of cultures inevitably reflect the values traditional among the classifiers, and especially the characteristic respect for power.

There is thus no inherent basis for race prejudice, whereas every culture has its own scale of values for the characteristics of other culture; and historically race prejudices are of not very ancient origin; and only became accentuated when racial peculiarities became involved in the quest of power, as criteria of usefulness or the reverse.

So far—and that is as far as this tract carries the argument—there is little to criticize from the anthropological and ethnological standpoint. But it is easy to carry it too far. The reason why there was so little race prejudice among the ancient Greeks was not because their culture 'arose in a human environment in which miscegenation appears to have been rampant,' but because the limits of race mixture in Greek lands were so narrow, that the question did not arise. The significant differences—as between Greeks and Persians or Scythians—were cultural, not racial at all. Can U.N.E.S.C.O. pamphlets produce a single instance of a Greek who married a Negro? On the other hand, between Athenian and Corinthian, marriage, though it might occur as an individual freak, could not breed lawful issue under the laws of either Athens or Corinth.

In *Racial Myths*, M. Juan Comas discusses, more in detail, the 'Negro myth,' the 'Jewish myth,' the myth of 'Aryan' or 'Nordic' superiority, and its special form of 'Anglo-Saxonism' and 'Celticism,' and brings the story down to the 'Universal Declaration of

Human Rights' in 1948: but he confuses the issue when he digresses to discuss 'fear' as a motive for racial dislike. We should attack one prejudice at a time.

Both tracts have useful bibliographies. JOHN L. MYRES

Race and Psychology. By Otto Klineberg. **The Roots of Prejudice.** By Arnold Rose. Paris (U.N.E.S.C.O.) (U.K.: H.M. Stat. Off.), 1951. Pp. 40 and 44. Price 1s. 6d. each

These two U.N.E.S.C.O. pamphlets summarize clearly the findings of psychologists and sociologists on two important aspects of racial relations. Each booklet is slightly tinged with the writer's personal persuasion, but perhaps 'social science' is not yet sufficiently scientific for an impersonal presentation to be possible. In any case the eminence of both authors is considerable and their own opinion, in the absence of any stabilized and universal theory, is valuable.

But one must question the purpose of this series of pamphlets. In general, though they may act as useful summaries, they will teach the professional student little that he does not already know. On the other hand they are too terse to convey much to the unprofessional audience for which they are presumably intended. In conjunction with more detailed reading they could be of assistance to the teacher attempting to give instruction in social questions, but the lack of bibliographies makes them much less effective for this than they might have been.

It would perhaps have been more useful if U.N.E.S.C.O. had been able to produce a simple but authoritative book (rather than a series of loosely connected pamphlets) which could have been used as a basis for teaching social studies—at present lamentably neglected—to senior school children and junior university students.

ADAM CURLE

Chamanisme et Guérison magique. By Marcelle Bouteiller. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1950. Pp. 377. Price 700 francs

IO8 This well documented essay is undoubtedly one of the more remarkable books recently published on primitive culture, and especially on medicine men. The author, in addition to her qualifications as a keen folklorist, has been engaged in medical studies, and these are closely related to the nature of her subject. Although the original part of the work is devoted to the 'panseurs de secret' of modern France, exercising their craft especially among the rural population, more than two-thirds of her exposition concentrates on the study of South Siberian and Amerindian shamanism. This study serves, in accordance with the traditional comparative method, as a basis for the author to classify and to put in the right place, as it were, the curative activities of the contemporary popular physician whom she has directly observed. We thus witness the principles of magic in action in Asia and America, as well as in several districts of modern France. In this review I shall, however, rather point out some of the striking features brought to light by the writer of the monograph.

Apart from the personal peculiarities of the medicine man, emphasis is laid on the general coherence of the social environment. 'Ni le sexe, ni l'âge, ni le déséquilibre nerveux, ni l'anormalité des mœurs ne suffisent donc à expliquer la vocation chamanistique' (p. 42); neither physiological nor psychological conditions can by themselves render an adequate account of the particular phenomenon of the secret curative gift. There is in fact reason to believe that it derives from collective belief (p. 140). In positing this the author is no doubt following Lévy-Bruhl and, to a certain extent, Durkheim. Despite the fact that the shaman acts as an individual, general cohesion is essential because 'the moral and material integrity of the group' (p. 78) is the main thing to safeguard. Moreover the supernatural world has already won the consent of the society. The same 'acte de foi' prevails between the sick and their attendant. This emotional element can even replace the shaman himself (pp. 173, 283). In short, the medicine man acts by and on behalf of society. As a first consequence, two main categories of collective belief will assist him in his action, namely (a) the spirits, and (b) the elements as a repository of power.

The shaman is believed to be already in contact with the spirits in his mother's womb (p. 27) and to enjoy this privilege both as a protection for his person, and as a help in his activities as a medicine man. 'Qu'il s'agisse de guérir les maladies, de susciter l'état morbide ou d'assurer telle attribution secondaire, le chaman agit toujours en étroite union avec les esprits' (p. 157; see especially pp. 131ff.). Furthermore the disease or ailment is in any case caused by a partial departure of the spirit or the soul of the patient; the same kind of action will therefore neutralize his suffering. The author supports the attribution of this belief to early palaeolithic times (p. 184).

With polymorphism of 'force' or *mana* is closely associated the concept of all the natural elements as dwelling places of an elusive supernatural power. The regional fauna, 'the Californian or Siberian bear, the African hyena, the wolf of the forests of France' may be the incarnation of its spirit; or again the mountain, the lake, thunder, the meteor, or simply the cavern (p. 270). Fire, with all the variety of its symbols, the sun and the moon, wind, water and the earth are all at the disposal of the shaman to reinforce his power, as are even worms and the tempest (p. 271). So is, as a natural consequence, all the symbolism of colours, numbers, and orientations or space concepts (p. 256), corresponding to primitive categories, i.e. to social beliefs.

This is certainly a well constructed book, although the mass of detail is such that related facts may be too widely separated for their connexions to be apparent. It is the result of a valuable effort of concentration on the 'lower' grades of human thought as reflected in social behaviour. The later, rather tenuous, religious overlay appears in Part 5, which takes France as an area of research, but even there magical survivals prevail over the religious element (p. 245; see also p. 169). This leads us back to the old idea of 'compounds' or 'cultural complexes.'

One part of the book is reserved for a discussion of the techniques of the medicine man whose main procedure is sorcery or magic. The rules of homœopathic and contagious magic are observed, as well as symbolic analogy. He can, nevertheless, make use of certain medicinal plants (pp. 28, 306). By these means he can produce disease and even death (p. 29).

Notwithstanding the stress laid on the social element, there is no sign of any attempt at a functionalist interpretation. From the genetic point of view, either morbid or social psychology is taken for a starting point (p. 16). Boas, Kroeber, Lowie and Radin are the main authorities cited for ethnographic theory, while the interpretation of second-hand narratives reminds us of the traditional 'pigeon-hole system' in the form applied by Lévy-Bruhl. The author's conception of a 'complex' is certainly of value; but a very variegated pattern results. Modern French communities become the scene of 'revivals,' and this accounts for the author's diversion to parallels from more primitive societies in accordance with the comparative method, implying acceptance of the diffusionist idea of Central Asiatic origin, or the influence of Central Asia over North American aborigines. Comparisons are also frequently drawn from phenomena in South America, Melanesia, Polynesia, Java, Malaya and the Bantu and Abyssinian areas.

Eminently eclectic as it is, the professional work of the shaman is seen as representative of social values. His activities are, however, at times attributed (p. 2) to 'unreal' and imaginative faculties of the human mind (see Bergson).

A rich and well classified bibliography concludes a work which is without doubt a valuable contribution to ethnology.

N. P. ERMAN

Le Chamanisme, et les Techniques archaïques de l'Extase.

By Mircea Eliade. Paris (Payot), 1951. Pp. 447. Price 1300 francs

In the preface the author, a former professor at the University of Bucarest, makes his point of view clear. The historian of religion seeks to distinguish religious 'facts'; the mysteries, revelation of 'the sacred,' tend to be repeated in various forms in different areas and cultural milieus, often at great intervals of time. Thus, religious history is not an irreversible process as are other histories. The mystery of a celestial god is widespread; at any moment a more complete revelation of 'the sacred' is possible.

Myths, dreams and rituals dealing with ascension to heaven, levitation or flight are also world-wide. The shamanistic vocation in its initiation is marked by a psychological crisis, as are all other religious vocations. Shamanism is one of the 'archaic' techniques of ecstasy, at the same time mystic, magic and religious.

In the present work the author examines the shamanistic complex from the perspective of the general history of religion. A distinction is made between the shaman and the magician or medicine man. The magic that the shaman practises is specialized; he has power over fire, and he cures sickness by his own methods, essentially by means of trance during which his soul leaves the body. In trance he ascends to heaven and descends to the underworld; he may bring back the souls of invalids, whose sickness is caused by their temporary departure. He has power over spirits, and, though he may become possessed, possession by spirits (so characteristic of African shamanism) is considered as an aberrant form. Shamanism of central and northern Asia is considered the most typical expression of the cult; it has a long history and has received foreign influences, so it is not regarded as the most primitive and original form. The psychopathic elements thought to be due to the arctic climate are not considered as essential features of the cult, except in so far as a crisis of some kind, usually accompanied by illness, is typical of all ecstatic experience.

Characteristic themes in the ecstatic experience are: cutting-up of the body and renewal of the internal organs, ascension to heaven and communication with a god or spirits, descent into hell and communication with the dead, and divine revelations. Any of these experiences, which mark out an individual as having a vocation for shamanism, are elements in the traditional initiation—suffering death and rebirth.

The various methods of obtaining shamanistic power are discussed, including association with guardian spirits and animals, celestial spouses and spirits of the dead. In the course of initiation the future shaman learns songs and a secret language necessary for communication with the spirits. It may be the language of animals or birds. In the initiation ceremony proper, an important element is the ritual ascent into heaven, usually by means of a tree or mast, and sometimes by means of experiences of levitation. Associated myths deal with flight through the air and with the Golden Age of the past, to which the shaman is privileged to return.

The cosmology of shamanism is characterized by three zones, the sky, the earth and the underworld, connected by holes or pillars. A cosmic mountain or a cosmic tree may lead from earth to heaven. The ritual climbing of a tree is found in Siberia, in North America and in Borneo. There seems no doubt of the cultural continuity between the arctic peoples of Asia and the Eskimo. The chief elements of initiation in both areas into the mystic life are: vocation, retreat into solitude, apprenticeship to a master shaman, acquisition of familiar spirits, ritual of symbolic death and resurrection, and the use of a secret language. In both areas the shamans play the principal part in religious life. In North America there are priests and magicians as well as shamans, also any individual can seek and gain a spirit helper and see visions, but only the shamans can penetrate deeply into the spirit world by means of their ecstatic powers.

In South America the shaman plays an important part as healer, as guide of the dead to their home in the other world and as intermediary between men, gods and spirits, and general protector of the people. Many of the traits in the shamanism of the Fuegians resemble those of North America, the Eskimo and Siberia. These are also elements in the magico-religious life of Australia, Oceania and South-East Asia.

These similarities could be accounted for by supposing that the most ancient strata of the inhabitants of South America and of Australia represent 'archaic man' pushed to the extremities of the earth, or by the hypothesis of Koppers and Rivet that there was direct communication in the Antarctic regions. Equally, later migration may be supposed by way of Malaya-Polynesia, towards South America. The author considers that magico-religious practices may have infiltrated into the Americas at various periods, but if the Fuegians may be looked upon as descendants of the first wave of immigrants to have reached America, then their religion may be taken to represent an 'archaic' ideology. The chief elements of this

are: belief in a celestial god, initiation into shamanism by vocation or voluntary quest, relations with souls of dead shamans and familiar spirits (this relationship sometimes going as far as possession by them), the conception of illness as the intrusion of a magic object or the loss of the soul, and the power of the shaman to be unhurt by fire.

These traits dominate the religious life in North America and Siberia, and are found among the Eskimo; they are important in the magico-religious life of Australia, Oceania and South-East Asia. Thus a recent origin of shamanism in America is considered improbable.

Shamanism among the Indo-Europeans and in China and Tibet is also examined. In considering the distribution of shamanism the author stresses the importance of ecstatic experience as an 'original phenomenon,' independent of history or culture, common to mankind, and thus an 'archaic' human element. He places in the same category the Supreme High God, a god who later may become debased, yet the symbolism of an ascent to heaven remains. In spite of innovations and degradations, the shamanistic ecstasy is a real experience comparable to the great mysteries of the East and West.

Whether one accepts M. Eliade's theories or not, his work is an interesting comparative study of the subject, with copious references. It would, however, have added to the value of the book if a list of authors and works had been given instead of merely being recorded in footnotes.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

The Tree of Human History. By A. H. Brodrick. London (Hodder & Stoughton), 1951. Pp. 253. Price £1 5s.

Mr. Brodrick has set out to give 'a connected account of the appearance of civilizations and their arts' in all parts of the world in which civilizations have appeared. He is extremely well read, and his account is very readable, and contains much information and some useful bibliographies. The trouble is that he is not quite well read enough—perhaps nobody is—to cover so wide a field and he tends to dogmatize in contexts in which dogmatism is out of place.

One would need a very up-to-date encyclopædia to check all his statements, but the following points may be noted. He says (p. 35) that 'there is no sort of evidence that any trans-Pacific seafarers reached the Americas in pre-Columbian times.' This is not so; there is, for example, the evidence of the sweet potato. Whether the evidence is sufficient for proof is, of course, another matter. We read on p. 187 that 'after the Romans left, writing disappeared for generations from our island,' and on p. 222 that 'the Britons did not become Latin-speakers.' The fact that Dr. Nash-Williams has listed 130 Welsh tombstones of the fifth to seventh centuries with Latin inscriptions indicates that both these statements are erroneous. As for his views on Homer, it is highly improbable that any part of the poems was composed as late as 450 B.C. (p. 190), and incredible that 'the Phœnicians, to scare off commercial rivals, spread stories which have come down to us as the legends of Cyclops, Scylla and Charybdis' (p. 188).

RAGLAN

EUROPE

Scripta Minoa: The Written Documents of Minoan Crete: Vol. II, The Archives of Knossos. By Arthur J. Evans. Edited from notes and supplemented by John L. Myres. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1952. Pp. 114, line drawings of Tablets B 1-1574, plates XIV-XCVII. Price 10 guineas

When Sir Arthur Evans died in 1941, the projected second volume of *Scripta Minoa* had still not been published. This was to have contained the 1,800 clay tablets of c. 1400 B.C. which he had found at Knossos in Crete during 1899-1904, consisting of inventories and accounts written in an unknown, probably non-Greek, language and in an undeciphered script (Minoan Linear Script B) of some 80 syllabic signs. The small number of these tablets which Evans published in *The Palace of Minos* have offered several generations of scholars a fascinating problem, but most of them have been justifiably angry that the lack of a full publication should have made their efforts futile.

Sir John Myres generously undertook to complete Evans's work for publication, and this great task, carried on through years of war, of illness and of printing difficulties, has now been achieved. *Scripta Minoa*, Volume II, contains, in the ample format of its Edwardian predecessor, Myres's discussion of the signs used on the tablets; his commentary on the apparent subject matter; a concordance of Evans's serial numbering with that of others who have worked on the tablets; an index of the sign groups (names and words) occurring on them; Evans's drawings of most of the tablets; and old photographs of some of them. It will be generally regretted that there are not photographs of all the tablets, since where a script is undeciphered even the most careful drawing may suffer from misleading shifts of emphasis; but Dr. Bennett of Yale has recently examined the originals in the museum at Herakleion, and this check will probably clear up most of the doubtful points.

A fair proportion of the apparatus of the book is necessarily devoted to reducing Evans's unfinished work to order, rather than to the clearest possible arrangement of the material itself as unearthed. It is no disparagement of Myres's labours to suggest that if the tablets had been more recently excavated, and had been analysed and published in a single operation, a more compact and a more dependable book would have resulted. As it is, some of the tablets have been lost in the meanwhile, and some of Evans's notes are no longer comprehensible.

It is unfortunate that Myres's index order of the Minoan Linear B signs, itself divided into two series, should differ not only from Evans's but also from that which has been used by the Americans

Blegen, Bennett and Kober. Myres's analysis of the signary does not discriminate clearly enough between phonetic and ideographic signs, and is often more concerned with what the signs look like than with how they are used. A more detailed statistical analysis is needed. Where Myres states that a sign is 'identical' with a later Cypriot or alphabetic sign, he is referring to a casual identity of shape and not necessarily to a direct connexion.

Evans's numbering of the tablets is based, somewhat erratically, on their place of finding. Kober before her death renumbered them according to their subject matter, and this analysis forms an indispensable part of the book.

As befits the authoritative *Corpus*, Myres has refrained from any attempt to 'read' the tablets, and from any speculation on the language contained in them beyond the probability that 'it was related to the early language or languages of Western Anatolia.' He has remained sceptical of Kober's brilliant attempt (*A.J.A.*, Vol. I, Part 2, 1946) to demonstrate that the Knossos tablets contain inflexional forms and are not confined to random series of personal names. His opinion that vocabulary words and place names have a negligible part to play in the texts is not generally shared; and his analysis of many sign groups into 'compounds' of two equal parts can just as reasonably be regarded as the operation of suffixes, grammatical or otherwise. His attitude is due, very largely, to the fact that the Knossos tablets are very condensed in form, and that the kind of longer sentences in which inflexion will become obvious are rare.

The value of these long-awaited Knossos tablets in helping to solve the riddle of the 'Minoan' language has been somewhat overshadowed by the publication, in March, 1951, of Bennett's drawings of the 600 tablets discovered by Blegen in 1939 in the large Mycenaean palace at Ano Englianos in Messenia, which some take to be Nestor's Pylos. Although apparently 200 years later in date, these tablets are in the same script and language. They do contain a number of longer, more regular, sentences (due perhaps to the operation of a less harassed bureaucracy), and from these we have been able to make deductions as to Minoan inflexional forms which completely vindicate Kober's work. It will not, however, be an easy matter to demonstrate the regular use of these forms in the more abbreviated Knossos material.

The Pylos Tablets contain, for example, an abundance of forms showing the construction of what must be the genitive singular, and also the frequent use of an enclitic 'and' only once found for certain at Knossos (820). Variations in spelling due to inflexion have enabled

phonetic deductions to be made about the structure of the syllabary, and although it is too early to apply actual phonetic values, we are appreciably nearer a decipherment. Sittig's translations have so far been unconvincing, but his approach to the language problem is perhaps among the most promising. This is to regard the 'Minoan' language as a forerunner of the 'Pelasgian' dialect recorded on the sixth century stele from Kaminia on Lemnos, which in its turn is closely related to Etruscan; and to assume that Minoan was widely spoken in Mycenaean Greece, not merely as a cultural import but as the indigenous language, only gradually to be ousted by Greek. This is a situation one would not have guessed from Homer.

Even if the Knossos tablets are slightly disappointing in not presenting, in proportion to their numbers, quite as many points of attack as those of Pylos, the large new material now made available by Myres must keep many scholars busy for a considerable time, and can only help to hasten the day when the writing and language of this attractive culture can be more fully understood.

It must be remembered, too, that many more of its archives may be awaiting discovery, and that both Blegen at Pylos and Wace at Mycenae have hopes of finding them this year. May they be promptly published!

It is to be hoped that the appearance of *Scripta Minoa* will enable many more in England to take a responsible part in this research, which is designed to fill a significant gap in our knowledge of the origins of European civilization. MICHAEL VENTRIS

A Picture Book of Ancient British Art. By Stuart Piggott and Glyn Daniel. C.U.P., 1951. Pp. 30, 50 plates. Price 12s. 6d.

II2 This book is, and sets out to be, no more than an annotated display of 50 pages of photographs. Cultural backgrounds are intentionally omitted—as is contemporary 'architecture'—and the objects are to be judged by 'independent standards of aesthetic satisfaction.' Essential dimensions, provenances and descriptions are provided in 27 pages of text.

The book, which is well produced and clearly printed, as is to be expected of a C.U.P. production, is excellent value for money. It will undoubtedly fulfil admirably one of its aims, which is to appeal to the general reader, to reveal to him—probably to his surprise—that products of outstanding beauty as well as of archaeological interest go back, in Britain, some 4,000 years and more, and to persuade him to enjoy in the original the pictured treasures.

Achievement of the second aim of the book, viz. 'to provide the serious student of early Britain with a short but representative collection of ancient British art,' is probably a little less successful. The authors admit in an introductory essay (p. 4) that the stylistic divisions of the period are, with the exception of the Celtic art group, no more than a convenience for discussion and, in a period so extensive and showing so many apparently independent styles, one sees no evidence of any continuing tradition in 'Ancient British Art.' Moreover, in our present state of knowledge of prehistoric immigrations, incursions and trade contacts (of which several examples are cited) one cannot be sure that there was at any time even a truly 'Native British School of Art' (p. 3) in the sense of there being something more than just local variations or of the *objets d'art* being more than merely made in Britain.

One is almost completely disarmed by the authors' plea that they do not expect others entirely to agree with their arbitrary selection of illustrations, but, going through the plates, one asks oneself what is meant by 'art' in this context. All but three (at most) of the 66 examples chosen show that 'art' is considered to be synonymous with non-utilitarian ornament, whereas surely an undecorated earthen pot can show artistry in its shaping and, as an extreme example, even finely chipped stone-handaxes of 300,000 years ago may show—for all their dismissal by the writers—some feeling by their makers for the aesthetic.

Again, what is a 'representative' collection? The great majority of the illustrations are of well preserved metal objects and one cannot but agree with the authors in being conscious of the limitations imposed on studies of prehistory by the different resistances to decay of differing substances—and the complete dissolution of most.

One cannot help sensing the difficulties inherent in an attempt to appeal both to the general reader and to the serious student. As an

inspiration to the novice this book cannot be bettered, but the serious student might have been more adequately served had the subject and title been restricted to, say, 'Metal Ornament in Pre-historic Britain.'

EDWARD PYDDOKE

Suggestions concerning Classification, Storage and Labelling of Objects illustrating English Life and Traditions.

II3 Prepared by the British Ethnography Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute. London (R.A.I.), 1950. Pp. 39. Price 2s. 6d.

This publication sufficiently explains itself by its title, and is frankly tentative, and therefore open to modification in the light of criticism, so that although it would be difficult to improve on the general lay-out of this scheme a reviewer may be pardoned for making what might justifiably be regarded in the case of a different sort of publication as pettifogging criticisms of detail.

The scheme is subdivided into as many headings as there are letters of the alphabet (I omitted). A, B, C and D cover Social Life, The Household, The Individual, and Movement and Transport; the remainder cover occupations from Agriculture (E) to Professions (Z), Printing, Books, etc., Y being subdivided to separate processes from matter produced. These alphabetical headings are followed by suggestions as to the storing and to the labelling of objects.

The list as it stands suffers from not having more introductory matter explaining the principles on which it has been drawn up. No doubt the compilers have a reason for preferring an alphabetical to a numerical system, though the latter is more generally used in libraries and museums and would appear on the face of it more flexible. Under some heads the order of items is alphabetical; under others what may perhaps be described as the logical order is followed; under others again no system at all is apparent. Thus under K, Minor Domestic Crafts, the items run alphabetically (b) Braiding, (c) Crochet, (d) Embroidery, (e) Knitting and so forth; under J, Food Processing with a Domestic Basis, the list starts with (a) Milling and goes on to (b) Baking and (c) Confection—the natural order in which the processes take place, and, after food, passes through the various forms of drink-making from Malting and Brewing down to the Making of Mineral Waters. This is logical enough, but when we come to M, Making of Head Coverings, the list starts with (a) Silk and goes through (c) Felt, (d) Leather, (g) Shawls and (h) Squares to (j) Wigs and (k) Plumassier, an order in which no principle, alphabetical or chronological, is discernible. There is probably some very good reason for this, but it needs explanation to make it acceptable. Similarly in Section A, Social Life, subsection (p) Government and Administration, which includes for instance the Bellman, Town Crier, and Relieving Officer, includes also the Parish Clerk and Sexton whom we should have expected to find under (b) Religious Organizations; and further subsection (p) is separated by three long subsections from (t) Justice and its Administration, with which one might have expected Government and Administration to be more closely linked. In B (b) it would perhaps have been preferable to put the items of general contents of house, and of general furnishings, before the particular contents of individual rooms, and in Y.2, Biography and Topography, and Z, Professions, the reason is not obvious why Drawings and Paintings (Y.2 (b)) are not shown with Artists (Z (c)), as Sheet Music is with Musicians (Z (f)). Under X (n), Musical Instrument Making, instruments are classified in four categories—Sonorous Substances, Vibrating Membranes, Wind Instruments (subdivided into Wood Wind, Metal Wind, and Pipe), and String Instruments. It is obviously impossible to devise a completely satisfactory series of mutually exclusive categories, but it may be doubted whether those here suggested are as satisfactory as Professor Balfour's division into percussion instruments, simple wind instruments, valve wind instruments (subdivided into those with closed reeds, open reeds, and double reeds), and stringed instruments. Certainly his division of wind instruments into those with and those without valves is better than the threefold division here suggested in which the significance of iii, pipe, as distinct from i, wood wind, and ii, metal wind, is at least obscure. Under Z, Professions, a separate place should perhaps be found for Auctioneers and Estate Agents, for Chartered Accountants, and for Apothecaries and Chemists.

The last appear under W, Shopkeeping, but since a pharmacist needs a specific qualification to act as such, Z is probably the correct category. Where the missing Bonesetter should appear is doubtful, but he is still much resorted to both for human and animal patients in some counties.

Finally, under H, Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, etc., if specimens of 'vermin' are to be given a place, a place should likewise be allotted to objects of the hunt. This incidentally would make it possible to remove the fox and the otter from the category of vermin to which as honorable beasts of the chase they certainly do not belong, particularly in England. The badger probably belongs to the same category as the fox and otter, but unlike them figured at one time on the bill of fare. In any case the list of vermin is faulty. It is doubtful if the bat or the squirrel, at any rate the red squirrel, can be regarded as vermin, or the hedgehog in spite of his persecution for the imagined crime of milking cows, or even the rook. The woodpigeon is no doubt rightly included, but if so why not the rabbit, while the jay, magpie, sparrow-hawk and above all the carrion and Royston crow should certainly go into the list, to say nothing of the common house mouse. Indeed there are some insects that may deserve a place, and the University Museum at Cambridge contains a trap for bed bugs made by a Spitalfields basket-maker some 80 years ago or less.

Admittedly the criticisms made above are matters of minor detail of comparatively little importance. They are raised here partly because the authors themselves appear to invite criticisms, and partly because there is nothing else to say except praise for an extremely adequate and satisfactory piece of work, which must have cost a vast deal of trouble, pains and care on the part of its authors, who are much to be congratulated on the general result of their labours, and who will have earned the thanks of all folk museums in this country. J. H. HUTTON

Laos, Vol. I. Edited by Sigurd Erixon. Stockholm (Almqvist & Wiksell), 1951. Pp. 206. Price Sw. crowns 20

II4 There appears to be some divergence on the meaning of the Greek word which forms the title of this new year book: the editor translates it as 'people,' while another contributor suggests it means a 'crowd' or a 'nation.' Into this controversy we cannot enter, but it gives a clue to the lively and critical spirit which pervades the whole issue. An international publication devoted to the wide fields of folklore has been long overdue and the *Commission des Arts et Traditions Populaires* of U.N.E.S.C.O., whose funds made it possible, is to be commended.

Three languages are used, English, French and German. One set of papers is concerned with the scope and the place of folklore amongst the studies which deal with man and society: these include a definitive study by the editor and a critical commentary on the use of the word 'folklore' by André Varagnac of Paris. A second theme, appearing in studies by authors from Eire, Italy, Finland and Norway amongst others, takes up oral traditions and kindred matters. The third main topic in the volume is material culture. As might be expected, this is strongly represented and some of the more important articles consider the Baltic house, Iberian plough types, bread types, methods of baking and Danish farming systems. The only contribution from the United Kingdom, a descriptive article on the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagans, falls under this heading. A subsidiary element refers to the interesting and valuable work at present in progress in various countries towards an international atlas of European folk culture.

The editor promises that contributions for future issues will continue to maintain the high standard of text matter, illustrations and bibliographic notes found in this first number. If the journal is to appear as a single annual volume, the next issue might include an index, in addition to the table of contents, and a short biographical paragraph about contributors would also be helpful. J. M. MOGEY

Maps and Politics: A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia. By H. R. Wilkinson. Liverpool (Univ. Press), 1951. Pp. xvi, 366, frontispiece and many text maps. Price 30s.

II5 This is a remarkable example of the influence of maps on politics, and of politics on map-making. It would have been clearer if it had

been prefaced by an account of the physical geography of Macedonia, or at least an enumeration of its principal regions, which have been so persistently ignored by cartographers and ethnographers alike. At the Berlin Congress the whole debate was held up till Bismarck could have Salisbury persuaded that Sofia was south of the Balkan range. And even Mr. Wilkinson seems to confuse the Strymon and Nestos rivers, calling each of them the Mestos repeatedly. But his statement of the Macedonian problem is otherwise clear; and beginners should begin with the Appendix which summarizes Weigand's historical analysis of the population.

Ethnographical cartography has its own art and mystery; it develops its own sets of symbols, and Mr. Wilkinson has simplified the matter by employing his own set through his whole series of abbreviations of earlier maps. The principal cause of confusion is the replacement of one basis of classification by another; not without frequent recurrence to discarded criteria as secondary distinctions. The earliest map (Nuremberg, 1730) was linguistic, but regarded Albanian and Romanian as Slav. Etzel (1831) established the Turkish illusion and the Greek mirage; Müller (1841) borrowed 'Pelasgian' from ancient geography and misused it; Kombst (for Johnston's *Atlas*, 1843) made a first attempt at ethnography. But the Treaty of Adrianople had formulated Russian claims (1829), after Kollar had stated them in 1824, in which year the first Bulgarian book was printed, and Boni (for Berghaus, 1847) with wide local knowledge had recorded a very wide Bulgarian distribution.

In 1861, Lejean (for Petermann) did the same for the Serbs, and von Hahn for Albanians; and in 1867 Misses Mackenzie and Irby published their Balkan travels, which so greatly impressed Gladstone. But the feud between Serb and Bulgarian only became politically dangerous with the establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate (national church, 1872) and the demand of the Conference of Constantinople (1876) for political reforms. The Congress of Berlin used Kiepert's new map (1876) which mainly followed Lejean and had a long vogue and many imitators.

In the long period of Serb-Bulgarian rivalry, maps were subordinated to propaganda, and propaganda was corrupting the evidence of speech and religion; the period of massacres and deportations came later. The work of Weigand on the Romanian and Vlach groups (1895) established this element and gave grounds for Romanian bargaining later; and Nicolaides (1899) formulated long-standing Greek claims. Meinhardt (1899) is significant as stating Austrian views, which tended to favour Serbian claims, while Russia steadily backed Bulgarian, restated now in the Exarchate maps (1901).

A fresh phase opens with the troubles of 1903 which gave currency to the culinary term 'macedoine.' The Serbian geographer Cvijić (1906) developed an older discovery (1876) that the Slavs of Macedonia were neither Serb nor Bulgar, but by language and descent distinct. This suited both Austria and Russia, whose joint 'Mürztag programme' of 1906 was an attempt to secure reforms under Turkey without prejudging the destiny of the region. Other fresh factors were the Italian support of Greek claims (Amadori-Virgilj, 1908) against Albanian, and the Young Turk movement in Salonica reviving old claims and demanding enforced conformity to Turkish and Moslem observance.

After this, the remaking of maps became a regular political device. The influence of Cvijić long predominated, in Britain through Seton Watson, Miss Durham and Temperley; but the *Times Atlas* (1920) went back to the notions of 1892. After the mass-movements, the Serbian census of 1924 was a real attempt to ascertain the facts, at least as to language, and the Vienna map of Haberlandt (1927) combined much recent observation. But Bulgarian claims were still pressed (Mikov, 1936), and were largely granted by the Axis invaders (1941), but inevitably rejected after their repulse. Once more a fresh Yugoslav census (1948) gave a fresh basis for reconstruction, but the 'Republic of Macedonia' (1948), with not only a new map but a new language(!) was promptly wrecked by the Bulgarians.

These are only leading points in Mr. Wilkinson's elaborate and careful collation of about 200 maps. It is a lamentable tale of ignorance and folly, and has lessons for ethnographers as well as statesmen.

JOHN L. MYRES

CORRESPONDENCE

U.N.E.S.C.O.'s New Statement on Race. Cf. especially MAN, 1952, 3, 70 and 96

116 SIR,—We have read with considerable surprise your editorial note, together with the subsequent comments of Dr. Alfred Métraux, regarding the unexpected disclosure, by one of the participants in the Paris Conference of last year, to the *Saturday Review of Literature*, of an early draft version of the new U.N.E.S.C.O. Statement on Race. As the British delegates to that Conference, we feel obliged to make the following comments in connexion with the matter referred to by Dr. Métraux and yourself:

(i) We understood that before any text was published, even in scientific journals, there would be agreement by all members of the Committee of anthropologists and biologists convened by U.N.E.S.C.O. in June, 1951, that its wording was such that it could be submitted to the scientific world for criticism and possible amendment.

(ii) Without such agreement we should have been strongly opposed to any publication by U.N.E.S.C.O. and even more strongly to publication by an individual Committee member. We believe that this view is shared by the majority of our colleagues on the Committee.

(iii) We are not prepared to subscribe to the document printed, without the agreement or knowledge of the Committee, in the *Saturday Review of Literature* of 1 September, 1951, and, whatever the motives which prompted its publication may have been, we can only deplore this as detrimental to the efficient conduct of U.N.E.S.C.O.'s campaign against unscientific notions of race.

J. B. S. HALDANE
A. E. MOURANT
J. C. TREVOR
S. ZUCKERMAN

Eritrean Rock Sculptures. Cf. MAN, 1951, 155. With 4 text figures

117 SIR,—Rock carvings of the kinds described by Mrs. Drew, as well as monochrome rock paintings of crude human and animal figures, worked on perpendicular cliff faces, are widespread if not numerous in the highlands of Eritrea, in the adjacent highlands of Agame and Tigray in Ethiopia and in the north western plains of Eritrea. Mrs. Drew's article is of great value because the 'Meallai' sculpture, from near Tegeren ('Akele Guzay'), certainly has not been published before, while the Da'ro Qawlos (Hamasen) one does not seem to have been, unless it is identical with one of those known to the late Professor Conti Rossini.¹ Other examples of this art in the Abyssinian literature are three widely separated groups of animal drawings described by Dainelli and Marinelli²; the outline of a lion at Gobedra, near Aksum, fully described by Theodor von Lüpke at the time of the German Expedition³; the well-known drawings at Qohayto (about 10 miles from 'Meallai') recorded by Littmann⁴ and others, of which a typical section is shown in fig. 1; a group of paintings, mostly worked into a single scene, at Imba Feqada in Agame, discovered by Mordini⁵ and written up by Graziosi⁶; and a group of rock sculptures at Hager Nish near the Eritrea-Sudan frontier, published by Conti Rossini.⁷ More unpublished sculptures are known to travellers in Eritrea, while a still larger number may lie as yet unnoticed.

To appreciate the æsthetic or other function of this work, and still more to try to identify the artists and to date its execution, we should require more detailed study not only of the work itself but of the whole field of Abyssinian antiquities and the history of Abyssinian art than has yet been carried out. On the first question, one group of paintings reminds Conti Rossini of Bushman drawings, another reminds Dainelli of rock drawings in North Africa and southern Ethiopia. But there is no specific support for these parallels, and we cannot as yet tell even whether the Eritrean work represents a single artistic phase or whether the variety of subjects and the several techniques—e.g. painting, outline drawing and the two types of chipping illustrated in Mrs. Drew's photographs—belong to a single epoch and a single inspiration or to different epochs and different inspirations.

On the second question, Graziosi, whilst admitting that the basis for any opinion is insecure, conjectures that the Imba Feqada paintings are post-palæolithic—whatever significance may be ascribed to that term in Eritrean archæology—but older than the work at Qohayto. Conti Rossini concludes that the carvings at Hager Nish must remain undated until they can be associated with



FIG. 1. ROCK DRAWINGS AT QOHAYTO
Photographs (figs. 1, 3, 4): D. J. Duncanson

rock inscriptions—a somewhat pessimistic opinion no doubt—but provisionally ascribes them to the Aksumite period, whose extreme dates would be about 400 B.C. to A.D. 600. An indication that the rock carvings at least antedate the traditions of the present inhabitants—as do proved relics of the Aksumite period—is provided by popular reactions to the rediscovery in 1944 close to Aksumite ruins at the frontier village of Ham, 20 miles south of 'Meallai,' of a frieze of carved animal figures (fig. 2). The carvings were thought by

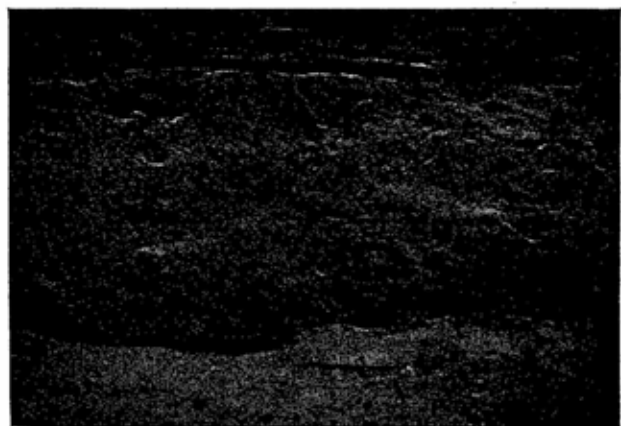


FIG. 2. CARVED FRIEZE AT HAM
Apparently prehistoric beasts with Christian additions.
Photograph: D. R. Buxton

the Coptic villagers, prompted by a rascally stranger with predacious motives, to have been wrought miraculously there and then and were interpreted as a sign of special grace, so that for months thereafter the site attracted pilgrims from Ethiopian villages as distant as 40 miles who sought release from bodily affliction or absolution from sin. The Christian symbols in this Ham picture, like the man

holding a cross in the Qohayto picture, are probably to be interpreted in any case as a sort of cachet, added to the animal carving at a subsequent date, whereby it could be appropriated for some reason as Coptic work; the rocky approaches to the monastery of Debre Libanos, close to Ham, which is of great antiquity, are carved with very many crosses, names and initials left by former pilgrims.

One might hesitate to accept Conti Rossini's provisional dating to the Aksumite period of the Hager pictures, still less to extend it to other known rock art of Eritrea, on the grounds that this work is all crude and contrasts with the finished skill in stone both of Aksumite architecture and of the only specimen of sculpture in the round unearthed in Eritrea, the Girmaten sphinx⁸—though the latter is not necessarily Eritrean work. But the scraps of Aksumite history we do possess indicate that the period was not one of social or cultural unity, but one of constant foreign intercourse, even extensive

have not been recorded, and it is difficult to guess what their function may have been without deciphering the jumble of South Arabian letters round the edges. It may be significant too that all the drawings and carvings discussed above, including the two published by Mrs. Drew,⁹ are situated within a mile at most of architectural ruins or cemeteries of the Aksumite period.

Singapore

D. J. DUNCANSON

Notes

¹ C. Conti Rossini, 'Ricerche e studi sull'Etiopia,' *Bollettino della Società Geografica*, 1900, p. 111.

² G. Dainelli and O. Marinelli, *Risultati scientifici di un viaggio nella Colonia Eritrea*, R. Istituto di Studi superiori pratici, 1912, pp. 491-8 and Plate XXXVII.

³ *Die deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, 1913, Vol. II, pp. 73f. and Plate XV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 'Reisebericht d. Expedition.'

⁵ A. Mordini, 'Un riparo sotto roccia con pitture rupestri nell'Amba Focadà,' *Rassegna degli Studi etiopici*, Vol. I (1941), pp. 54-60 (illus.).

⁶ P. Graziosi, 'Le pitture rupestri dell'Amba Focadà,' *ibid.*, pp. 61-70.

⁷ C. Conti Rossini, 'Incisioni rupestri all'Hagghèr,' in *Rassegna degli Studi etiopici*, Vol. III (1943), pp. 102-6 (2 plates).

⁸ D. J. Duncanson, 'Girmaten, a New Archaeological Site in Eritrea,' *Antiquity*, No. 83 (September, 1947), pp. 159-63 and Plate VIII.

⁹ The two sculptures copied and published by Mrs. Drew were from a large collection of photographs of Eritrean antiquities, or of her watercolour copies of them, which she has presented to the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum, together with admirably full documentation.—ED.



FIG. 3. CARVED STONE BLOCK IN AKSUMITE STYLE

migration, and of abundant cultural exchange, during which it would be reasonable to expect that artistic skills at different stages of development should coexist. Type specimens of one crude sort of carving undeniably datable by the style of their inscriptions to the Aksumite period are shown in figs. 3 and 4; the arms and hands of



FIG. 4. CARVED STONE BLOCK IN AKSUMITE STYLE

fig. 3 are very like those shown in Mrs. Drew's water colour of Da'ro Qawlos. Some half-a-dozen of these hitherto unpublished stone blocks (four to six inches long by about four inches wide and one and a half to two inches thick) are stored in the Asmara Museum; but unfortunately the place and circumstances of their discovery

The Founders of the Zimbabwe Civilization. Cf. MAN,

1949, 80; 1951, 280 and 300. With a map

118 SIR.—When attempting to claim a Gala (Galla) origin for the Zimbabwe civilization, it is more important to consider the known history of the Gala than to bring up shaky philological and cultural arguments. (1) There is no evidence that the Gala had begun to leave Somaliland on such a large scale as Mas'udi's statement implies as early as the tenth century. (2) According to Bahrey, the Gala did not take to riding horses till the middle of the sixteenth century. Bahrey was an Abyssinian priest who wrote a *History of the Gala* in 1593. His home in south-west Abyssinia was looted by the invading Gala, and in this respect he is surely a more reliable authority than Mas'udi. Bahrey's words are: 'This luba Meslē [1554-62] began the custom of riding horses and mules, which the Gala had not done previously, so that he [the leader of Meslē] said of the lubas which were before him, "Those who travel on two or three legs, I have made them travel on four legs." He said three legs, because they lean on their spears when tired' (*Zēnā Gālā*, 9 Guidi). It would seem therefore that Mas'udi's Zeng cannot be the Gala; and whoever they were, they can hardly have learned to ride in a country where there were no horses. (3) The Gala had no 'kings' till they established five small monarchies in western Abyssinia in the middle of the sixteenth century. The basis of Gala political organization is the luba or age-set system, with the election at eight-year intervals of an authority whose title was Aba Boku (not, be it noted, Waqlimi or even Ilma Waq); this type of organization antedates the establishment of the monarchies.

The known movements of the Gala are three. (i) From northern Somaliland south-westwards to Lake Rudolf. (ii) From an area north and north-west of Lake Rudolf eastwards into Abyssinia across the Galanas south of Lake Camo, thence northwards keeping to the east of Lakes Margherita, Shala and Zwai, and thence westwards. This movement took place from about the twelfth century onwards, the date of the entry into Abyssinia being 1522-30, this date being ascertainable from Bahrey. (iii) From Lake Rudolf or some area in south-east Abyssinia there was another movement southwards which ended in a settlement in Tanaland, with its furthest limit roughly the Sabaki river. This took place about the thirteenth century, a probable date based on the traditions of the eastern and

central Kenya Bantu tribes who have been in contact with the Gala.

On evidence much more reliable than that of Mas'udi it would seem therefore that the Gala cannot possibly have penetrated as far south as Rhodesia earlier than the sixteenth century, if indeed they ever went there, which I for one do not believe. None of the arguments so far adduced are convincing, and I fear that a comparison with the Lacustrine kingdoms of Western Uganda is of no

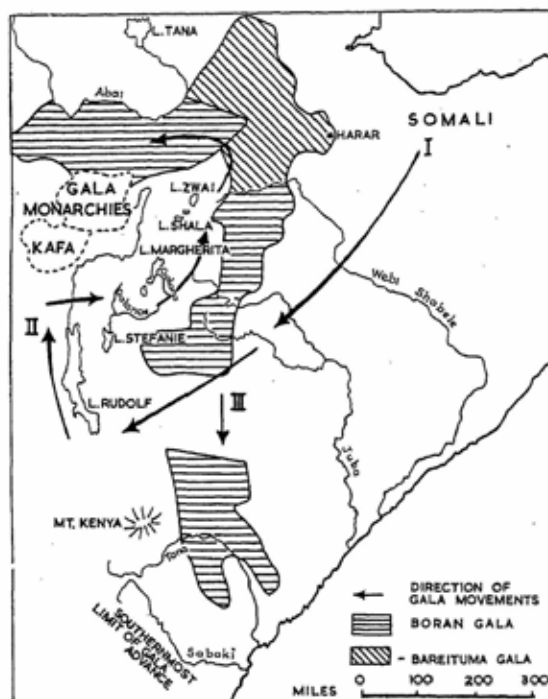


FIG. 1. MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MOVEMENTS OF THE GALA

greater help, since Gala influence there—if any—cannot have produced the 'royal institutions of the Monomotapa state.'

Would Mr. Wainwright be so good as to give the reference for his 'four towns of underground dwellings' west of Harar (MAN, 1949, 80)?

London

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

119 SIR,—In support of Mr. Wainwright's views on the founders of Zimbabwe may be mentioned the following facts. Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville published in 1727 a map of Africa. Referring to an African people called Zimbab, there is a note: 'On prétend que c'est la même race ou nation qui porte ailleurs le nom de Gallas.' The Rev. H. von Sicard ('Tentative Chronological Tables,' N.A.D.A., Vol. XXIII (1946), Salisbury, p. 30) remarks: 'The Dzimba reached Tete 1570.' Furthermore in the map published in 1588 mention is made of Zimbabwe: 'It is not the work of humans but the devil, and they affirm that this building is of much greater perfection than the fortress of the Portuguese by the sea. Over the door of this building is an inscription like an epitaph written in a language which cannot be recognized by any one of any nation' (E. H. Lane-Poole, *The Discovery of Africa*, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, 1950, p. 9). M. D. W. JEFFREYS University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

The Southern Mongoloid Migration. Cf. MAN, 1952, 2

120 SIR,—Most anthropologists interested in South-East Asia recognize the importance of archaeological evidence for the study of population movements and the spread of the various civilizations that have contributed to the complex ethnic and cultural pattern of this part of the world. But the method followed

by Frederik Barth in his recent paper 'The Southern Mongoloid Migration' must raise misgivings even in the minds of those prepared to welcome a reinterpretation of familiar archaeological data in the light of geographical and ecological factors. Mr. Barth discusses the expansion of the late neolithic industries in South-East Asia without any reference to the well-known and far more detailed investigations of Professor R. von Heine-Geldern, who for the last 20 years has been engaged in research into this particular problem. He quotes neither Heine-Geldern's 'Urheimat und früheste Wanderungen der Austronesier' (*Anthropos*, Vol. XXVII, 1932) nor any of his more recent articles. Instead he refers the reader to a manuscript and 'personal communications' by E. Wörman, an author whose otherwise meritorious study 'The "Neolithic" Problem in the Prehistory of India' (*J. Washington Acad. Sci.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1949) betrays a similar disregard of the authorities in whose footsteps he moves. It is equally surprising that Mr. Barth does not mention Eickstedt's book *Rassendynamik von Ostasien* (1944), in which the idea of the *Südwalddesperre*, the ecological barrier between China and Further India formed by tropical forests, is elaborated at great length and in specific relation to the racial history of South-East Asia (cf. pp. 288-364).

At a time when anthropological publications are accumulating at such a rate that most scholars find it difficult to keep pace with their reading, it is all the more essential to co-ordinate new interpretations with the results of relevant previous investigations and to point out differences of opinion where these exist. In the particular field of South-East Asian prehistory, little is gained by discussing the possible causes of the migrations of vaguely defined 'Southern Mongoloids' without relating the new propositions to the chronology established by such scholars as Heine-Geldern, or even to the very essential distinction between Palaeomongoloids and the morespecialized Mongoloids, whom Eickstedt describes as Sinids.

One would like to know, for instance, on what grounds Mr. Barth attributes to the fully developed neolithic cultures, which obviously included the industry characterized by the highly polished quadrangular adzes, so short a duration. Their correlation with one Mongoloid stratum would seem to be beyond question, but Mr. Barth does not even mention the fact that there must have been several separate movements of 'Mongoloids' into South-East Asia, movements which seem to have involved the speakers of Indonesian as well as of Mon-Khmer languages quite apart from the more recent Thai migrations. We may well ask what exactly he means by stating as Conclusion (1) that the 'Southern Mongoloid peoples are closely related to Chinese populations'? If he implies that in neolithic times parts of what is now China were inhabited by peoples resembling the present Palaeomongoloids of South-East Asia, he is probably right, but any suggestion of a 'close relationship' between the Palaeomongoloids, who in late neolithic times spread over Further India and Indonesia, and the present-day Chinese is most unlikely.

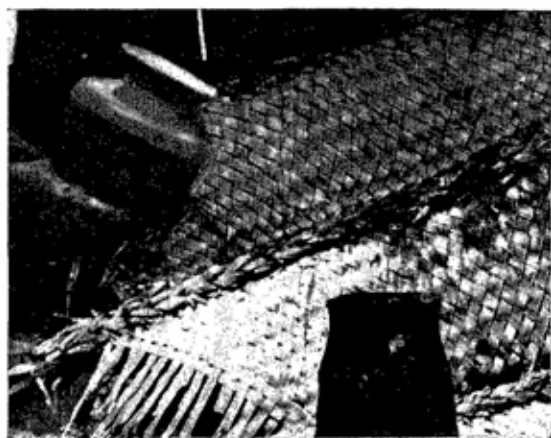
Those with first-hand knowledge of agricultural techniques in South-East Asia will be even more puzzled by Mr. Barth's characterization of dry-rice and wet-rice cultivation. He tells us that 'dry rice is sown in prepared plots, perhaps weeded, and reaped when ripe. Wet-rice techniques, on the other hand, utilize intensive sunlight and much water for intensive crop-raising.' Does this statement suggest that only dry rice is reaped when ripe and that the cultivators of wet rice have a technique of manipulating sunlight to make it shine more intensively on irrigated than on dry fields?

These criticisms, which are directed mainly at the over-simplification of an extremely complex ethnological situation, do not imply a total rejection of Mr. Barth's thesis of the one-time existence of an ecological barrier between nuclear China and Further India, but it would seem that his dating of the first Mongoloid incursions into South-East Asia is excessively late. Anthropologists who have seen the very efficient slash-and-burn cultivation of such peoples as Ao and Konyak Nagas, Abors and Daffas, and their ability not only to penetrate into tropical forests, but even to deforest large areas, thereby necessitating further migrations, will be inclined to view the proposed correlation between the expansion of all Southern Mongoloids and the spread of wet-rice cultivation with considerable scepticism.

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(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)

TURNING, BEATING AND FIRING POTS IN MADURA DISTRICT

Photographs: L. Dumont

A REMARKABLE FEATURE OF SOUTH INDIAN POT-MAKING*

by

L. DUMONT

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121 The present note is not an exhaustive technical account of South Indian pot-making, but is intended to draw attention to a particular interesting process, and includes only the details relevant to it.

Examples of raw clay vessels being beaten in the process of manufacture are known, and are perhaps common in the case of pots moulded with the hands. But hammering so heavy as is seen in Plate F, and with the important results shown in fig. 1, is probably rarer. Moreover, this thorough beating is in South India applied to a vessel previously turned on the wheel, and such association of the turning technique with the beating technique—the subject of this note—is certainly exceptional. Still it is anything but a local aberration in India; although we do not know its exact geographical distribution, we can say that it is common at least to most of the Tamil-speaking country, from Madura (my data) to Pondichéry.¹

DESCRIPTION

It is advisable to summarize the whole process of manufacture, in order to point out features related with the beating. The South Indian wheel is well known: Plate Fa, b, from Pudur near Madura, show the common method of turning; several handfuls of clay previously prepared are flung upon the flat central part of the wheel, to form a large mass out of which several pots will be turned. The wheel is spun by a stick (or with the hands). Then, with both hands acting powerfully, the potter draws the clay up into a thick cylinder at the top of which the pot will be shaped. Hence, when the latter is removed, there is a large hole at the bottom, visible on the cylinder in Plate Fb. It will be the first function of the subsequent beating to close that hole.²

This begins after a short while, when the pots have been allowed to dry in the sun. (All subsequent illustrations are from Kokkulam, 13 miles west of Madura; hamlet: Thengalapatti; potter: Ayyavu Chettiar.) In Plate Fc the pot, which here belongs to the stout, wide-mouthed type called *satti*, intended mainly for cooking purposes, has its hole further enlarged by the removal of some clay from its edge. In Plate Fd the potter beats the pot between a round stone anvil, held inside with the left hand (similar to those seen in the foreground, the smaller upper part being used as a handle), and a hard-wood mallet, shaped like a pyramid surmounted by a cylindrical handle (at right of photograph). The pot is held between the left thigh and the right foot, and slightly turned from inside after each stroke with the mallet held in the right hand. Several phases should be

distinguished in this process, a rather delicate one because the clay is still very plastic and liable to be unintentionally deformed. The potter himself, speaking of *tattuvadu* (beating gently, patting), distinguishes two phases: first, closing the hole ('rent') at the bottom (*ottei turei adeippadu*), by beating with increasing strength from above the shoulder to the hole, which is gradually reduced at the expense of thickness and finally closed; in its place appears an excess of clay, which is then spread by violent beating. Then comes the polishing or 'covering level,' *nērāvi pudeippadu*, after watering the surface, with two phases, the first with perpendicular percussion (Plate Fe), the second with oblique percussion to wipe out the traces of the first, as they are seen in (e). The latter is repeated after the pot has dried overnight. The process is thought to give more cohesion to the clay: *appu Ram katta irukkeum*, 'after that it will be (solid, well) bound.'

Just before firing, a small amount of coconut oil is rubbed on the external surface of the upper part with strings of black beads. The very slight firing is an important feature; Plate Ff, g, may give some idea of it. On a shallow circular base of thin brushwood, the pots are set, the largest with a lump of cowdung inside as additional fuel. Straw and dried grass are evenly spread over them (f), and a coating of clay,

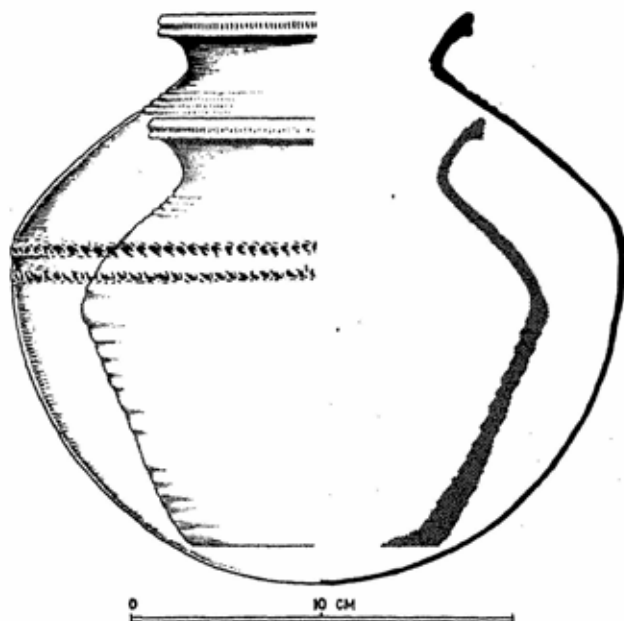


FIG. 1. THE EFFECTS OF BEATING

The inner (shaded) drawing shows the size and form of the pot before beating and firing; the outer (black) drawing shows the completed pot. Drawing: Musée de l'Homme, Paris

*With Plate F and a text figure. The substance of this article formed part of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 5th June, 1951

spread with a movement in which both hands and arms participate, compresses it and covers the whole, leaving only a narrow interval at the bottom, and a circular opening at the top. The fuel is so poor and the temporary kiln so simple in design that the firing, not surprisingly, does not

taller ones, like our water pot, are kept upright when full, on hard and level ground, by being rested on a support, generally a wicker ring, which can also be used to hang pots by three strings. When used for storage, pots are often kept piled up one upon the other (*aḍukku-pāNei*).

DISCUSSION

To sum up, we have here a pottery first turned on the wheel, but completed and partly modified by a subsequent hammering. This appears connected at first sight with three other features: (i) the pot is turned in such a way that a hole is left gaping at the bottom; (ii) the firing is very light; (iii) the customers are used to convex bottoms. It must be added that beating is also applied to moulded fabrics, although, it seems, more lightly. All this constitutes a challenge for technology, but among all the questions involved I should like to ask the specialists one more. It seems that the beating gives the clay a laminal structure; is it possible to identify this structure by laboratory examination, in archaeological sherds for instance? Archaeology recognizes the existence of turned pottery in South India from the 'megalithic culture.' But, if I am not mistaken, a 'turned' pot, there, is one on which turning is identified on a part at least of the fabric. Now a glance at the plates reproducing the material of the masterly excavations directed by Professor R. E. M. Wheeler at Brahmagiri, and



FIG. 2 MAKING A LAMP ENTIRELY ON THE WHEEL

Exceptionally, small flat cups used as lamps for the festival of Kartikkei are made on the wheel from a solid cone of clay, without any beating. Kokkulam, Madura District

last long, and the temperature reached is low; the potter may open the kiln three hours after kindling it, and shortly afterwards remove the products, a red ware of a reasonable quality with an occasional touch of black. It is true that it is not expected to last a long time in the household, where old pots have to be discarded on some ritual occasions. A question arises which can only be solved by specialists: would it be possible to obtain such results with so slight a firing if the clay had not been given additional cohesion by beating? Still, it is probable that the degree of firing varies more within the area than the various preceding stages of manufacture. What I have described is probably an extreme case, fuel being very scarce there.³

The importance of the beating, as a real remoulding of the lower part of the vessel, is shown by fig. 1, which represents in section two objects (Coll. Musée de l'Homme, Paris, Nos. 51. 10. 43 and 44) collected in the same village from another potter. These represent the two stages of the making of a water pot of a larger size (*taṇṇir pāNei*): (a) after turning (dried and kept unfired); (b) in its definitive form, after beating and firing. In this type of large, quasi-spherical pot, the enlargement and change of shape is in fact at its greatest, much greater for instance than in the case of the *satti* above.

As is seen here, pots do not have a flat base, but a rounded, more or less convex one. This is general, and the



FIG. 3. POTTERY IMAGE OF KĀLĪ

Potters also mould images of the gods. Here Kālī presides over the potter's own kiln. Kamuthi, Ramnad District

in Arikamedu as well, shows that types very like ours were found there.⁴ It is not impossible then that the peculiar technique outlined here could be traced back to the last centuries B.C.

All these technical questions, although their solution

would have a bearing on what follows, must be left to specialists. I should like to draw attention to the cultural aspect of the matter. Here I start with a hypothesis: let us suppose that beating belongs to the moulding technique and as such is older than turning, and exclude the possibility that the beating could be a secondary consequence of the turning. Then our case is one of a new technique combining with the older instead of superseding it as one would have expected. India confronts us with many cultural facts of the same type. Indeed, it has been recognized that the combination of large-scale borrowing—or inventing—with a strong tendency to retain the old is a characteristic feature of Indian culture.

Now, if the new does not cause the corresponding old feature to disappear, may it not be said that it has not been introduced for its *technical*—or special cultural—value, but for its non-technical, i.e. for its *social* value? This is what happens in India in our own day, when elements of western culture are adopted in everyday life. I would submit that the root of this double tendency is mainly to be found in a psychological consequence of the caste order: a member of a lower caste tends to imitate the '*kulturgut*' of higher-caste people, not because of its immediate utility, but as a sign of social superiority. At the same time he is attached to his own *kulturgut*, as the only one which is immediately meaningful for him. Hence arise not only the tendency to keep, together with the readiness to borrow, but also the likelihood that the borrowed feature will be technically misunderstood and recast into the previous pattern. It may be

said that similar tendencies and processes are found everywhere, but here they are at a maximum.

That our odd feature of a basic technique should be interpreted in this way is merely conjectural; this note is only intended to present the data for technical discussion and at the same time to consider them against the background of Indian civilization and society. I am inclined to think that here the cultural perspective is more important than the technical one.

Notes

¹ Pondichéry: unpublished enquiry by M. Monge, 1946 (Paris, Musée de l'Homme, Department of Comparative Technology). The fact is not unknown, and has probably been mentioned in several books. But it has not yet attracted attention. For instance we find in T. B. Pandian, *Indian Village Folk* . . . (London, 1897), a photograph showing the beating, together with the turning, of pots very like our fig. 1. It is most probably Tamil, but there is no further localization, and it is accompanied, oddly enough, by the statement (p. 54): 'After turning the vessel upon the wheel, he takes it into his hands and touches it here and there with a piece of wood.' There is no mention in the short technical account in E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Vol. IV, pp. 189–191, s.v. Kusavan, with photograph of a potter turning on the wheel).

² An example of a hole left by turning occurs in Morbihan, France. The hole is smaller, and a piece of clay is applied by the hand, from inside, to patch it up (see the exhibition catalogue *Bretagne*, Paris, Musée Nat. des Arts et Traditions populaires, 1951).

³ More solid fuel is used, and pots remain in the kiln overnight, at Pondichéry (*loc. cit.*); for permanent kilns together with our type, see Pandian, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Brahmagiri: *Ancient India*, Vol. IV, fig. 12, p. 213; Arikamedu: *Ancient India*, Vol. II, fig. 24, etc.

BLOOD GROUPS IN WALES AND THE MARCHES*

by

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INTRODUCTION

I22 Before giving an account of the blood-group distribution in Wales and the Marches—an account which relates exclusively to the ABO groups—it is necessary to draw attention to some of the observations already made on the historical geography of the Principality and on the physical anthropology of its inhabitants.

As Phillimore once stated, 'the Notion that the Welsh came to the Isle of Britain with the grasshopper has been dispelled by modern research.' From what quarter the successive waves of immigrants which went to form what we today term 'the Welsh People' originally set out is not certain, but it is generally believed that it was from some part of south-western Asia or Africa. Pressure by warlike neighbours, the spirit of adventure, climatic changes and, at a later date, the need for more land for husbandry and tillage may all have been factors influencing these people to

engage in a series of westward and north-westward drives, in the first instance by land, and at a later date by both land and sea.

In due course many of the older human stocks moving overland must have come face to face with barriers such as the Atlantic Ocean and the Irish Sea which they were unable or unwilling to surmount. Their progress thus halted, they had no option but to consolidate as much territory as was necessary for their survival. That such people did succeed in surviving is illustrated by the continued existence of the Basques. Possessing a unique language, these people have been shown by Mourant and his collaborators to display blood-group features which have no counterpart elsewhere in Europe.

Wales, owing to its peripheral position in relation to the Old World—a position it still held at the time of the Roman Empire, for the Romans never invaded Ireland—could be considered the *Ultima Thule* by those migrants who had trekked mainly overland from Asia. But it is also a country which promoted the survival of early human

*An abridged version of a paper read at the meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute on Blood Groups and Anthropology, 17 March, 1951 (briefly summarized in MAN, 1951, 161).

stocks by offering large expanses of territory of a type suited to their primitive economy. The ancient centres of population, as Fleure and Whitehouse have pointed out, were the lightly wooded or treeless moorlands. The valley sides and the valley floors, on the other hand, were woodland or malaria-ridden swamps, harbouring wolves, wild boar and other ferocious animals against the hazards of which man, with primitive tools, was able to achieve but little. It is, therefore, to the moors that one looks for the remnants of the early immigrants into Wales and more especially, according to Fleure, to those small moorlands of North Wales cut off from outside contacts by deep, wooded ravines. With the exception of some very poverty-stricken hill areas in the south, the more extensive and sunnier moorlands of north Carmarthenshire, north Pembrokeshire and south Cardiganshire though harbouring ancient stocks were more likely to absorb successive waves of immigrants.

We may catch a glimpse of the anthropological map of Britain at the beginning of the Christian era from the accounts of the classical authors. The duality of the population in Southern Britain at the time of the Romans is considered by Huxley to be 'one of the few fixed points in British ethnology.' Strabo informs us that the prisoners taken in the south-eastern part of Britain were six inches taller than the tallest men in Rome. Their colouring was blond. In the interior, on the other hand, there dwelt, according to Caesar, a vastly different people who regarded themselves as the autochthonous children of the soil. The swarthy visages and twisted locks of the South Welsh tribe of Silures, states Tacitus, pointed to their Iberian origin. The very name 'Silures' has defied an explanation from Celtic sources.

During the latter half of the last century Beddoe undertook the study of the population of Britain by the methods of physical anthropology. He noted the preponderance of dark eyes and dark hair among the inhabitants of places in Wales as far apart as Beddgelert, Rhayader and Carmarthen. It was Fleure and his co-workers who, 35 years ago, undertook the first large-scale investigation of the physical anthropology of the Welsh people. They came to the conclusion that there exists in Wales 'a remarkable persistence of type, a persistence so definite that without the modern Mendelian hypothesis about heredity there would be difficulty in accepting it as a fact. The local types are very markedly contrasted one with another and approximate to various race types identified by anthropologists for Europe and traced by archaeologists in ancient interments.' The fundamental type is the long-headed brunet universally recognized as belonging to the Mediterranean race of Sergi. There are, however, several variants, all of which, it is believed, date back to early neolithic times.

BLOOD GROUPS

The first extensive survey of a part of the Principality was made by Fraser Roberts (1942). He used what is termed the 'surname technique'—a technique based on a separation of donors into those with Welsh and those with non-Welsh family names. By this method Fisher and

Vaughan (1939) had been able to demonstrate a significant difference in the ABO blood-group frequencies of the English and Welsh elements in Slough.

The present analysis, which has also been carried out by the use of the surname technique, covers the whole of Wales with the exception of the South Wales coalfield and the industrial towns of the Bristol Channel which, owing to their known heterogeneity, are a problem unto themselves. The sample from Wales numbers nearly 15,000. A further 6,000 drawn from the Marches gives a total of approximately 21,000.

The O Gene Frequency

Fraser Roberts showed that the inhabitants of Caernarvonshire, Denbighshire and Flintshire have very high O frequencies. The percentage gene frequencies are $O=76$; $A=19$; $B=5$. Since this work was published, additional information has become available which shows that Anglesey, the Conway valley around Llanrwst and Trefriw and the region around the mouth of the river Clwyd are significantly lower in O and higher in A (see O, A and B gene-frequency maps in A. E. Mourant and I. M. Watkin, 'Blood Groups, Anthropology and Language in Wales and the Western Countries of Europe,' *Heredity*, 1952).

In Merionethshire, along the coastal plain of Arddudwy from Barmouth to Harlech and in the peninsula around Penrhynedeudraeth, the same very high O frequency is observed. In the Rhinog and Arennig ranges, on the Denbighshire moors, in the Rift valley termed 'the Bala Cleft,' in the Berwyn mountains and in almost the whole of Montgomeryshire and North Cardiganshire the percentage O gene frequency, though slightly lower, is still remarkably constant at 72-73.

South of Aberystwyth and north of Aberayron the very high O area comes to an abrupt end. The line of demarcation further eastward follows, in the main, the southern slopes of the Severn valley as far as the Shropshire plain. The boundary possesses features of interest, for south of Aberystwyth, on each side of the Wyre valley, the remains of ancient earthworks have come to light. According to H. M. Williams, they point to a time when different tribes acted on the defensive one against the other. In the light of Darlington's work on the genetic component of language, it is noteworthy that this valley also forms a linguistic divide between two Welsh dialects.

In only one area in South Wales, namely on the Black Mountains of Brecknock and in the adjacent Wye valley upstream as far as Builth, do we find a population of very high O frequency. The absence of very high O from the Herefordshire plain, coupled with the knowledge that the Wye valley was impassable in ancient times, strengthens the belief that this portion of the Wye valley was colonized by a valleyward movement of population from the Black Mountains.

The fact that only one region in South Wales, whereas most of North Wales, displays very high O frequencies, suggests that North Wales has not been subjected to the human migrations which have affected the southern half of the country.

The European and Mediterranean Picture

Very high O gene frequencies together with A and B frequencies almost identical with those of North Wales and the Black Mountains of Brecknock are rarely observed in the Old World. They appear to be confined to islands or to areas in fairly close proximity to the sea; for example Ireland, northern Scotland and Iceland. They also exist among many of the Berber tribes of North Africa from Morocco to Libya and among the inhabitants of Sardinia. (No figures are, at present, available for the Balearic Islands or for Corsica.) Similar frequencies are found in Crete, in many of the Greek islands, in parts of Asia Minor and along the whole of the western Caucasus. Judging by ABO blood groups, it would seem as though the ancestors of the North Welsh originally hailed from North Africa or from as far east as the Caucasus.

Such a view, though at first sight rather strange, finds support in other fields. Cultural connexions between the Mediterranean and Wales have been demonstrated by archaeologists. It is also known that many of the Berber tribes are remarkably European in appearance. According to Randall-Maciver and Wilkin many might pass for Irishmen or Scotchmen. The syntactical peculiarities of the Welsh and Irish languages also provide a link. Rhys and Zimmer showed that the syntax could only have arisen by the superimposition of Celtic speech upon communities which previously spoke a non-Indo-European tongue, and by the persistence of the syntax and idiom of the older language in the new. Morris Jones showed that the language upon which Celtic became imposed belonged to the Hamitic family—a group which includes the Berber tongues. Thirty years later this work was confirmed by Pokorny, who made a special study of Irish. His conclusions were summarized in the words 'the Celts show in the whole structure of their language a close affinity to the language of the White Mediterranean peoples of North Africa.'

The A Gene Frequency

The highest A gene frequency in Wales, 33 per cent, is found in Pembrokeshire around Narberth, Pembroke and Tenby. In Western Europe frequencies of this order are confined to southern Scandinavia. The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales postulated the existence of a Viking Settlement in this part of Pembrokeshire, but its conclusion has often been called in question on the ground that it was reached upon too slender data. Blood-group anthropology can assume the role of arbitrator in this dispute and pronounce in favour of the Commissioners.

The Wirral peninsula, the city of Chester and a portion of southern Cheshire are depicted as Viking settlements in Fox's *Personality of Britain*. The percentage A gene frequency of the city of Chester (based on English surnames) is 29. A similar figure holds good as far south as Malpas. These values contrast markedly with the frequency of 19 per cent. found in the neighbouring Flintshire hills and of 20.5 per cent. observed in the city of Liverpool. The genetic evidence, therefore, seems to support the claim already

made, that there was a Scandinavian settlement in and around Chester.

The inhabitants of Rhyl and Prestatyn (Welsh Surnames) have an A gene frequency of 27 per cent.—a figure substantially higher than that found in their fellow countrymen in Llandudno and Colwyn Bay or further inland. As both these towns lie near the edge of an estuary on whose opposite shore Viking colonies existed, it seems reasonable to suppose that the increased contribution of A genes was received from the same common source.

In the Conway valley, around Llanrwst and Trefriw, there is an A gene frequency of the same order as that found in Rhyl and Prestatyn. There are some Scandinavian place names near the mouth of the Conway. The river is navigable for small craft as far as Trefriw and a settlement in this area by sea-borne invaders is, therefore, not an impossibility.

The B Gene Frequency

(a) *High B areas.* Fleure believes that the population of the Black Mountain of Carmarthenshire, the Plynlymon range and, to a lesser extent, Mynydd Hiraethog contains a palaeolithic foundation. The B gene frequency of the Black Mountain is 16.9 per cent. The existence of such a high B frequency in the far west is surprising, for B frequencies of this order have not been recorded in Europe to the west of a line running from central Poland through the Ukraine to the Crimea.

On the moorlands around Tregaron, which are considered an extension of those of Plynlymon, the B gene frequency is still very high at 13.8 per cent. On Mynydd Hiraethog, where the palaeolithic element is stated to be less evident, the B gene frequency falls to 10.3 per cent. On the moorlands of north Carmarthenshire, in those of neighbouring Brecknock and north-western Radnorshire, where the early neolithic element in the population is described as strong, a B gene frequency exceeding 10 per cent. is constantly observed.

Correlating the findings of physical and blood-group anthropology, it would seem as though a high B wave entered Wales before the moderately high A current and probably even before the very high O stream. Formerly, it had been supposed that populations with high B frequencies were among the latest to enter Europe and were confined to the east.

(b) *Low B areas.* A community whose B gene frequency is only 4 per cent. inhabits the Clun Forest, the Kerry hills and the township of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, which lies at the foot of these hills. A similar B frequency is found in a couple of thousand persons with English surnames in the neighbouring district of Ludlow, in the Clee hills and thence northwestward to Shrewsbury. That one of ancient man's trunk roads into Wales passed from the Severn at Bewdley to the Clee, Clun and Kerry hills and across to the Dovey estuary is well known. Whether a particular tribe settled along this route is, however, hard to state.

A Newtown blood-donor informed me that on first moving there the thing that greatly amused his brother and himself—both small boys—was the stature of the men as

compared with that of the inhabitants of their native heath. The people of Newtown seemed dwarfs in comparison with the farmers living on the hills further south-west.

The fact that these people were small of stature and that their *B* frequency was low, coupled with the knowledge that the Basques were a people of only moderate height and that their *B* frequencies had been shown by Mourant and others to be exceptionally low, made one wonder whether the *Rh* genotypes of the two sets of people were similar. Further tests, however, showed that the *Rh* genotypes were no different from those observed elsewhere in Britain.

CONCLUSION

The blood-group survey in Wales appears to confirm one of the salient facts of Welsh history—the inability to present a united front over a long period of time. For the Welsh, though united by a common language, never forgot their inherent make-up and continued to think and act not with a national but with largely a tribal perspective.

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NOTES ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOME SOUTH-EASTERN NEW GUINEA COMMUNITIES

PART II: KOITA*

by

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KOITA

123 This group has received much more intensive contact with European culture than have the Mailu. The Koita still remain linguistically and to some extent culturally distinct from the Motu, to whom they live in close proximity. In 1910, Seligman, who devoted a large section of his book to the Koita, made reference to the village of Kilakila, near Port Moresby.⁶ This settlement then stood on the ridge of a hill immediately behind the Motu settlement of Vabukori. It was stated by Seligman to be occupied by a 'section' of the Koita tribe known as Badili. In its turn, this 'section'

was constituted by a number of patrilineal descent groups, known by the Motu term of *iduhu*. This kin-group term Seligman refused to translate specifically by 'clan'—though he was content to use the term 'clansman' or 'clanswoman' to avoid more cumbersome expressions in denoting *iduhu* membership. In Badili 'section,' i.e. Kilakila village, there were in 1910 five *iduhu*, viz. A, Badili vamaqa, B, Badili vaka, C, Badu, D, Koge, E, Dubara. But according to Seligman's information from Captain Barton, the Koge *iduhu* had lately fused with Dubara. In general, the Kilakila community appears to have conformed to the Koita cultural pattern, with *iduhu* badges, *iduhu* rights to garden land, hereditary chieftainship, reputation for developed sorcery, elaborate feast-giving and carved wooden rectangular platforms (*dubu*) serving as ceremonial

*With a text figure. Part I appeared in the May issue (1952, 99), to which reference should be made for Plate E, referred to herein. The notes, and fig. 3, are numbered in continuation of Part I.

focus for much village life. But even in Seligman's time some of the elements had begun to fall into disuse. The power of the chiefs had changed through government nomination of village constables with considerable authority,⁷ the *iduhu* badges seemed to be 'far advanced in decay' and but few of the *dubu* platforms were then in existence.

It was interesting to pick up some of the threads of the organization of this village 40 years later. I visited the settlement three times, introduced initially by Mr. M. J. Healey, District Commissioner of the Central District of the Territory of New Guinea, to whom I am indebted for much help. The main features of the material culture of the people of Kilakila and their formal religious structure have radically altered. Their houses are all of timber and corrugated iron, though all are built on posts and have a front verandah in traditional style (Plate Ed). Most are unpainted, but the workmanship is of good quality, with solid stairs. Some have sections of metal airstrip as flooring. The houses are pleasantly set among croton and hibiscus bushes and are clean and tidy. A co-operative store is at the entrance to the village, and four motor trucks are owned by men of the community, which furnishes labour to Port Moresby and neighbouring areas. Mats of indigenous make cover the floors, but there are chairs, tables, beds and mosquito nets of European type. There is no *dubu* in the village, and the only remnant in the vicinity is a post rescued by Mr. Healey and set up, newly re-painted, before the Council Room in Hanuabada (Plate Ee). They are all Christians. But they appear still to retain a reputation for sorcery or command of spirit powers.

Geographically, there has been a major change. The village on the site mentioned by Seligman was bombed by the Japanese, in almost the first air raid on Papua, and the people were hurriedly evacuated to a camp a good number of miles away. When they returned after the war they decided not to rebuild on the old site. But there was dissension. Some were for moving to a position on a saddle half-a-mile or so across the valley. Others, the majority, objected on the grounds that it was too far to carry up firewood and water. They were in favour of the present main location, grouped around a section of tarred macadam road which formed part of a wartime aerodrome on a level area a few hundred yards below the saddle. The move was made accordingly.

My inquiry revealed almost at once that the new village has preserved an *iduhu* alignment. First, the men I was talking with insisted that the proper Koita name of the community was Badili (heard by me as Badiri), and that 'Kilakila' was the Motu name. Secondly, they said that they used the same term *iduhu* as the Motu people do. Thirdly, they gave the names of the *iduhu* of the village as follows, in the order of precedence indicated: A, Badila vamaga, B, Badila vaga, C, Badu, D, Koge. I had not remembered the details of Seligman's account, nor had I notes of it or access to his book in New Guinea. As an independent record, then, it is an interesting check. I did not ask, however, about Dubara *iduhu*, and no mention was made of it. It would seem that this bears out Barton's

suggestion that it has been absorbed by Koge. Moreover, Ahuia Ova, stated by Seligman to have been acting chief of Dubara, and who latterly lived in Kilakila village, was cited to me as a man of Koge.⁸

The terms *vamaga* and *vaga* are equated to the Motu *idebana* and *laurina*—'right' and 'left' respectively—and indicate the labelling by directional segmentation common to tribes in that region of south-eastern New Guinea. But further inquiry showed that the structure was more complex. The *iduhu* of Badili vamaga was itself split again, into sections spoken of by the people as 'Badili vamaga number one' and 'Badili vamaga number two.' The bifurcation of the village in its re-establishment after the war was associated with this kinship segmentation. The lower (main) village has representatives of all four *iduhu*, though Badili vaga has the greatest number of houses. The upper (minor) village, ordinarily spoken of as 'Badili number two,' is composed of representatives of Badili vamaga only. The junior segment, 'Badili vamaga number two' is dominant, with about six houses, while 'Badili vamaga number one' has three houses. It was explained that in old Kilakila, 'behind war,' there were only the four main *iduhu*. But the leader of Badili vamaga quarrelled with men of his *iduhu*, who then separated off, structurally and spatially. In the graphic English of my main informant 'Number one is crook, make rows; break up into number one and number two.' The process of segmentation appears to have followed juniority-seniority lines, 'number one' being the branch of senior descent.

In residential terms there is some nucleation of kin units. This does not follow a disposition of Right (*vamaga*) and Left (*vaga*) on corresponding sides of the village street, as I thought at first.⁹

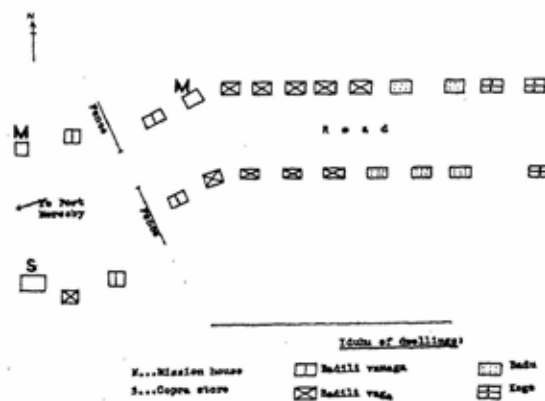
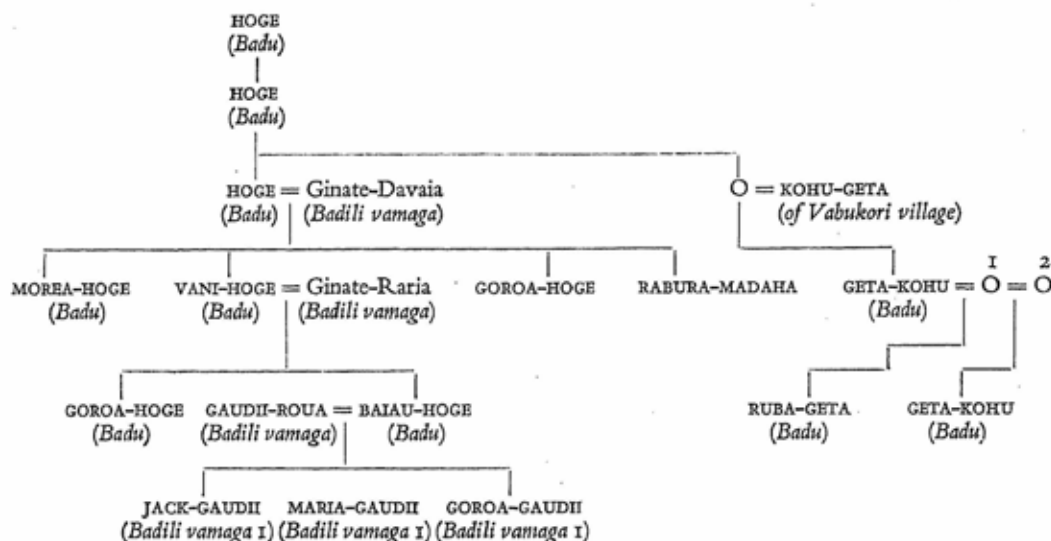


FIG. 3. SKETCH PLAN OF KILAKILA VILLAGE

Not drawn to scale

There is, however, a rough cross-cutting of the village into kin sections as shown in the accompanying village plan, which I sketched on the spot (fig. 3). Members of both 'Right' and 'Left' Badili are to be found on both sides of the road. But with one exception the disposition of houses from the entrance to the village follows the *iduhu* grouping in order of precedence.



Leadership in an *iduhu* normally goes to the male who is senior in descent in it. But in special circumstances the leader may be a man of junior descent. Thus in the genealogy above, Geta-Kohu, father of Ruba-Geta, took charge of Bada *iduhu* while Hoge, father of Vani-Hoge, was away for a number of years as a Mission teacher. And at the present time the person who is entitled to lead 'Badili vamaga number one' is a young man at the Sogeri training institution. His claim comes from his grandfather, who like his grandfather before him in turn, was an important man in the community. But the young man is still unmarried and was only a lad when the question of the succession came up, so the leadership was entrusted to another man. 'If he had married we could hold a meeting and give the *iduhu* to him . . . we got mark on a girl, of Vabukori, maybe this Christmas.'

This use of the concept of seniority of descent raises the question of what the principles of *iduhu* membership are. The basic criteria are as follows:

- (i) The primary structural principle is that of patrilineal descent.
- (ii) Segmentation is a common practice, to secure greater autonomy, and the result is that the *iduhu* are social units of small scale. Where major *iduhu* are themselves small, segmentation may be avoided, though potentially present.
- (iii) The cultural pattern for initial segmentation is what may be termed 'orientation moieties,' with the 'Right hand,' 'Left hand' nomenclature. Subsidiary segmentation of these in turn rarely occurs, because of the comparatively small scale of the *iduhu*. But doubtless it has occurred historically and in the course of time new names for the various segments may well have come into use. (I do not know whether the 'Number one,' 'Number two' for the sub-segments of Badili vamaga have any traditional validity.)
- (iv) As far as formal named membership is concerned, a woman on marriage appears to leave her own *iduhu* and join that of her husband. (Marriage is normally virilocal.) But in land rights she still has claims on the land of her father's *iduhu*. She can garden on the land, and feed herself from the produce. (She is not supposed to feed her family from it, but some mothers do give their families food from their ancestral *iduhu* lands.) When land is sold, the woman must 'see' it, and get a share in the division of the proceeds.

- (v) A man may gain membership of an *iduhu* by marrying a woman member, or by settlement under the protection of a male member.¹⁰ In such case, the man's position is of junior status to those of direct patrilineal descent. When segmentation occurs in which he or his immediate descendants are pivotal, they are of the 'Left hand' relative to those in the direct male line.

Certain of these principles are illustrated by the genealogy above, given to me by Vani-Hoge, of Badu *iduhu*.

The main patrilineal transmission of *iduhu* membership is clear. Again, the entry of a foreigner, a Motu from Vabukori village, into the *iduhu* by marriage is seen, and the assumption of *iduhu* membership matrilineally by his children. 'Kohu-Geta came from Vabukori. My grandfather gave him a girl. He joined Badu.' Seniority in such case rests with the direct male line. 'Badu vamaga is me, because number one,' said Vani-Hoge. 'Badu vaga is Ruba-Geta. Badu is lasi, Badu is one *iduhu*; that one he comes from vamaga, proper Badu, is me, because my grandfather many, many, many, is me.' By this he meant that Badu was as yet unsegmented, but should it divide, the Right lay with him because of his long male ancestry in the *iduhu*. So also with land. In a land case, his word would prevail 'because my grandfather number one first, still here.'

Kin solidarity seems to be fairly strong among the Koita. Thus Vani-Hoge, pointing to a house said, 'That is my house—and that is my house too.' The first was that of his deceased brother. And in speaking of the name of his son, he said: 'My brother is dead; this boy is born and I say this my brother's name.' Yet, as noted, the *iduhu* is a relatively absorptive group. In Badu, for instance, apart from the case of Kohu-Geta two generations ago, there is that of a Kikori man, Kaivira, who has come to live in the village, married a Badu woman, and settled side-by-side with the four major males of the group.

I did not get information as to whether the *iduhu* is always exogamous. But it appears to be commonly so. There is also a certain amount of exchange of women in marriage. If a man marries, he was said by Vani-Hoge to be bound to give a sister in exchange to the man whose

sister he marries. But the obligation may be postponed for a generation. It may be noted that both Vani-Hoge's mother and his wife are from Badili vamaga, and that he has given his daughter to a man of that *iduhu*. 'If I have a girl, I must take from my children and give to them. If no girl, no marriage.'

CONCLUSION

This brief account shows that even in a village close to the capital of the Territory, and subjected to long European influence, some major principles of social alignment are still provided by traditional forms.

The old thesis put forward by Rivers, that in a situation of culture change the material culture and technological system is first affected, then the social structure and finally the religious system, does not hold in modern conditions. The religious system in its gross structural forms may be radically altered, and basic aspects of the social structure such as the kinship system remain. It may be put forward as a hypothesis indeed that as culture change in the techno-

logical, economic and religious system becomes intensified, there is a strong tendency to adhere more consciously to the system of kinship grouping in part as a symbolic representation of cultural individuation.

Notes

⁶ Seligman, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 48f., 62.

⁷ See the interesting account of Ahuia Ova by C. S. Belshaw, *MAN*, 1951, 230.

⁸ But Dubara figures in the list of major *iduhu* of Hohodae, the Koita section of Hanuabada. It has a 'right' and a 'left' segment, the Motu names of *idebana* and *laurina* being used, since Motu is the *lingua franca* in Hohodae and only a few of the elderly people there still speak Koita. The other Hohodae *iduhu* are: Geakone, Taurama, and Tupa—each with *idebana* and *laurina* segments.

⁹ Cf. Seligman on the Mekeo practice, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Seligman points out that whenever an individual or group of individuals have settled in a village in which his or their *iduhu* is not represented, they will after a time assume the *iduhu* of their immediate neighbours, with whom they have probably been on friendly terms for a long time. It is necessary for newcomers to a village thus to identify themselves with an established *iduhu*, since until they do so they will not as a rule be allowed to take up land and make gardens (*op. cit.*, p. 50).

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee

I24

The Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute has authorized research on selected artifacts of the British Isles with the aims set forth below by Professor Childe. With our limited resources we can only hope to examine a limited number each year, selected from museums.

Besides the periodical publication of our results we propose to record them on the cards of the Bronze Age Catalogue now at the British Museum. We have prepared cards of similar format which we shall be glad to send to those interested in order that they may send us analyses of British copper or bronze material.

We shall endeavour to deal with applications for analysis sent us by archaeologists, provided that they do not interfere with our own programme, and that the cost be passed on to the archaeologists concerned.

SYLVIA BENTON

Hon. Secretary

AIMS OF RESEARCH

It has often been claimed that during the Bronze Age the British Isles had attained the same sort of relative importance as a metal-producing and exporting centre that they enjoyed in the nineteenth century. But these claims rest almost entirely upon the relatively large numbers of copper and bronze implements collected in Great Britain and Ireland and on the formal similarity of a few exceptional axes, halberds or spearheads from the Continent to types common in these islands. Cogent though both arguments undoubtedly are, they are far from constituting rigorous proof. The 'impurities' found in small quantities in all smelted—as against electrolytic—copper offer a hope of reaching a far higher degree of scientific probability. On the Continent a relatively large number of local 'bronzes,' particularly from Austria, Germany, Sweden and the U.S.S.R., have been submitted to exact analysis and the chemical composition of the metal used has thus been accurately determined. In the case of Austria and Germany comparison of these analyses with those of known ore bodies has led to more or less plausible identifications

of the source of the copper. Oldeberg has recently published the figures for many objects from the Swedish Bronze Age, Pititioni those for 90 Hallstatt bronzes from Austria and Witter even larger numbers from Central Germany.

No comparable body of data is available from Britain. In particular hardly any of the copper axes or halberds of early type have been examined with a view of determining in detail minor impurities in the metal. We do not therefore know even whether such British or Irish artifacts differ in composition from equally early-looking Continental types, nor yet whether the alleged British imports on the Continent agree chemically with the similar objects found so abundantly in these Islands. Apart from the case of the late bronzes from Heatherly Burn we know no attempt to determine chemically the precise sources of the metal used in this country.

With a view to remedying this defect the Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute has decided to concentrate on the examination of Britannico-Hibernian specimens. Attention will be devoted first to axes and halberds of 'early' types both because these comprise some of the most generally accepted British exports on the Continent and because, these being largely of unalloyed copper, the complications due to possible double sources of impurities will be avoided. When enough analyses have been tabulated to provide a significant sample, it is planned to collect similar analyses of ores in the hope that the impurities detected in the first set of analyses may lead to the discovery of some at least of the sources of the metal. The Committee is of course conscious that prehistoric metallurgists probably exploited many small lodes some of which may have been worked out altogether, and few of which would be considered commercially exploitable today or even worthy of mention by the Geological Survey.

V. G. CHILDE

SUMMARY OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK TO DATE

MAN, 1948, 3 and 17. These reports point out the lack of knowledge concerning native copper. Also, very few analyses are available and there is considerable difficulty (in certain cases) in

deciding if an object has been made from native or from very pure smelted copper. New analyses of native coppers were made, and implements from Ireland, Cyprus, Hungary and Egypt examined. Photographs of the objects have been published in H. H. Coghlan, *Notes on the Prehistoric Metallurgy of Copper and Bronze* (1951).

MAN, 1949, 178; 1950, 4 and 49. Dr. Vöce did much careful work on rather ordinary material found by Mr. T. Burton Brown at Geoy Tepe in Azerbaijan. If the latter had consulted the standard textbook on Greek ores (O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*) we should at least have been spared a prophecy already discredited. Arsenic has been found in Greek copper. The Hon. Secretary believes that metal for Early Cycladic weapons was mined in the Cyclades, not in Azerbaijan, arsenic or no arsenic (both are reported). Nevertheless, the first analysis of metals from north-east Persia is valuable.

MAN, 1950, 199. A report was made on pattern welding detected on a spearhead of the Viking period submitted by the Reading Museum.

MAN, 1950, 236. This is an interesting report upon copper wire and bands from first-dynasty tombs at Abydos (lent by the Keeper, Ashmolean Museum). It shows the methods and material used in making extremely thin copper bands at an early period in Egypt. Although the copper was of high purity, it was apparently not native copper.

MAN, 1951, 6. Examination of a broken flat axe from Rhynie, Aberdeenshire, now in the National Museum, Edinburgh. It is interesting to find that this axe is bronze like one from Morayshire analysed long ago. It would be useful to know whether axes of this type from south and west Scotland were of a more primitive composition. Flat axes were no doubt tough, but surely the metal

could weary and break, or why were later axes elsewhere flanged? These axes were actually found in a quarry; were they used there? Another axe is said to have been found beside or in a quarry in Glen Rothes, Morayshire. A mould for axes was found recently in Quarrie Wood, Elgin. Repairs could be done on the spot. Perhaps the axes depicted on the Crinan slabs helped to trim them. Mr. Stevenson suggested that the axes were broken to make magic. Miss W. Yagoda tells the Hon. Secretary that broken stone axes were a powerful magic in the Vilna district before the last war; the peasantry believed them to be thunderbolts and a remedy against disease.

MAN, 1951, 65. This examination of a fragment of the Welwyn Bowl was an important piece of research, for it lends weight to the theory that metal-spinning was known in this country during Belgic times. Further work on this subject would be valuable and useful.

MAN, 1951, 234. The most important object examined in this batch was a Hungarian battle axe lent by Professor Childe. Two facts emerge: (a) the metal was almost certainly Hungarian native copper, and (b) two-piece-mould casting had been employed and the seam removed by hammering or grinding. Such a process had always been postulated to explain the presence of the seam on alleged stone imitations of these metal originals, but proof is gratifying; it is another nail in the coffin of the Great Nordic Heresy. The Hon. Secretary is particularly interested, because it was her hand that extricated what is probably the most southerly stone battle axe, well stratified in an Early Bronze Age pottery kiln, at Hagias Mamas in Macedonia, where, apparently, it was acting as a wedge (B.S.A., Vol. XXIX, pp. 137, 147). Was this a magical object?

H. H. COGHAN, *Chairman*
SYLVIA BENTON, *Hon. Secretary*

SHORTER NOTES

U.N.E.S.C.O.'s New Statement on Race: The Provisional

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Text. Cf. MAN, 1950, 220; 1951, 28-32, 93-6, 101, 122, 151, 180, 200, 201, 229, 255; 1952, 3, 70, 96, 116

The Hon. Editor has now received permission from Dr. Alfred Métraux, of the Department of Social Sciences at U.N.E.S.C.O., to proceed with publication of the latest draft of the new Statement on Race, to which reference has previously been made in these columns. The text is made available to MAN at this stage in order that anthropologists everywhere may have the opportunity of considering and commenting upon it. If those who wish to contribute to discussion of the subject in the correspondence columns will kindly send their contributions (which should be as brief as possible) in duplicate, the Hon. Editor will be glad to forward one copy of each forthwith to Dr. Métraux for his information. Dr. Métraux concurs in the Hon. Editor's hope that the new Statement may be the subject of discussion at the IV International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at Vienna in September of this year.

The names of those principally concerned in drafting the new Statement are appended at the conclusion of the text as handed to the Hon. Editor, but are not here repeated, having been published in MAN, 1951, 255.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY DR. MÉTRAUX

It will be recollected that U.N.E.S.C.O. issued in 1950 a Statement on Race by a group representing mainly the social sciences. As the result of criticisms which were made in professional circles of certain assertions in it, a second conference of physical anthropologists and geneticists was held in Paris in June, 1951. The following text represents the opinions of this body. A draft version of it has been subjected to revision by its members and others in order to ensure as wide a measure of agreement as

possible before its release to the public. The comments elicited by the Statement will be published by U.N.E.S.C.O. in the form of a pamphlet.

A. MÉTRAUX

STATEMENT ON RACE, 1951

Provisional Draft as at 21 May, 1952

1. Scientists are generally agreed that all men living today belong to a single species, *Homo sapiens*, and are derived from a common stock, even though there is some dispute as to when and how different human groups diverged from this common stock.

The concept of race is unanimously regarded by anthropologists as a classificatory device providing a zoological frame within which the various groups of mankind may be arranged and by means of which studies of evolutionary processes can be facilitated. In its anthropological sense, the word 'race' should be reserved for groups of mankind possessing well developed and primarily heritable physical differences from other groups. Many populations can be so classified but, because of the complexity of human history, there are also many populations which cannot easily be fitted into a racial classification.

2. Some of the physical differences between human groups are due to differences in hereditary constitution and some to differences in the environments in which they have been brought up. In most cases, both influences have been at work. The science of genetics suggests that the hereditary differences among populations of a single species are the results of the action of two sets of processes. On the one hand, the genetic composition of isolated populations is constantly but gradually being altered by natural selection and by occasional changes (mutations) in the material particles (genes) which control heredity. Populations are also affected by fortuitous changes in gene frequency and by marriage customs. On the other hand, crossing is constantly breaking down the differentiations so set up. The new mixed populations, in so far as they, in turn, become isolated, are subject to the same processes, and these may

lead to further changes. Existing races are merely the result, considered at a particular moment in time, of the total effect of such processes on the human species. The hereditary characters to be used in the classification of human groups, the limits of their variation within those groups, and thus the extent of the classificatory subdivisions adopted may legitimately differ according to the scientific purpose in view.

3. National, religious, geographical, linguistic and cultural groups do not necessarily coincide with racial groups; and the cultural traits of such groups have no demonstrated connexion with racial traits. Americans are not a race, nor are Frenchmen, nor Germans; nor *ipso facto* is any other national group. Muslims and Jews are no more races than are Roman Catholics and Protestants; nor are people who live in Iceland or Britain or India, or who speak English or any other language, or who are culturally Turkish or Chinese and the like, thereby describable as races. The use of the term 'race' in speaking of such groups may be a serious error, but it is one which is habitually committed.

4. Human races can be, and have been, classified in different ways by different anthropologists. Most of them agree in classifying the greater part of existing mankind into at least three large units, which may be called major groups (in French *grand' races*, in German *Hauptstammen*). Such a classification does not depend on any single physical character, nor does, for example, skin colour by itself necessarily distinguish one major group from another. Furthermore, so far as it has been possible to analyse them, the differences in physical structure which distinguish one major group from another give no support to popular notions of any general 'superiority' or 'inferiority' which are sometimes implied in referring to those groups.

Broadly speaking, individuals belonging to different major groups of mankind are distinguishable by virtue of their physical characters, but individual members, or small groups, belonging to different races within the same major group are usually not so distinguishable. Even the major groups grade into each other, and the physical traits by which they and the races within them are characterized overlap considerably. With respect to most, if not all, measurable characters, the differences among individuals belonging to the same race are greater than the differences that occur between the observed averages for two or more races within the same major group.

5. Most anthropologists do not include mental characteristics in their classification of human races. Studies within a single race have shown that both innate capacity and environmental opportunity determine the results of tests of intelligence and temperament, though their relative importance is disputed.

When intelligence tests, even non-verbal, are made on a group of non-literate people, their scores are usually lower than those of more civilized people. It has been recorded that different groups of the same race occupying similarly high levels of civilization may yield considerable differences in intelligence tests. When, however, the two groups have been brought up from childhood in similar environments, the differences are usually very slight. Moreover, there is good evidence that, given similar opportunities, the average performance (that is to say, the performance of the individual who is representative because he is surpassed by as many as he surpasses), and the variation round it, do not differ appreciably from one race to another.

Even those psychologists who claim to have found the greatest differences in intelligence between groups of different racial origin, and have contended that they are hereditary, always report that some members of the group of inferior performance surpass not merely the lowest ranking member of the superior group, but also the average of its members. In any case, it has never been possible to separate members of two groups on the basis of mental capacity, as they can often be separated on a basis of religion, skin colour, hair form or language. It is possible, though not proved, that some types of innate capacity for intellectual and emotional responses are commoner in one human group than in another, but it is certain that, within a single group, innate capacities vary as much as, if not more than, they do between different groups.

The study of the heredity of psychological characteristics is beset with difficulties. We know that certain mental diseases and defects are transmitted from one generation to the next, but we are less

familiar with the part played by heredity in the mental life of normal individuals. The normal individual, irrespective of race, is essentially educable. It follows that his intellectual and moral life is largely conditioned by his training and by his physical and social environment.

It often happens that a national group may appear to be characterized by particular psychological attributes. The superficial view would be that this is due to race. Scientifically, however, we realize that any common psychological attribute is more likely to be due to a common historical and social background, and that such attributes may obscure the fact that, within different populations consisting of many human types, one will find approximately the same range of temperament and intelligence.

6. The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, on the contrary, that a major factor in explaining such differences is the cultural experience which each group has undergone.

7. There is no evidence for the existence of so-called 'pure' races. Skeletal remains provide the basis of our limited knowledge about earlier races. In regard to race mixture, the evidence points to the fact that human hybridization has been going on for an indefinite but considerable time. Indeed, one of the processes of race formation and race extinction or absorption is by means of hybridization between races. As there is no reliable evidence that disadvantageous effects are produced thereby, no biological justification exists for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races.

8. We now have to consider the bearing of these statements on the problem of human equality. We wish to emphasize that equality of opportunity and equality in law in no way depend, as ethical principles, upon the assertion that human beings are in fact equal in endowment.

9. We have thought it worth while to set out in a formal manner what is at present scientifically established concerning individual and group differences.

(1) In matters of race, the only characteristics which anthropologists have so far been able to use effectively as a basis for classification are physical (anatomical and physiological).

(2) Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development.

(3) Some biological differences between human beings within a single race may be as great as or greater than the same biological differences between races.

(4) Vast social changes have occurred that have not been connected in any way with changes in racial type. Historical and sociological studies thus support the view that genetic differences are of little significance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of men.

(5) There is no evidence that race mixture produces disadvantageous results from a biological point of view. The social results of race mixture, whether for good or ill, can generally be traced to social factors.

An Exhibition of Primitive Art from the Manchester Museum. A note by B. A. L. Cranstone

126 A committee acting on behalf of the History of Art Department of the University of Manchester arranged, at the Whitworth Art Gallery from 7 May to 2 June, an exhibition of primitive art designed to make it easy for the non-specialist visitor to appreciate the æsthetic value of the exhibits. These were drawn from the collections of the Manchester Museum.

The illustrated catalogue shows that many fine pieces were included; particular mention may be made of those from the Heape and Layard collections from Oceania and from Mr. Mills's Naga collection. It is a pity that a very late and degenerate Easter Island carving should have been chosen for illustration, and the mask, No. 28, is Ibo, not Ibibio; but such a catalogue is of value, and may still be obtained (price 2s.) from the Department of the History of Art, The University, Manchester, 13.

REVIEWS

AFRICA

Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age Villages. By Monica Wilson. O.U.P. for Internat. Afr. Inst., 1951. Pp. xiv, 278. Price £1 8s.

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This is the most complete study yet published of the Nyakyusa, a Bantu-speaking people who live at the north-west corner of Lake Nyasa in Tanganyika Territory. The Nyakyusa appear to be unique among the peoples of Africa in that they live in age villages, and this book is concerned to describe and trace the consequences of age-village organization. Professor Monica Wilson and the late Godfrey Wilson have already published a number of papers based on material collected by them between 1934 and 1938. *Good Company* therefore does not describe a society completely new to us, but it amplifies some of the material already presented and provides a mass of new data on village organization, Nyakyusa values, and the role of witchcraft and other mystical beliefs in maintaining the system. It is a welcome addition to the growing number of reports dealing with Central African peoples, and it maintains the standards of description and analysis found in previous works by the Wilsons.

After a preliminary chapter, which gives a general account of Nyakyusa life, Dr. Wilson poses the question which is the theme of the book: 'What are the peculiarities of Nyakyusa society not found in neighbouring societies with kinship villages?' In answering this question, she describes the initiation and organization of the village composed of age mates, economic cooperation uniting members of the age village, the values which the Nyakyusa realize through living in age villages, the mystical interdependence of village mates and the mechanisms for maintaining order. A final chapter sums up the characteristics of an age-village organization and the necessary conditions which permit it to exist. These last she considers to be: (i) the existence of ample land and the small development of permanent improvements, which permitted a redistribution of land in each generation to allow for the territorial segregation of fathers and sons; (ii) the fact that the Nyakyusa lived in a small-scale society in which fellow villagers were dependent upon one another, for protection against both material and mystical dangers and for assistance in ordinary daily activities. These conditions are now threatened by developments common to the experience of most African peoples today. Throughout the book, Dr. Wilson is concerned to show the effect upon village organization of the new economic opportunities opened to the Nyakyusa through the sale of crops, labour migration and trade; of the expanding knowledge of the customs of people outside the confines of their own small communities; of the presence of the missions and the introduction of Christianity; of the political reorganization brought about by the administration. She concludes: 'Nyakyusa age villages still flourish, but they are hardly likely to survive many decades with increasing pressure on land, the planting of coffee and other long-term crops, the development of trade and migration, and a diminishing isolation from the ideas and values of the outside world. Age is no longer the sole basis for village groupings in Rungwe district—common belief and common occupation now provide other grounds for building together. . . . This account of age villages may therefore have some significance as a document illustrating one of the infinite variations of social form which will not long be available for study' (pp. 176f.).

Although *Good Company* is short, with only 177 pages of text, it is close-packed with information and with a thoughtful analysis of the implications of the material both for an understanding of Nyakyusa society and for a comparative study of social systems. Dr. Wilson draws on her wide knowledge of other African societies to elucidate the full implications of the Nyakyusa data, and in doing so she poses a number of problems for future research.

Perhaps the most important feature of the book is the analysis of the way in which social structure shapes beliefs and values, which in turn react upon the structure. Of special interest is the discussion of the connexion between the form of local organization and the form of witchcraft beliefs. Here, Dr. Wilson contrasts Nyakyusa beliefs with those found among the Pondo and other Bantu groups

who hold that the drive to witchcraft is sex lust and that all witches have familiars with whom they have sexual relations. Among the Nyakyusa, where great emphasis is placed on good company and the feasting of neighbours, it is believed that the impulse to witchcraft comes from the lust for milk and meat. Moreover, witchcraft is thought to operate largely within the village, against neighbours, and not against kinsmen who normally do not live together. Dr. Wilson suggests that the Nyakyusa emphasize lust for food because non-relatives live close-packed together where they can hardly fail to be aware of what their neighbours are eating. Since they are not kinsmen, they cannot expect to share in one another's herds, and the sole benefit they derive from these is in the feasts which their neighbours should provide. Among the Pondo where people live in kinship groups, misfortunes are attributed to the desire of ancestors for meat or beer. Among the Nyakyusa who live in villages of age mates who do not have common ancestors, this notion does not appear, but it is the lust of neighbouring witches which brings misfortune.

Equally important is the analysis of the mystical power of the Nyakyusa headman, who through a power analogous with that of witchcraft defends his villagers against the attacks of witches, and acts to embody the just anger of enraged neighbours in mystical retribution upon offenders. Dr. Wilson suggests, again on the basis of comparative material, that this belief in the mystical power of contemporaries or seniors to punish non-relatives is coincident with highly developed age organization. 'Village rituals directed to the ancestors are conspicuously absent among the Nyakyusa, and our hypothesis is that this absence, together with the belief that the "python power" of village headmen and others is used to punish wrongdoers and defend the innocent within their village, is dependent upon the age-village organization, in which neighbours are not kinsmen and the position of village headmen is not hereditary' (p. 169). Here, as elsewhere, Dr. Wilson points the way to fruitful fields for further research.

Good Company is the first of three books which Dr. Wilson plans to publish. Here she has attempted to deal with Nyakyusa social organization as it appears in the age village. Subsequent books will deal with kinship and chiefdoms. Presumably in these she will provide the material whose omission here makes it difficult to gain a clear picture of the working of the age village itself. While she has published a selection of relevant field documents as an appendix to the book, certain essential information appears neither in the text nor in the appendix. Nowhere does she provide an account describing the composition of a village in terms of kinship affiliation and other relevant characteristics. It would be helpful to have some information on the average size of villages. The placing of villages in relationship to each other on the land is not clear, and a diagrammatic sketch map of one chiefdom would be of the greatest assistance in following the few indications given in the text. It might also clarify the statement that after the coming-out ceremony when political control is handed over to a new generation the old men move aside to provide sufficient land for the younger men to build together. Moreover, to understand fully the role of the age village, a fuller discussion of its integration into the chiefdom seems essential. Though chiefdoms are small, and each has only a few villages, we are never told where the chief lives. We are told that his two great wives, the mothers of the two heirs who will divide the chiefdom between them at the next coming-out ceremony, are placed in the two senior age villages of his chiefdom, and that the two senior age villages of one generation give rise to the two senior age villages of the next generation. But this point, which surely affects the organization of at least two of the villages of the chiefdom, is not further elucidated. There is no information on where junior members of the chief's lineage live. Sons and grandsons of chiefs may not become headmen, but we are not told whether they live concentrated in a village of their own or scattered in villages under commoner headmen. In dealing with a large state, with numerous villages, it might be possible to ignore these points in a discussion of

village internal organization, since only a few villages would be affected by the presence of the wives and junior relatives of the chief. But among the Nyakyusa, who are organized in about 100 chiefdoms, each with only a few villages, these points are highly relevant. Age-grade organization as such is discussed only as it involves membership within a village, except for a brief reference to the passing of political authority into the hands of a new generation when the chief recognizes his two heirs.

Presumably Dr. Wilson considers these relationships to be political matters and will deal with them in the projected book on Nyakyusa chiefdom. But the age village is a political institution as well as a collection of age mates who live together, and its nature cannot be fully understood, divorced as it now is from the political framework within which it operates. It is perhaps unfortunate that Dr. Wilson could not combine her discussion of the chiefdom with this account of the age village.

The book is weakest in its analysis of social structure, but Dr. Wilson has given us a stimulating and careful analysis of the interplay between structure and belief. She is at her best when she uses the comparative method to test hypotheses and to frame new postulates.

E. COLSON

Seven Tribes of British Central Africa. Edited by Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman. O.U.P., 1951. Pp. 409. Price £1 17s. 6d.

I28 A work of this title, associated with professional social anthropologists, could be expected to offer either a much needed ethnographical account of seven Central African peoples or a systematic comparative study of the 'social systems and changing social conditions of Central Africa.' It is, in fact, neither.

The book presents seven essays, of which five concern peoples of British Central Africa proper (Bemba, Fort Jameson Nguni, Yao, Tonga and Lozi). The remaining two are devoted to the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika and the Shona of Southern Rhodesia. These accounts fall into two distinct groups: those that have already been published and are here very usefully assembled together in more accessible form (Dr. Richards's Bemba, Godfrey Wilson's Nyakyusa and Professor Gluckman's Lozi); and those that are to some extent preliminary reports of recent fieldwork (Dr. Colson's Tonga, Dr. Barnes's Nguni, Dr. Holleman's Shona and Dr. Mitchell's Yao).

In its present form, the book is a reminder that thoughts are not necessarily more mature because they are second thoughts. In this instance, the original plan aimed at the publication of a series of preliminary reports. Government officers and students of anthropology would have welcomed—and may continue to do so—the opportunity of obtaining individually published comprehensive descriptive accounts of the Tonga, the Northern Rhodesian Nguni and the Yao. A systematic delineation of the African communities of Southern Rhodesia, itself a fair expectation since the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute has chosen to extend its field of activity south of the Zambesi, would have met similarly a long-felt want.

It is difficult to appreciate the considerations which overruled the adoption of the first possibility in favour of 'a more ambitious plan.' We could have commended the change gladly had it given us as the alternative a systematic comparative study based on the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute's research programme. But the editors themselves are the first to warn us that we can entertain no such expectations. There is no comparative introduction nor is the plan for each individual contribution so formulated as to encourage comparative systematic analysis.

And so it is that we are left with a rather expensive souvenir symposium apparently designed to mark the tenth birthday of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Such gestures have their usefulness, both directly and indirectly, and there will be few who will not be grateful for the excellent material assembled together in this book.

V. G. J. SHEDDICK

Nandi Work and Culture. By G. W. B. Huntingford. Col. Res. Stud. No. 4. London (H.M. Stat. Off.), 1950. Pp. 126, 22 illus., 5 maps. Price 8s. 6d.

I29 Modern works on the tribes of East Africa are always a welcome addition to anthropological literature. No full-length monograph on the Nandi has been published since 1909 when the

work of Hollis appeared. The author of the book under review, who has known the Nandi for 21 years, has contributed numerous papers to periodicals. *Nandi Work and Culture* is part of a report written under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, and comprises six chapters dealing respectively with the history of the Nandi, the topography of their country, cattle, economic activities, Nandi culture and culture conflict. The other part of the report, concerned with the social and political life of this tribe, is to be published elsewhere. The material contained in this volume does not lend itself readily to detailed theoretical discussions, and hence its general trend is descriptive rather than theoretical, but no doubt the second part of the work on the social and political structure of this tribe will contain some interesting material on modern anthropological theories and their bearing upon the Nandi.

Two of the most interesting chapters are those on cattle and economic activities. In the first of these the author states 'the Nandi are a people whose primary and abiding interest in life is cattle,' and hence it is not surprising to learn that 'their whole lives are centred round their cattle.' Of particular interest is the descriptive account of the management of cattle under the five main headings of herding, milking, housing, parturition and the production of calves, and the list of terms used to describe different types of cattle based on the shape of the horns, colour and peculiarities of form. Also worthy of note is the account of the *Kaptich* (a system of dividing up their stock among relatives, age mates or friends for the purposes of herding) and its importance in the social life of the Nandi. In the second of these chapters for special note are the sections dealing with land rights, the agricultural cycle, the social aspect of beer-drinking, and the squatter system. The Nandi are described as 'a pastoral-agricultural tribe, but the emphasis is on pastoral,' and therefore their system of land tenure is likely to be less complex than that of a predominantly agricultural people, but in spite of this the section on land rights could perhaps have been discussed in greater detail, particularly as studies of native systems of land tenure are becoming increasingly important in modern research. The account of the squatter system as it operates among the Nandi is interesting as it appears from this that it is now 'regarded as an essential feature of tribal life,' but it would have been advantageous if the author had indicated to what extent the Nandi squatters have become detribalized.

The book is illustrated by 22 text figures and five outline maps. There are also some statistical tables dealing with rainfall, temperature, and census figures for the tribe and their cattle, sheep and goats. There is a good index, but a complete bibliography of all works on the Nandi might with profit have been included. J. M. FISHER

The Mende of Sierra Leone. By Kenneth Little. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. 307. Price £1 8s.

I30 In his introduction Professor Firth writes: 'His aim is to give a straightforward ethnographical account of Mende society in a fairly comprehensive way. . . . It is sometimes deplored that of recent years the fashion in anthropology has been to write extensive monographs about a single institution or facet of culture and to ignore the claims for a general ethnographic description of all the major aspects of the society in one volume.' The range of topics considered certainly excludes the book from Murdock's recent strictures on British anthropology, but comprehensiveness carries its own drawbacks. The chapter entitled 'Social Organization and Kinship,' for example, runs to only 17 pages. Were Dr. Little dealing with a type of social structure which had already been closely analysed, it might perhaps have been possible to summarize the situation in so confined a space. But the Mende are, in many respects, atypical of West African societies. There is no system of exogamous clans, marriage being permitted with close cognatic kin. Although the local aggregate of households (*kuwui*) is said to have a 'certain nuclear element mainly on the patrilineal side, who constitute a descent group for the purposes of the inheritance of land and other forms of collective property,' it is not clear if this constitutes a corporate unilineal descent group in any other context. Dr. Little prefers the designation 'kindred' rather than 'lineage' for this group. Complications arise out of the use of

this term. First it is employed to translate the Mende *ndehun-bla* which has a dual meaning, 'the nuclear descent group' and an individual's cognatic kin extending bilaterally for two generations; one is not at times certain which is the intended referent. Secondly, the term 'kindred' requires further explanation when applied to local groupings; as each individual's kindred differs, it cannot form the basis of a series of exclusive descent groups. From the sketchy genealogical data provided—there is no reference to the depth of the 'nuclear descent group' from the founding ancestor—one cannot fully understand the basis of the local organization and the principles governing the selection of bilateral ties for residential purposes.

The other chapters include an interesting discussion of the role of secret societies; the study of the political role of the Poro, responsible for the ritual aspects of the secular office of chief, is a useful contribution. But one is conscious throughout the book of the added clarity which could have been obtained had the author analysed in greater detail the 'social organization and kinship.' Comprehensiveness has inevitable drawbacks, but even within the limited space at his disposal, Dr. Little has tended to concentrate on problems of 'culture contact.' On this generalized level of discussion it is not easy to discover what anthropologists have succeeded in saying which is not already known to intelligent administrators. In any case it is a pity to sacrifice what has proved so rewarding of detailed study.

JACK GOODY

Essai sur la Religion Bambara. By Germaine Dieterlen. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1951. Pp. xx, 240, 6 plates, 17 text figs. Price 600 francs

131 Mme Dieterlen's book is a product of three recent expeditions of the Missions Griaule to the French Sudan, undertaken during 1946-9. The author points out that research is beginning to disclose that all the national religions of the area have a common substratum. The account of Bambara religion is surely one of the most detailed and painstaking accounts of West African religions yet produced; and it indicates a high standard of fieldwork both in the amount of esoteric detail and in the translation of the remarkable system of metaphysics laid open. The 22 ends of the universe thought by the spirit *yo*, the seven heavens, the seven earths, the 13 waters and the 22 characteristics of things are just a few of the concepts made vivid. It is clearly shown how religious symbolism enters even the most mundane activities. The wooden block for cutting household meat is a shrine; the design of a game represents 'the coming of the twelve future waters' and participants 'help along the progress of the world.' The link between the cosmology and the progress of the individual lives is described most ably.

The book however gives little indication of the social background against which the system should be seen. One has no idea how the family or village is composed, or the degree to which chieftainship and priesthood, state and religion, are connected. While anthropologists require such data, students of primitive cosmology will certainly find the book of outstanding value as it stands.

I. G. CUNNISON

Ethnographic Survey of Africa: Western Africa, Part V: Tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. By Madeline Manoukian. London (Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1952. Pp. 102. Price 8s. 6d.

132 The object of this ethnographic survey of Africa, undertaken under the aegis of the International African Institute, is to correlate in a concise form our present knowledge of the various tribes grouped in certain divisions of the Continent. The part of Africa under review covers most of the peoples dwelling in the country immediately to the north of Ashanti. It is very thorough in so far as material at present is available. But complete accuracy is not claimed nor does it embrace entirely the whole of the country involved.

There is for instance no reference to several of the tribes on the immediate northern frontier of Ashanti, an omission which, had it been filled, might have proved an invaluable asset in the unification of the newly formed Gold Coast nation. For the great similarity between the Ashanti *omanhene* and the northern *tengdana* might well

prove a firm connecting link socially and economically. It might too have afforded a closer connecting point in the military organizations which here are attributed to conquest by the Ashanti but might well be of common origin.

Our knowledge of the history of these peoples is far from precise; it is indeed scanty. But the survey omits mention of the important defeat of the Dagomba by the Ashanti Osei Apoku in the first half of the eighteenth century. That event and the mission to the Moshi sent c. 1488 by the Portuguese governor of Elmina, also overlooked, tend to prove the origin of the Dagomba kingdom certainly earlier than the fifteenth century. Perhaps some day research may find in the archives of Portugal a full report.

But there is no doubt that the author of this booklet has done her work well, and successfully correlated in a concise manner what has so far been learned of the tribes of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. The map at the end of the book shows the territorial division of those tribes, but is misleading as to their numerical importance. And perhaps the use of the term 'rifleman' in the Dagomba army is not happy.

ALLAN W. CARDINALL

Nigerian Land Law and Custom. By T. Olawale Elias. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. xxvii, 326. Price £1 5s.

133 In such a vast territory as Nigeria there are of course variations in the systems of land tenure, but the general principles are much the same throughout. All land, cultivated or not, is considered to belong to some village, whose inhabitants have the sole right to gather firewood and fruit, and graze their animals in the uncultivated parts. The chief may allot plots of uncultivated land to any villagers who need more cultivation, and in certain conditions to strangers who settle in the village. He is entitled to contributions of produce from the cultivators, and may eject individuals, who do not pay them or otherwise misbehave. But he is not the owner of the land, for he cannot sell it or deal with it otherwise than in accordance with custom.

Cultivated land is, in a qualified sense, the property of a family group, and if a man abandons or is ejected from a plot, it reverts to the group. The group has full use of the land, but there is no power to alienate it.

In 1861 King Docemo of Lagos ceded his kingdom to the British Crown, and the other territories were later added by conquest or annexation. The conflicting claims of the Crown, the Chiefs and the cultivators have led to many legal complications and lawsuits, which the learned author reviews at length. The situation has been further complicated by the growth of industry and commerce, and the consequent demand for individual ownership by both natives and non-natives. The author does full justice to the efforts of the judges to produce order out of chaos, but regards the present state of affairs as unsatisfactory and makes suggestions for its amendment.

RAGLAN

Le Fétichisme en Afrique noire. By Christine Garnier and Jean Fralon. Paris (Payot), 1951. Pp. 213, illus., maps. Price 480 francs

134 This book is addressed to administrators and missionaries in the two French territories of Togo and Cameroun. It appeals to them not to be too hasty in 'civilizing' the natives there. The African in his old life was the responsibility of a group, and he cannot be expected to take on responsibility for himself without a long period of transition. The argument is thin, and full of clichés about collective representations. This forms the last chapter. In the body of the book there is no argument at all. It comprises snippets of information on various sorts of mystical beliefs ('fetichism') taken from many different tribes, including pygmies, in the two territories, and most of the types of information given are ethnographical commonplaces. The presentation is unbalanced. Six pages are devoted to descriptions of circumcision ceremonies, while divine kingship is treated in a page and a half. We learn that the king of the Gourmas is buried with his favourite horse, and that at Huntitogone it is forbidden to work iron on Tuesdays, but these facts lose what force they might have when they are all we learn about the peoples concerned.

I. G. CUNNISON

OCEANIA

L'Île de Pâques. By Alfred Métraux. Paris (Gallimard), 1951. Pp. 193, 16 plates, 1 map. Price 590 francs. **Island of Death.** By Werner Wolff. New York (Augustin), 1948. Pp. 228, 20 plates, 83 figs. Price \$7

Widely though books on Easter Island vary in quality and approach, it would be hard to find two more different than these. Perhaps it was a pity that Mrs. Scoresby Routledge called her book *The Mystery of Easter Island*. The name may have helped to perpetuate the aura of mystery, though the book did more than any other, until Dr. Métraux published his *Ethnology of Easter Island* (B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 160, 1940), to dispel false notions. Dr. Wolff, on the other hand, accepts the mysteries without question and offers some surprising explanations.

L'Île de Pâques, of which this is a revised and enlarged edition, was first published in 1941. It covers much of the same ground as the *Ethnology of Easter Island*, but it is written for the general reader, and both the arrangement and the emphasis are rather different. The material culture is more thoroughly described in the bulletin, where it is also fully illustrated. The bulletin is also better for mythological and legendary tales. *L'Île de Pâques*, however, gives a fuller and more living picture of the social organization and daily life; in particular, the sub-tribes and the confederations are more comprehensively described. An interesting feature is the way in which Métraux reconstructs the past by analogy with the present-day inhabitants, who are usually ignored by writers on Easter Island. He shows that in attitudes and beliefs a good deal of the old culture has survived, for instance in beliefs regarding spirits and in the attitude towards chastity in women and towards theft. The women now, as of old, like men who are good dancers and gay companions. These village Don Juans, says Métraux, are often 'd'une fatuité insupportable.'

Métraux disposes of most of the more fantastic theories in his chapters dealing with the geological background and the continental theory, with the physical and cultural antecedents of the Easter Islanders, and with the natural resources of the island, which he estimates could have supported a population of 3,000-4,000. With regard to the 'mystery' of the statues he shows that none were moved which weigh more than about 30 tons, and that those which were moved farthest weigh only five or six tons. Other Polynesians performed similar feats, notably the Tongans who erected a trilithon of which the lintel weighs 15 tons and was brought from a neighbouring island. Among other peoples the Nagas move massive stones; their material resources are richer, but the terrain much more difficult than that of Easter Island. To the islanders lack of materials, particularly of wood, rather than lack of manpower must have presented the main problem. Round stones, sweet potatoes as a lubricant, and paper-mulberry ropes seem to have been used, and the difficulties were not greater than those which have been overcome elsewhere.

He shows once more—as first in *Ethnology of Easter Island*—that the 'writing' is in fact probably not a script at all. The symbols vary endlessly in form; they do not recur in groups as one would expect of a repetitive language; on one tablet, bird and man symbols form a third of the whole; and each tablet is completely covered with them, no space being wasted. One may take issue with him over his opinion that the British Museum tablet is recent, since it was acquired in 1903 from a family in whose possession it had apparently been for 30 years (MAN, 1904, 1), but this is a minor point.

Dr. Métraux's reasoning is convincing, his method scholarly and his style lucid; at the same time he makes both the ancient and the present-day cultures of Easter Island live for his readers. His description of a defeated chief setting out with his followers to find a new land beyond the horizon is moving. Though *L'Île de Pâques* repeats much of the material of the *Ethnology of Easter Island*, it is a valuable addition to the literature of the island.

Dr. Wolff is a psychologist and, according to the dust cover of *Island of Death*, 'the founder of experimental depth psychology.' This arouses a hope that he might have a new and valuable approach to the study of Easter Island culture. New it certainly is in some

respects; in others he only repeats and expands old errors. The book is copiously annotated but he does not give references for some of his most surprising statements, and seems not to realize that the views of other writers may not all be of equal value. He refers to Métraux's *Ethnology of Easter Island*, but not to passages which conflict with his own views; if he had read Métraux with care and an open mind he could not have written the second sentence of the book, 'The origin of the natives, the construction of their colossal statues, and the connotation of their hieroglyphics are still the three great mysteries of this culture.' It appears later that he means not the construction of the statues but their transportation. He finds symbolism in everything, and relationship in any chance resemblance. Every petroglyph of a human face which is round represents the sun; if the hair is indicated by straight lines they are rays (Métraux believes these to be representations of Make-Make, the local name of Tane, and to be conventionalizations of a skull). Any circle, such as the circle in the small of the back of the wooden ancestral figures, similarly represents the sun; the vertebrae are steps for the sun to climb. He regards these figures as 'individual' and 'portraits of actual persons,' though there are few groups of primitive sculpture which show less variation.

Wolff's general inaccuracy is well illustrated by his account of the bird cult. He says: 'The first finder of the egg ran to the highest point of the mountain; the people cried to him, "Shave your head, you have the egg."' According to Métraux and Mrs. Routledge, both of whom obtained their information on the island, the *hopu* or henchman who first found an egg jumped on to a high point of the *islet* on which the birds nest, and cried, 'So-and-so (his master), shave your head' to announce his success. The cry was relayed by a watcher at the foot of the mainland cliff to the village on the mountain above, and the master, the bird-man for the coming year, shaved his head. Wolff gives no reference to any other source, so one presumes that he repeated this account from memory without troubling to verify it. Again, he quotes Métraux's opinion that the authenticity of some inscribed tablets is doubtful; but in a list of wooden objects bearing glyphs a British Museum breast ornament is marked as doubtful, not the tablet.

The author believes that he has discovered how to read the script, working partly on Hevesy's drawings of glyphs (which Métraux has shown to be inaccurate), and drawing parallels with other scripts, notably those of Egypt, China and the Indus Valley. Many of these parallels seem in fact to bear little resemblance to one another. However he bases his interpretation mainly on a re-analysis of Metoro's 'reading' of a tablet and Bishop Jaussen's list of glyphs obtained from Metoro. This is in some ways the most interesting part of the book, though far from convincing.

The *tour-de-force* of absurdity is reached in the theory of 'volcanic transportation' of the statues. Wolff suggests (p. 156) that the statues were flung from the quarry in the crater by an eruption, though all geological evidence shows that the volcano has been dead since long before the arrival of man, and (p. 157) that the priests could predict where they would land. He recognizes (p. 158) that they might not have arrived undamaged: '... the images may have arrived in sections covered with ash and lava lumps...'; he adds later (p. 161): 'obviously, the statues would be broken during volcanic transportation and only a shapeless mass would land. The workmen must have thought of the contingency of volcanic eruption and therefore covered the faces of their images, for these were rarely found to be broken'—with barkcloth or matting, presumably. Finally, the statues were apparently ejected red-hot. The islanders have preserved a fairly large body of legendary tales, and one would expect that so unusual an experience as bombardment by red-hot statues would also have been remembered.

This book does not deserve to be reviewed at the same length as the excellent and scholarly work of Dr. Métraux. But it is well produced and has received some publicity, and this, combined with the author's qualifications as a psychologist, may make it appear convincing to some non-anthropological readers. It is as well that those in any way concerned with Oceanic ethnography should be warned.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

CORRESPONDENCE

A Maori Spear. With a text figure

136 SIR,—Among the outstanding Maori objects in the Oldman Collection (purchased in London in 1948 by the New Zealand Government) in the Dominion Museum is a spear probably used to defend a fortified *pa* against attacking enemies (fig. 1). It is remarkable for the excellence of its finish, for the carving on it, and for the long notched shaft gradually tapering to a point. There are three groups of two pairs of these barbs or notchings and a group of three above. Most of the notches are no doubt purely ornamental. The carving is remarkable in that the upper lip of the human head is prolonged into a trunk, a form of head termed *ngutu* by some tribes, and the tongue is horizontal in a continuous band around the shaft. The spear is 10 feet 4 inches long and is one of the best of its kind known to us.

In combat with an enemy using a spear (*tao*) it was customary for the defender to hold in his left hand a pad, usually a bunched-up old garment, to receive the spear thrust. This pad was usually called *whakapuru ringa*; but our spear was probably thrust through the palisade to repel an advancing enemy.



FIG. 1. A MAORI SPEAR IN THE OLDMAN COLLECTION
(a) Enlarged view of the carving; (b, c) front and side end views.
Drawn by G. White

Sometimes a charm termed *ki tao* is repeated over spears to render them effective. Points of spears would be placed in water while such charms were being repeated.

Elsdon Best tells us of a famous spear named 'Te Rua-hoata, the property of Te Rangi-niho-niho of Taranaki. It possessed *mana* and over it divination ceremonies were performed in war time.' Perhaps it would not be surprising if this great spear in the Oldman Collection were this very weapon. The carving on it might easily be from the Whanganui-Taranaki area and we do know that many

Maori treasures of Taranaki were plundered in warfare last century, quite a few objects being taken back to England by officers and men. Dominion Museum, Wellington, N.Z. W. J. PHILLIPPS

The Southern Mongoloid Migration. Cf. MAN, 1952, 2, 99

137 SIR,—The purpose of my paper, which Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf criticizes, was not to summarize previous reconstructions of racial history in South-East Asia, but to sketch the dynamics of population movements in a framework set by the cultural and natural areas of Eastern Asia. For this purpose, a minimal framework of archaeological data was brought in, and only the works directly cited were listed in the appended bibliography—in addition to Embree's exhaustive bibliography for the mainland. In the interest of brevity, no attempt was made to relate the variously named racial ideal types, carrying vaguely defined cultural and chronological connotations, to the much simpler picture offered by the use of the genetic concept of a population. Unfortunately, almost any geographical name carries connotations derived from one set of ideal-type constructs or another, but if my statements are taken directly at their face value, I do not think that there is much room for misunderstanding.

The efficiency of modern slash-and-burn agriculturalists, stressed by Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, may in part depend on the various metal implements which these people at present acquire by trade and contact with modern society.

I am gratified to learn that Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf does not reject the main thesis of the paper, which might be summarized as follows. An ecological barrier between China and Further India prevented large-scale invasions of the southern area by Northern populations, until cultural developments opened the tropical area to advanced agriculturalists of the Northern tradition. Only after this did the large-scale migrations proceed which produced the present situation, where the bulk of the populations of Further India and Indonesia show close relationship to Chinese populations, as illustrated with respect to the ABO blood groups.

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FREDRIK BARTH

'Primitivization': A Neologism in Question. Cf. MAN, 1951,

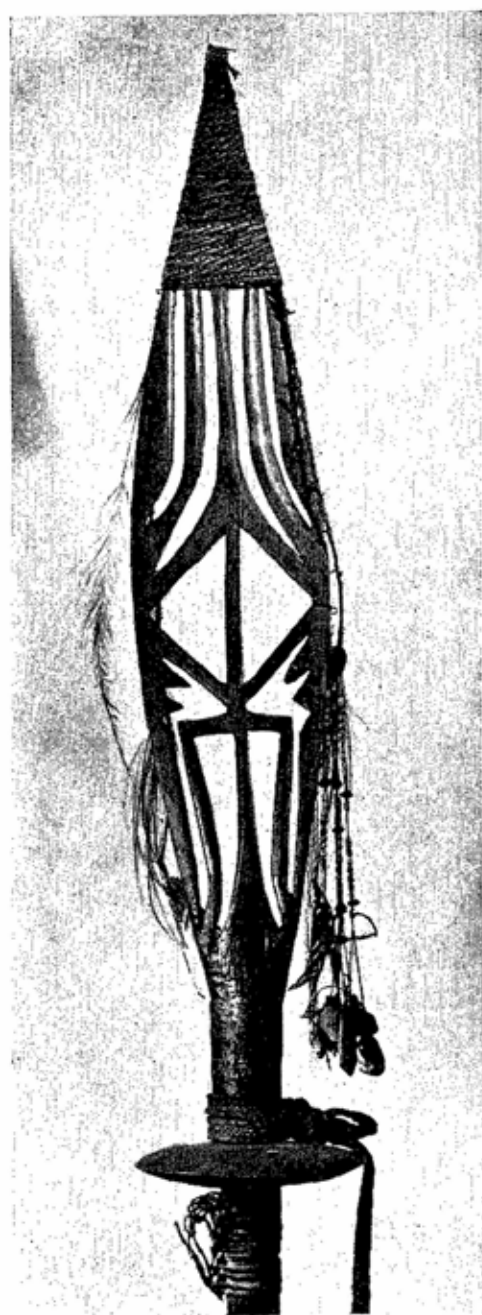
138 ²³² SIR,—In the article by Dr. Irawati Karve on 'The Cultural Process in India' occurs the word 'primitivization.' Could you please let me know whether this word is an English word and in what English dictionary I could find it? M. D. W. JEFFREYS
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Note

Anthropological terminology is certainly in need of watchdogs, though perhaps less so, at least in these islands, than some related disciplines; and it is right that the influence of MAN should be exerted towards its standardization and improvement.

The Hon. Editor has not found 'primitivization' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (though he has found some other words there at which any watchdog worthy of the title should sniff). But this should surely be no bar to the invention and use of a correctly formed word which fills a need. Lexicographers are, after all, only the recorders of language; its makers, in the case of anthropology, are Dr. Jeffreys and the rest of us. We cannot refuse to make use of a new term until it has got its diploma from Oxford, for the diploma is not granted until it has had some little experience in the world. Once the concept of 'fetalization,' for example, has been evolved, he would be a bold, and misguided, man who should try to deny use of the term to physical anthropologists in favour of some lengthy and lexicographically sanctioned circumlocution; but we may all unite with the lexicographers to exclude, if we can, such words as 'culturogenesis.'

'Primitivization' would seem a harmless and indeed valuable coinage. It is etymologically sound, and bears its meaning patent on its face (for anyone who knows what he means by 'primitive'). It is clearer and more specific than the wider terms 'degeneration' and 'retrogression.' Precision of terminology is always welcome, so long as it reflects precision of ideas, and of facts.—ED.



(a)

(a) HAYAM. No. 1392-63
Length of club, 180 cm.; of carved top, 60 cm.

(b) KUI AHAT. No. 1447-73
Length, 398 cm.

(c) PAHUI. No. 2385-36
Length of club, 136 cm.; of carved top, 29 cm.

(d) PAHUI. No. 1392-55
Length of club, 143 cm.; of carved top, 23 cm.



(b)



(c)



(d)

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS OF THE MARIND ANIM

All four pieces are in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden; (a), (b) and (d) were collected by W. de Jong, (c) by J. van Baal.
Photographs by courtesy of the Director

THE FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF SOME CEREMONIAL CLUBS OF THE MARIND ANIM, DUTCH NEW GUINEA*

by

DR. S. KOOIJMAN

Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

139 In a recent article in *MAN* (1951, 185) V. L. Grottanelli discusses the large wooden clubs with their broadened, open-worked tops and stone discs, which were found among several tribes in the western part of the Territory of Papua, and among the Marind Anim in the southern area of the Dutch territory. He designates these objects as '*baratu*,' a term used by the inhabitants of the middle Fly region.

The data on the meaning and function of these clubs are vague and fragmentary. In general, we really do not know any more than that they were ceremonial weapons, and were employed in connexion with headhunting. The author tries to answer the question of the original provenance of these clubs, and quotes (in note 16) Elkin's opinion that headhunting is 'a comparatively recent addition to the cultural heritage, having spread from Dutch New Guinea.' Therefore he considers it possible that the *baratu* had their origin among the Marind Anim tribe, but he adds that apart from the Leiden and the Giglioli clubs 'which are the only two originally labelled Tugeri,' he knows of no other records of such clubs from the Marind proper.

However, the specimens mentioned by Grottanelli can be supplemented by *baratu*-like clubs from the Marind territories in Dutch ethnographical collections. Grottanelli speaks of the club—*hayam*—collected at the beginning of this century by W. de Jong at Merauke, which bears an imitation in wood of the stone disc under the fret-worked blade. This club (Plate Ga) forms part of the collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (No. 1392-63). It has been described and reproduced by J. D. E. Schmeltz,¹ together with another *hayam* (No. 1392-62)² in the same collection and from the same place, which in shape and ornamentation of the blade is entirely similar to the first specimen, though the imitation stone disc is lacking.

These discs, in this case actually made of stone, also occur on the clubs used by the Marind as real weapons.³ The disc can slide up and down part of the shaft. In battle the warrior brandishes the club over his head, making the stone slip backwards; when he delivers a blow, the disc shoots forward, greatly adding to the impact. The disc is prevented from flying off the shaft or slipping too far back by a cord of plaited fibre, running parallel to the shaft, and fastened to it by two nooses knotted round the shaft, one at the front end and the other further back. The wooden disc of the first-mentioned *hayam* proves to be an exact replica of the stone discs belonging to the battle clubs. This *hayam* is also still equipped with the cord, although this has quite lost its function, the wooden ring being firmly attached to the shaft by a strip of split rattan wound round the latter.

*With Plate G

In the museum of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen at Amsterdam, there are two more specimens.⁴ Both were collected at Merauke during the expedition to the south-west coast of the island, in the years 1904-1905, on which occasion Merauke was used as a base. On these clubs all that remains of a replica or imitation of the disc is a ring-shaped broadening of the shaft below the blade.

Although several of these *baratu*-like objects from the Marind Anim area are known, we have no direct data on their purpose and function in Marind culture.

In the following attempt to draw up a functional interpretation of these *hayam* I shall, for the moment, leave out of consideration Grottanelli's conclusions on the *baratu* of the Fly area, as well as his remarks, due to information from Father J. H. M. C. Boelaars, M.S.C., on the ceremonial clubs of the Yaqai, who inhabit the Mapi area. I shall try to reach a conclusion as to the meaning and use of these *hayam* within the framework of Marind culture, by taking into consideration other ceremonial objects of the Marind Anim.

Such are the *pahui*, ceremonial clubs with broadened tops shaped either like a hollow cylinder or like an ellipsoid, which may be either hollow or solid. Ornamentation is applied by cutting away parts of the outer surface and making shallow incisions which form lines and figures. Practically without exception these objects show a ring-shaped thickening of the shaft just below the top—the rudiment of what originally was the counterfeit stone disc.

I know of some seven *pahui* in Dutch museum collections,⁵ one of which is illustrated in Plate Gd. Four more are listed in the catalogue of the ethnographical collection of the museum of the 'Lembaga kebudayaan Indonesia' (Koninklijk Bataviaas Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) at Djakarta, Indonesia.⁶

Before discussing the function and use of these *pahui*, I must first mention another group of objects, the *kui ahat* or headhunting poles, certain specimens of which closely resemble the *pahui* in form and ornamentation. These *kui ahat* represent the *ahat dema*, a figure in Marind mythology, who may be characterized as 'God of the nether world,' and who is associated with death and decay.⁷ In the art of the Marind Anim the most 'realistic' representation of the *ahat dema*—realistic in the sense of most closely corresponding to the myth⁸—is a greatly conventionalized wooden human figure. The body is rendered by an upright post with a head on top, at the sides of which two 'arms' branch out upwards⁹ (Plate Gb).

The *kui ahat* are, then, essentially identical with the *ahat dema*, and in addition they may be recognized—some more easily than others—as derived from this 'realistic' representation of the *dema*.

There are two *kui ahat* which, though conventionalized,

are still close to the original. They consist of a tree trunk forking into two branches, with a rough rendering of the 'head' between these two raised 'arms.' One is from Sangasee, west of the mouth of the Bian River, where it was raised in 1912 on the occasion of a headhunting feast¹⁰; the other is probably from Aweerima on the south coast near Prinses Marianne Strait.¹¹ Even further conventionalized, but still easily recognizable as derived from the plastic *ahat dema*, are the *kui ahat* shaped like bamboo staves terminating at one end in two parallel tapering points.¹² Yet further reduced to its essential feature, viz. the forked pole, is an object characterized as a *kui ahat* which consists of a staff with a thick knob, the top of which is, as it were, scooped out, thus leaving two raised points.¹³

Finally I know of a *kui ahat* consisting of a staff with a hollow, cylindrical top, the outer edge of which is incised with U-shaped figures.¹⁴ So we see that this object bears great similarity to the *pahui* type with cylindrical top. This *kui ahat*, too, has a ring-shaped broadening of the staff below the hollow cylinder, which makes the resemblance to the *pahui* even greater. In fact, the *pahui* all have this U- or V-shaped motif on top as dominating ornament, either incised in the hollow outer rim, or as *bas relief* or *haut relief* on the solid types. In a few cases the two lines of the V do not meet at the bottom, but this only applies to some specimens of the hollow type,¹⁵ and is probably due to technical considerations, viz. to prevent the top being too fragile.

In view of the outward resemblance in shape and ornamentation between *pahui* and *kui ahat*, it seems likely that we are dealing with two types of objects which, if not functionally identical, do at least belong to the same sphere of life.

This hypothesis is strengthened by a comparison between what we know of the use and meaning of the *kui ahat*, and the data on the function of the *pahui*. The *kui ahat*, that is the *ahat dema*, the god of death and decay, occupies the central place in the headhunting rites, and the feasts connected with them. It stands in the centre when, before a headhunting expedition, the *ajassee*, the headhunting song, is chanted. It accompanies the expedition itself, and is erected near the festive hut which is specially erected on the occasion of the expedition. The captured heads are hung up on it.¹⁶

On the meaning of the *pahui* our data are scarcer and more fragmentary. In general we may say that they also play a part in headhunting. P. Wirz, for instance, designates three *pahui* with cylindrical tops in the Djakarta museum with the term *Kopfsjagdbanner*.¹⁷ Father J. Verschuere, M.S.C., also says that the *pahui* are used in headhunting expeditions.¹⁸ We have more information on a *pahui* in the Leiden museum (No. 2385-36), collected by Dr. J. van Baal in the middle Koembe area (Plate Gc). In that region this object played a role practically similar to that of the *kui ahat*: it was placed in the centre when the *ajassee* was sung, and accompanied headhunting expeditions. According to information from Father Verschuere,¹⁹ it was thrown away after one had killed a victim. A striking feature of this *pahui* is the ornamentation of the cylindrical

surface above the U-shaped incision, which makes the impression of a double monster's head.²⁰ Probably both interpretations of the U—a forked shaft or an animal's head—are correct, or at any rate not mutually contradictory. At least, we find a combination of both representations on the *soma*, the great poles of the festive hut erected on the occasion of a headhunting expedition; they are essentially similar to the *kui ahat*, and may likewise bear the captured heads.²¹ These poles are forked at the end, and the forked ends are, at the same time, representations of serpents' heads.²²

Therefore we can positively state that this *pahui* of the middle Koembe region is closely associated in form and function with the *kui ahat*, the representation of the *ahat dema*, with his dominating position in headhunting ritual. This *pahui* also bears resemblance to the *hayam* with its typical shape and ornamentation. Both have the lozenge-shaped motif in the centre, with other lines curving round it, and also the replica of the disc.

The *hayam*, however, lacks the forked terminal, the U- or V-shaped figure, which is the typical symbol for the attributes of the headhunting expeditions and headhunting ritual. This might lead us to suppose that the *hayam* do not belong in this sphere. On the other hand, the function and the use of the *baratu*-like *parasi* from the Keraki and Wiram areas, described by F. E. Williams, are markedly similar to what we know of the above-mentioned *pahui*; both accompanied the headhunting expedition, and both were discarded after use.²³ If we take into account the function of this analogous *parasi* from the Fly region, we reach the tentative conclusion that the *hayam* are probably functionally associated with the *kui ahat* and the *pahui*, with their clearly observable role in headhunting ritual.

Although I have been able to indicate, with considerable reserve, what was the place and meaning of the *hayam* in Marind culture, we are still in the dark as to the decoration of the blade. A number of its elements—the lozenge-shaped centre with the curved lines round it—also occur on the *pahui*, but the pattern as a whole is unusual within the framework of the ornamental art of New Guinea and the Pacific.

The anthropomorphic representation of the *ahat dema*, with which the *hayam* is probably functionally connected via the *pahui* and *kui ahat*, is equally unusual. In addition these two types of objects—the *ahat dema* figure in the round and the open-worked *hayam* blade—rather resemble one another. In view of this, we might be justified in considering the ornamented blade of the *hayam* as derived from the *ahat dema* in the round. This would directly link the *ahat dema*, the central figure in the headhunting ritual, with the *hayam*. However, we do well clearly to realize that this cannot be more than a hypothesis until reliable data can be obtained from the population to confirm this stylistic association.

The spears of the Mapi area with their 'flat oval slab carved out of the shaft and perforated with ornamental patterns'²⁴ are well represented in Dutch museum collections.²⁵ In connexion with the ornamentation of these slabs, Grottanelli speaks of a style strongly reminiscent of

the *baratu* tops. Nevertheless the broad slabs of the Mapi spears—at least of the specimens known to me—with curvilinear decoration, differ so greatly from the narrow blades of the *hayam*, with rectilinear decoration, that it is hardly possible that the decorative pattern of the *hayam* could have been derived from these objects of the Mapi area.

Besides the not too firmly based hypothesis that the *hayam* is a conventionalization of the *ahat dema*, there remains the possibility that objects occur in this still very slightly known territory, bearing a similar ornamentation, which may have become known to the Marind.

Notes

¹ 'Beiträge zur Ethnographie von Neu-Guinea,' *Internat. Arch. für Ethnog.*, Vol. XVII (1905), pp. 217f., Plate I, figs. 4, 4a and 4b.

² *Ibid.*, Plate I, figs. 1 and 1a.

³ Leiden Museum, Nos. 1392-50 and 1500-1; Schmeltz, *loc. cit.*, p. 205 and Plate IV, fig. 4.

⁴ Nos. A367a and A367b. No. A367b has been described and photographed in 'De Zuidwest Nieuw-Guinea Expeditie van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap,' Leiden, 1908, p. 600, No. 458 and Plate IX, No. 458.

⁵ Two specimens with hollow, cylindrical tops: Leiden Museum, Nos. 1392-55 (see Plate Gd; also the description and photograph in Schmeltz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 216f. and Plate II, figs. 3 and 3a) and 2385-36. Two pieces with a top in the shape of a hollow ellipsoid: Leiden Museum, Nos. 1392-54 and 1392-56, described and reproduced by Schmeltz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 216f., Plate VI, fig. 16 and Plate IV, figs. 3 and 3a. A specimen in the Museum voor het Onderwijs (Educational Museum) at The Hague (No. 701), which is an intermediary form between the hollow cylinder and the hollow ellipsoid. Two pieces with a solid, ellipsoid top: Leiden Museum, No. 1549-42 and Museum of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam, No. A1938, the latter described and illustrated in 'De Zuidwest Nieuw-Guinea Expeditie van het Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap,' Leiden, 1908, p. 600, No. 457, and Plate IX, No. 457.

⁶ P. Wirz, *Katalog der ethnographischen Sammlung der Abteilung Neu-Guinea der Königlichen Bataviaschen Gesellschaft für Künste und Wissenschaften*, Weltevreden, 1923, Süd Neu-Guinea, pp. 11f.; Nos. 13780, 13785, 13787 and 13788. No photographs of these

objects were available, and the description alone is insufficient. However, there can be no doubt that the last three clubs are of the cylindrical type.

⁷ J. van Baal, *Godsdienst en samenleving in Nederlandsch-Zuid-Nieuw-Guinea*, Amsterdam, 1934, p. 206.

⁸ H. Geurtjens, 'Het schimmenoffer bij de Marindinezen,' *Mensch en Maatschappij*, Vol. V (1929), p. 324.

⁹ Cf. Leiden Museum, No. 1447-73. This object has been described and reproduced in H. W. Fischer, 'Beiträge zur Ethnographie von Neu-Guinea,' *Internat. Arch. für Ethnog.*, Vol. XXII (1915), p. 232 and Plate XXXIII, figs. 7, 7a and 7b. See also Van Baal, *loc. cit.*, note 153, p. 207.

¹⁰ P. Vertenten, 'Zeichen- und Malkunst der Marindinesen,' *Internat. Arch. für Ethnog.*, Vol. XXII (1915), p. 158 and Plate XXIII, fig. 1.

¹¹ Leiden Museum, No. 1447-62. See also H. W. Fischer, *loc. cit.*, p. 231 and Plate XXXIII, figs. 1 and 1a.

¹² Vertenten, *loc. cit.*, pp. 157f. and Plate XVIII, fig. 4.

¹³ Wirz, 'Die Marind Anim von Holländisch-Süd-Neu-Guinea,' *Hamburgische Universität, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde*, Hamburg, 1922, 1925, Part 3, p. 56, fig. 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Part 3, Plate 8, fig. 4.

¹⁵ Leiden Museum, Nos. 1392-54 and 1392-56.

¹⁶ Van Baal, *loc. cit.*, pp. 204f.

¹⁷ Wirz, *Katalog*, p. 12; Nos. 13785, 13787 and 13788.

¹⁸ 'Het mensenoffer op de zuidkust van Nederlands Nieuw Guinea,' *Tijdschrift Indonesië*, 1947-1948, note 70, p. 469.

¹⁹ In a letter dated 7 September, 1938, from J. van Baal to the Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden.

²⁰ The *pahui* No. 1392-56 in the Leiden Museum has the same ornamentation.

²¹ Van Baal, *Godsdienst en samenleving*, p. 231.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 106. Cf. the representation of the *soma dema* (Wirz, 'Die Marind Anim,' Part 4, Plate 50), which is greatly similar to the dominating lines of the *pahui* top.

²³ MAN, 1951, 185.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, note 22.

²⁵ The Museum at Leiden, the Museum of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam, the Museum of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart at Tilburg. The photographic collection of the Instituut at Amsterdam contains an illustration of a similar lance from the Moe'oe River, with human heads tied to the blade by means of nooses (No. 392, 241 (951) N. 6).

A NOTE ON NUER PRAYERS

by

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I40 In a Presidential Address delivered to the Royal Anthropological Institute last year¹ I discussed what I believe to be the most significant and distinctive ideas of Nuer theology and I concluded that their prayers and sacrifices must be interpreted in the light of those conceptions. The most important of them are: God is a spirit who is in the sky and also everywhere, he is the creator of the universe, the father and friend of man and the guardian of the social order; and in comparison with him man is an ignorant and puny creature. Men are helpless without divine aid, and in all their troubles and anxieties they ask for it; and they submit to sufferings with humble resignation, feeling that God is just and that it must be some faults of their own which have brought misfortunes on them,

but also that if they do not complain God will take pity on them and spare them any extra burdens.

There is nothing which can properly be called a cult of God, the spirit who is in the sky, and indeed the absence of a cultus is very much in keeping with the whole Nuer metaphysic. This is why I found it more suitable to embark on a discussion of their religion by examining ideas, symbols and metaphors than by an analysis of their ritual. Unlike the other spirits, God has no sanctuaries or earthly forms or prophets. It is very rarely that one even finds a beast—an ox, not a cow—dedicated to him. Also, there are no periodic ceremonies held in his honour,² and there are no liturgies or hymns devoted to him; and when sacrifices are made to him, either to him alone or to him

together with other spirits or the ghosts, in time of trouble, and also on customary occasions such as weddings, the rites have little formality. Also, the myths relating to him are few and short and have little prominence. However, the absence among the Nuer of systematic theology, of developed cult, of elaborate liturgy and of rich mythology is perhaps to be related to their general lack of political and cultural development, and we must not be led astray by it into supposing that they regard God merely as a distant spirit with whom they are as little concerned as he is with them. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The name of God is constantly on their lips. Anything strange evokes it, and in all their troubles and dangers they call on him for aid.

Nevertheless, in the absence of these features a determination of the distinctive concepts of which I have given an account has very largely to be made from a study of prayers and sacrifices in which they are expressed; and the prayers I am about to discuss are of particular value for this purpose in that they are addressed to God alone and not to other spirits, and in that they are meaningful utterances which do not require any special method of interpretation but only adequate translation. In seeking the meaning of a sacrifice we may have to decide whether it is an expiation, a communion, some kind of bargain and so forth, or combines several such ideas, but the meaning of a Nuer prayer to God is manifest in the words of the prayer itself since their prayers are communications of ideas from person to person.

For obvious reasons, Nuer prayers are most commonly heard on public and formal occasions, generally in connexion with sacrifices. At any important sacrifice, and sometimes on other important occasions also, Nuer make long invocations, called *lamni*, about the event which gave rise to the occasion, and into these long rambling addresses are every now and again introduced short prayers, mostly petitionary prayers. These what we may call stock prayers are often strung together in strophes in a kind of *Pater Noster*, such as 'Our father, it is thy universe, it is thy will, let us be at peace, let the souls of the people be cool, thou art our father, remove all evil from our path,' and so forth. However, there are no set form and order to these prayers, and each petition may be used separately and anywhere and at any time, and not only in invocations but also in private and spontaneous prayer, whether spoken or inward, and as pious ejaculations. If he is in any trouble or anxiety, the head of a Nuer household may pace up and down his kraal brandishing his spear and uttering some of these supplications; or, less formally, he may say them standing or squatting with his eyes turned towards heaven and his arms outstretched from the elbows, moving his hands, palms uppermost, up and down. They may also be uttered, if he says anything at all, in the petition which a man on a journey makes to God as he knots grasses together at the side of a path, a practice the Nuer call *tuc*. A man may do this because he has knocked his 'bad foot' against a stump in the path, for this presages misfortune, which can be avoided by asking God to let the badness remain in the grass so that the traveller may continue his journey with

fortune. Each man has a 'good foot' and a 'bad foot' and he learns which is which by experience. Nuer tie grass in the same manner to ensure success in any enterprise for which a journey is undertaken, often at the present day when they go to buy or beg something from an Arab merchant. They ask God to let them make a good bargain or that the merchant may make them a gift.³ Nuer may also utter these phrases of prayer at any time as devout ejaculations, and not only when they are in trouble or desire a boon, for they have told me that they like to speak to God when they are happy (*loc tedh*) and because they are happy, and that they often say a few words to him as they go about their daily affairs.

I have already discussed in my Presidential Address the significance of some of these prayerful words and expressions: 'our father,' 'it is thy universe,' 'it is thy will,' and others. I will now consider the meaning of yet a few others, choosing for the purpose the commonest petitionary phrases. Before doing this I would draw attention to the fact that the petitioner generally uses the first person plural. In private ejaculations a Nuer may use such expressions as 'ah, my God,' 'ah, God, what is this?' and 'let me journey well,' but he will also use the plural pronoun, and in prayers and invocations uttered in public the plural form is invariably used: 'let us be at peace,' or whatever the expression may be.⁴ I draw attention to this because it is not, I believe, just an indication that there are other people on whose behalf the speaker is asking God's favours. It is rather that the occasions on which prayers are publicly offered are generally such as emphasize by their gravity that, particularly in relation to God, all are members one of another. It is, of course, natural, as well as noticeable, that close kin stick together in danger and when a wrong has been done to any one of them, but Nuer also quite clearly show that they feel that a misfortune for any member of their community is a misfortune for all, that when one suffers all suffer, and that if each is to be at peace all must be at peace. This feeling of oneness is particularly evident in Nuer prayers, because they are asking to be delivered from suffering, which has a common quality, the more so in that it is suffering in general rather than particular misfortunes of which they speak; and because they are not asking for special good fortune, which is what comes to individuals, but for no more than what a man may reasonably expect, the ordinary and average run of things which all share and in which there is a measure of peace for all.

Perhaps the commonest phrase in Nuer prayers and the one with which Nuer often start prayer is '*akonienko*.' Literally, this means 'let us sleep,' but here it should be rendered 'let us be at peace.' I will consider the idea expressed in the phrase a little more fully. The commonest of the Nuer greetings and, when others are said, the first to be spoken is '*ci nien?*' or '*ci nienu?*' literally, 'have you slept?' The saluted man replies to this, as to other greetings, by a grunt of affirmation. This is something of a joke among Europeans because Nuer have a reputation with them for being lethargic and lazy; but the question means something rather different from 'have you slept?' It means

even more than our 'did you sleep well?' What the Nuer understands by the question is rather, I think, 'have you rested?' or 'are you at ease?' The sense of 'ease' is reinforced by the question which follows: 'male?' or 'maleu?' which can be translated 'are you well?' but is better translated in the same general sense as the first question as 'are you at ease?' or 'are you at peace?'—not, however, so much with the meaning of not being at strife with others as with the meaning of being at peace within.⁵ The word *mal* is also used in farewells: '*wer ke mal*,' 'go in peace,' and '*duodhni ke mal*,' 'remain in peace.' It has in the Nuer tongue the sense of 'easy' or 'light,' and in other Nilotic tongues it means 'heaven' or 'above' and in its verbal form 'to pray,' images which go with sleep, which eases the mind.⁶

That Nuer feel that being at ease or at peace has something to do with being in friendship with God is shown by the question which follows: '*ci pal?*' or '*ci palu?*' 'have you prayed?' I think that the idea implied here is that being at peace in yourself means being at peace with God as well as with your fellow men. A fourth question asked in greetings is '*ci tol?*' which Miss Huffman translates as 'have you smoke?' and Father Kiggen as 'is (your house) smoking?'⁷ The sense is the same in both translations: does the smoke rise from your hearth? that is, is everything well with your home?⁸ Not all these four questions are always asked, but often two or three of them are, and sometimes all four. In the full greeting we therefore get a composite picture of easy sleep, contentment, prayer and a smoking hearth, that is, of a person at peace in himself. I am of course aware that the primary meanings of these greetings may not be present in the minds of those who use them any more than is the primary meaning of, for example, 'good-bye' in the minds of those who bid farewell in our own country. This is a semantic problem of some difficulty. It could be argued that the various Nuer greetings might appropriately be translated 'how are you?' or 'have you come?' or some such phrase; but, unlike 'good-bye,' the primary meanings of the greetings are manifest in the words used and can readily be explained by Nuer in those senses and may therefore be regarded as significant.

This digression has been necessary to explain the meaning of the expression '*akonienko*' in prayer. The phrase is in harmony with some other expressions used in prayer: '*apwonyko pwol*,' 'may we be light,' and '*apwonyko koc*,' 'may we be cool.' *Pwony* means 'body' or 'self' and here it means self in the sense of the person as an entire person, body and soul. There is no reason why a Nuer should want to be light or cool in a purely physical sense. What is intended is to ask that the people may be light not only in the sense of physical wellbeing but also in the sense of *pwol loc*, of being light-hearted or joyful, free from burdens and troubles; and that they may be cool in the sense of not being anxious or worried, cool in the sense of calm. This is shown by a variant which is one of the commonest Nuer prayers, '*a yie neeni koc*,' which can in this context only be translated 'may the souls of the people be cool,' for though *yie* can mean 'breath' or 'life,' it is here to be rendered

'soul.' Very often the word *thee* is added, '*a yie neeni koc thee*,' and this gives an emphasis: 'may the souls of the people be very cool.' Obviously the Nuer are not asking, unless it be metaphorically, that their breath or life may be very cold. They do not want to be cold any more than they want to be light. Cold and light is what they generally are, but warm and fat is what they would like to be. The word *koc* is used also in expressions of good will towards persons, especially in the blessing '*apwonydu koc*,' 'may you be cool,' that is, 'may you be at peace.'⁹

The word *koc* can also mean 'soft' or 'tender' and though it is best translated 'cool' in prayers the two meanings may blend. Here again, Nuer clearly do not want to be physically soft. Indeed the expression '*koc thee*' in the physical sense of softness means when applied to men 'to be completely impotent sexually.' The idea of softness is seen in the metaphor often heard in prayers and invocations: 'may we tread on wild rice.' *Poon*, wild rice, is, Nuer say, the softest of grasses to the feet, as it is also one of the tenderest pasture grasses, being sometimes gathered to feed small calves by hand. The image of wild rice would therefore be used were we to translate into Nuer, so as to retain both its literal and its allegorical senses, the psalmist's 'he shall lead me into green pastures.' Nuer speak of life as walking through pastures, and they ask for a path that has no hidden dangers, that is, is free from evil, and for softness under foot, that is, a mind at ease. Hence they petition also '*gwenyi ko kwel gwath me jalko ko*,' 'make clear a way for us in the place where we journey,' and '*gwenyi ko gwath*,' 'clear for us a place.' Here again, the sense is mainly allegorical. The words do not usually refer to any particular place or journey but to the journey through life, and the making clear of the way does not refer only, or even at all, to any particular dangers of travelling through the bush but to all the sufferings and evils which beset the life of man. The petition means 'deliver us from evil.'

Peace and deliverance are the key notes of these petitions. They are seen again in the phrase '*Kwoth ngaci rum yieni, romni yieko*.' I will not here discuss the difficult question whether in this phrase we should translate *yie* as 'life' or 'soul' or whether these concepts can be separated. Here, the better translation would be 'God you (who) know how to carry (or care for) souls, carry (or care for) our souls.' The general sense of the prayer is that God should protect those who supplicate him as a parent protects his helpless infant. This desire for peace, deliverance and protection is summed up in another common Nuer petition: '*akoteko*,' 'let us be.' I am not certain whether the verb is here *tek*, to be alive, or, as I think it is, *te*, to be.¹⁰ There is in any case a considerable overlap in meaning between the two words and in this context there would not be any great difference in meaning between the one and the other, for the sense is: let us go on existing alive and as we are. The Nuer are asking for life, but not just life in the sense of living but of living abundantly, free from the troubles and sufferings which make life, as we say, not worth living. That this is the right interpretation is further suggested by another expression frequently heard in prayer, '*akolapko*,' which also has to be translated 'let us be' and here again

signifies, and in a deeper moral sense, life in the mode or manner of leading it. The verb is *labe*. It expresses a continuous state and can, I think, only be used of persons. It indicates a particular quality of a person which is part of his nature as that person and is therefore unchangeable, as in the phrases '*labe kuaar*,' 'he is a leopard-skin priest,' '*laba Nac*,' 'I am a Jinaca clansman,' '*laba ran*,' 'I am a Nuer' or 'I am a man,' and '*labko cok*,' 'we (all of us) are (like) ants (in the sight of God).'¹¹ What the Nuer are here asking is that they may remain in the state in which it is their nature to be: as we say, in that station to which God has called them.

It will have been observed that these expressions in Nuer prayers, as is the case among other peoples, are often repetitions, but rather in the form of parallelisms than of tautologies, for they are variations of meaning within the same general meaning. Different images are used to express the same general idea, each stressing a different aspect of it.

The distinctive and significant features of Nuer mystical and moral theology cannot be extracted from the short affirmations and petitions which constitute their prayers if these are considered entirely by themselves without Nuer comments on them and without some knowledge of their ritual and of their ideas and values in general, but once they have been delineated they are seen to be summed up concisely in the prayers. They are asking God for deliverance from evil, so that they may have peace, denoted by a variety of images with emotive and ideational relatedness—sleep, lightness, ease, coolness, softness, prayer, the domestic hearth, abundant life and life as it should be according to the nature of the person. As I have explained in my Presidential Address, Nuer regard the misfortunes they wish to be delivered from as due to *dueri*, faults, and they hold therefore that they can only be avoided by the righteous man, the man who has *cuong*, has the right, in his dealings with God and men. These two ideas, of being in the right and of deliverance from evil, are basic to their religious thought and they are also, of course, complementary.¹² A fuller understanding of these cardinal concepts of Nuer religion can be obtained only by further considering their prayers in relation to their sacrifices and by taking into account not only their ideas about God but also their attitudes towards other spirits associated with him and their conception of the human soul.

Notes

¹ J. R. *Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXI (1951). Other papers in which I have discussed various aspects of Nuer religion are listed there.

² Father J. P. Crazzolara's account in the eighth volume of Father P. W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (1949) suggests that on certain annual occasions, as before sowing and at harvest, God is invariably prayed to or given offerings, but the appearance of regularity, conformity and system in his description is altogether lacking in life. Such, and like, seasonal occasions may seem to Nuer suitable times to pray or make an offering, but there is no concurrence or uniformity. A Nuer approaches God on these occasions if and when it occurs to him to do so. It is true that religious ceremonies of all kinds tend, as do marriages and other important social events, to take place after harvest, but this is not, so to speak, determined by a liturgical calendar but by the abundance of food, especially of beer, at this time of the year.

³ Some Nuer have told me that this custom of knotting grasses originated among the Dinka. It is found among some, if not all, the Dinka tribes (R. T. Johnston, 'The Religious and Spiritual Beliefs of the Bor Dinka,' *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1934, p. 126), but if the Nuer borrowed it from them it is certainly not a recent introduction.

⁴ There are two pronominal suffixes for the first person plural, *ko* and *ne*, which are respectively exclusive and inclusive. For example, '*bako wa*,' 'we shall go,' includes the speaker and others but not the person or persons spoken to, whereas '*bane wa*,' 'we shall go,' includes also the person or persons spoken to. In speaking to God Nuer have, of course, to use the exclusive form.

⁵ The difference between the meanings of the words *nien* and *mal* in the two questions is perhaps that between the New Testament terms *anapausis* and *anesis*.

⁶ As in Fletcher's poem:

'fall like a cloud,
In gentle showers; give nothing that is loud,
Or painful to the slumbers; easy, light,
And as a purring stream, thou son of Night
Pass by his troubled senses.'

⁷ Ray Huffman, *Nuer Customs and Folk-Lore*, 1931, p. 86; J. Kiggen, *Nuer-English Dictionary*, 1948, p. 299.

⁸ Cf. the Scottish 'lang may your lum reek.'

⁹ The symbolism can at once be appreciated by ourselves, especially by those acquainted with the Vulgate and other Latin sacred texts where the word *refrigerium*, a cooling, is used in the tropical senses of 'consolation,' 'mitigation,' 'refreshing' and 'comfort.'

¹⁰ The difference is much like that in classical Greek between *zoe*, the life of living things, and *bios*, the mode and manner of life.

¹¹ The verb seems to correspond to the Shilluk *ba* (Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, 1912, p. 89), but I regard his supposition about its origin as very doubtful.

¹² As they were among the Hebrews, for whom their interdependence is expressed in Psalm LXXXV, 10: 'righteousness and peace have kissed each other' (William Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 1902 ed., p. 41).

SHORTER NOTES

The Death of Reth Dak Wad Fadiet and the Installation of his Successor: A Preliminary Note. By P. P. Howell, Chairman, Jonglei Investigation Team, Malakal, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

The dependence of the Shilluk on their *reth* or King and his position as the divine symbol of national unity have always aroused the interest of anthropologists and are well known from the writings of Sir James Frazer. The absence of such a symbol when the *reth* dies is a national disaster. *Piny bugon*, they say, *piny apath labo areiny*, 'there is no land; the earth is destroyed, the country is ruined.' Yet by carefully following the rites and ceremonies by which the soul of Nyikang, first *reth* of Shilluk and their culture hero, is transferred from the late *reth* to the new, the

continuity is maintained. Each stage in these ceremonies from the obsequies of the old *reth* up to the time when the new *reth* is accepted, possessed by Nyikang and installed at Fashoda, is another crisis passed. These dangers are not only spiritual. There is also a real danger of civil war, for there are many instances in Shilluk history when the country has been divided over the choice of a suitable successor and armed conflict has followed.

Reth Dak wad Fadiet died in May, 1951. His successor, Kur, son of *Fafiti wad Yor*, was installed at Fashoda early in February, 1952. This is the fourth installation of a Shilluk *reth* of which we have records and more detailed accounts of recent events will be published in *Sudan Notes and Records* in due course. For those who have a special interest in the 'Divine King of the Shilluk' I record

below the main features, since it will be some time before these appear in print. I have therefore assumed in the reader some knowledge of previous literature and of the main features of the installation ceremonies.¹ Briefly, they include: (i) the 'lying-in-state' of the late *reth*; (ii) the election of his successor; (iii) the actual burial and mourning ceremonies (*wowo*) of the late *reth* in the village of his birth or adoption; (iv) the ceremonies which culminate in the installation (*roiny*) of the new *reth* at the Shilluk capital of Fashoda.

Reth Dak *wad* Fadiet, who was installed at Fashoda in January, 1946, died in Malakal Hospital of advanced tuberculosis on 8 May, 1951. There is no evidence that he was 'assisted to die' by his wives or by the *ororo*, though even in Malakal Hospital the convention that he was in potential danger, not so much from the disease from which he suffered as from those who might seek to do away with him, was maintained throughout his stay there. Arrangements were made immediately to transport his body by steamer to Fashoda, where he should have died, and there does not appear to have been much comment on the untraditional manner of his passing. From Fashoda, his body was taken to Debwor, a small village nearby which had been built by him for the purpose, and there laid on a bier (*pam*) and placed in a special hut which was then sealed up.

A few days later, Kur, son of *reth* Fafiti *wad* Yor, was elected by the traditional college of chiefs at Fashoda. At this election it was clearer than ever that the choice rests with the titular chiefs of the two main divisions of the country, *gol* Nyikang and *gol* Dhiang. Other chiefs who are entitled to attend can merely express their approval. At the same time, it is unlikely that the Electoral College would meet at all unless there was a considerable measure of agreement, though the presence of the Government more or less precludes the possibility of civil war which undoubtedly often happened in the past.

It is for the *reth*-elect, in consultation with the *ororo* and the family of the late *reth*, to decide when the latter's body shall be carried to his burial place and when the mourning ceremonies (*wowo*) shall take place. *Reth* Kur made it clear from the start that before this decision was made, the royal cattle should be returned to him. These are the right of the new *reth*, not of the late *reth*'s heirs, and an attempt had been made by them to conceal the whereabouts of many of these cattle. In fact, this dispute had not been finally settled even after the installation had taken place.

The burial place was at the village of Kujo in Fanyidwai Division. Kujo had been built by *reth* Dak when he became *reth*, but he had moved from his mother's home in Fathworo previously at the invitation of *kwayireth* Gaw *wad* Ageng of Falo. This procedure is usual, for a *nyireth*, the son of a *reth*, though usually born in his mother's village, is normally brought up in the home of some important Shilluk by agreement with his father. Within this village, the two large houses, known as his *gol dwong* (lit. 'great homestead'), which he had occupied on his visits there, now became his *kengo*, 'shrine' or 'tomb.'

In November, his remains were removed from the hut at Debwor and carried to Kujo by the *ororo*, a dispossessed branch of the royal clan who have special duties in this connexion. The party was, however, waylaid at Famadh where a faction, led by his son Adieng, attempted to seize the remains and bury them in the village of Pa Loc with which he had had close association. This was certainly contrary to his personal wishes and not in accordance with normal tradition, and the attempt was frustrated by men of Fanyidwai who immediately mobilized and descended on Famadh where only the intervention of the chiefs and elders prevented an affray.

The body was finally laid to rest in a grave dug inside one of the huts of the *kengo*. It was placed on another bier constructed on

the spot, which was put in the side chamber of the grave. The next morning the chiefs and *kwareth*, and later, contingents of warriors from nearby settlements, began the *wowo*, which followed the usual pattern. The drums, set up by the *kuwa* Nyikir, the clan responsible for the mourning ceremonies, were beaten, and the dancing, accompanied by the mourning songs of the *reth*s, continued for four days and over 300 oxen were sacrificed and eaten, the horns being hung on the special fence which surrounds the *kengo*.

A few days later a similar *wowo* ceremony was held at Debwor, and the hut, which had held the late *reth*'s body, was later broken up and levelled to the ground.

There was no great difference in the procedure followed at these ceremonies from those described in the case of *reth*s Fafiti and Anei. It will be remembered, however, that the body of Fafiti was never immured in a hut, but was buried immediately in the *kengo* at his personal village in Golbainy where the *wowo* ceremonies were held later. The body of his successor, Anei, was first immured at Fadwol, a village occupied by the slaves and dependents of his father Kur, and was later buried at Golbainy. It appears that according to correct traditional practice, the 'lying-in-state' should take place at a special village, often built for the purpose, while the actual burial should take place at the village of his birth or adoption. The principal shrines of Shilluk *reth*s should be found in the latter, but there have been exceptions. Moreover, besides the actual site of the 'lying-in-state' which becomes sacred ground and has sometimes been confused with the actual burial place, special shrines have from time to time been erected in different places. This is the case with one or two of the earlier *reth*s whose place of burial is not known.²

It will be remembered that the main features of the installation ceremonies are the march of the effigies of Nyikang and Dak from Akurwa to Fashoda; the *reth*'s flight to Debalo, a village south of Fashoda and within the boundaries of *gol* Nyikang; the march of the *reth* against the forces of Nyikang, the *reth*'s capture and the substitution on the royal stool; the *reth*'s seclusion in a temporary camp outside the capital, his vigil in the royal mound of *Athurwic*, the battle over *Nyakwer*, the 'Girl of the Ceremonies,' and finally the gathering of Shilluk chiefs who come to pay homage to the new *reth*. This traditional procedure was followed without variation from previous installations except in certain details.

Preparations for the installation began immediately after the *wowo* ceremonies. Recent investigations have added to our knowledge of these and the facts will be recorded in due course. In January, 1952, the effigies of Nyikang and Dak, remade for the occasion, were carried forth from their resting place at Akurwa and, after beating the bounds of the northern province (Muomo), set out for Fashoda. It is accepted custom among the Shilluk that Nyikang and Dak may seize livestock which cross their path and demand presents from the occupants of the settlements through which they pass. It is a sacred duty cheerfully borne, but on this occasion, the *kuwa* Nyikwom, the guardians of the effigies who naturally benefit from the spoils, exceeded the bounds of piety and were resisted by the people of Moro. In the scuffle which followed, Nyikang was damaged and had to return to Akurwa for repairs, thus causing a delay. By 4 February, however, they had reached Adodo, just north of Kodok, and thereupon the *reth*, according to custom, fled to Debalo. He had previously announced his intention of remaining there for three nights which is the usual period, but Nyikang's delay had presumably made him impatient and when the time came he demanded that Nyikang should meet him in battle on the following morning.

Accordingly, on the morning of February 6th, with *Nyakwer*, the 'Girl of the Ceremonies,' and his army, recruited from *gol*

Nyikang, he set out for Fashoda. Events followed the traditional pattern: After crossing *Arepejur*, the boundary between *gol* Nyikang and *gol* Dhiang, he marched forward to meet the host of Nyikang by then drawn up on the battle ground opposite the capital. In the ensuing battle, which was not so spectacular as on previous occasions, he was duly captured by Nyikang and carried off to the shrine of *Cerfuc*. There the substitution on the royal stool (*kiwom*) took place, but as usual behind a huge canopy of white cloth, so that it was not possible for spectators to see exactly what happened. After this he was carried to the temporary camp (*Adul*) opposite and there bathed and purified. I was informed later that during his stay in *Adul* the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters, a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy referred to by the Shilluk as *akwalo*. It is not, of course, known whether in fact he carried out this obligation, but it is said to be one of the ordeals which he must undergo. Shilluk say that the custom derives from the time of Dak, son of Nyikang, who was angered by Nyikang's action in giving his mother Akec to his half-brother Cal (or possibly Burro). This is normal practice among the Shilluk and is not an act of incest, but Dak took exception to it and had his revenge by deliberately taking one of his half-sisters who in due course gave birth to Ocalo (third or fourth *reth* of the Shilluk). Nyikang was so horrified by this that he decreed that all *reths* should do the same. It is not clear whether this involved actual marriage (it will be remembered that the daughters of *reths* may not marry at all) or merely a ritual breach of exogamy now followed as part of the ceremonies of installation. The Shilluk are naturally reticent on this subject, but it is one which might repay further investigation.

The events of the next few days were not different from previous installations. The *reth* spent one night in *Adul*, one in the royal mound of *Athurwic*, and then called upon Nyikang to fight him again, this time over the 'Girl of the Ceremonies.' The next day was taken up with the speeches of allegiance and exhortation of the chiefs of the country and the *reth's* reply. In this he did not fail to reproach them for their failure to recover all the royal cattle which, as we have seen, had been concealed by the late *reth's* heirs.

If there are any special comments to be made on the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, they are first that the ceremonies were carried out in a light-hearted spirit which was not a feature of previous occasions. Perhaps this is a sign of changing times, but it is probable that the Shilluk, who have undergone the very real strain of no less than three installations in less than ten years, are more used to it and do not regard the proceedings with such awe. It is also probable that Kur, a popular candidate and the son of Fafiti who had ruled the Shilluk for so long and so successfully, was more generally accepted and the actual danger to his life was negligible even though the conventional danger was stressed throughout. Secondly, it will be noted that the ceremonies from the time of the *reth's* flight to Debalo until the final speech day lasted only four nights instead of the customary seven. This was presumably dictated by Kur's personal impatience, but it is doubtful whether he would have dared to alter the traditional timing had he not a precedent in the installation of his father. The installation ceremonies of Fafiti had been shortened in a similar manner, largely on the advice of the administration who were afraid of civil war and for the *reth's* life.

Notes

¹ *Reth Fafiti wad Yor* (1917-1943): see P. Munro, 'The Installation of the Ret of the Chol,' *Sudan N. and R.*, Vol. I (1918); P. P. Howell, 'The Installation of the Shilluk King,' *MAN*, 1944; P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 'The Death of a Reth of the Shilluk and the Installation of his Successor,' *S.N.R.*, Vol. XXVII (1946).

Reth Anei wad Kur (1944-1945): see Howell and Thomson (above) and W. P. G. Thomson, 'Further Notes on the Death of a Reth of the Shilluk,' *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX (1948).

Reth Dak wad Fadiet (1946-1951): see Thomson (above); also E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk*, Frazer Lecture, C.U.P., 1948.

² For example Nyidoro (sometimes given as fourth *reth* of the Shilluk). His burial place is unknown, but *reth* Fadiet (twenty-eighth *reth*) built him a shrine at Burkiény because 'every *reth* must have a shrine.'

Reindeer-Breeding in the U.S.S.R.

The reindeer cultures of Europe and Asia have always been of great interest to ethnologists and in recent years substantial contributions have been made to our knowledge of the Lapps in *MAN* and in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, notably in articles by Professor G. Gjessing (*J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LXXVII, pp. 47 ff.), Intendent E. Manker (*MAN*, 1947, 104), Mr. Mikel Utsi (*MAN*, 1948, 114), Dr. K. Nickul (*MAN*, 1950, 70), Mr. R. N. Pehrson (*MAN*, 1950, 256), and Professor K. Bergsland and Dr. R. T. Christiansen (*J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LXXX, pp. 79 ff.). At the other side of the Eurasian land mass the culture of the Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria is well known from the researches of Dr. E. J. Lindgren.

Information about reindeer-breeding in the vast territories of the U.S.S.R. has, however, recently been scarce (a large handbook on *Reindeer Breeding* (1948), the preface of which has been translated in the *Polar Record* (Vol. VI, No. 41, January, 1951, pp. 107-10), is said to be a manual of method and to give no picture of how any specific contemporary arctic people in fact practises it, or how methods have changed since the Russian Revolution). The Hon. Editor of *MAN* is therefore very glad to have the opportunity of publishing the following translation of an article in a Russian magazine, which may be thought to throw light on old and new attitudes and on the social setting. The Hon. Editor has thought it least misleading to publish it *in extenso*.

The article, which appeared in the Moscow magazine *Ogonek* (*The Torch*), 1951, No. 44, pp. 6-8, has been translated by Dr. T. E. Armstrong, Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge. The photographs, of which a selection only is reproduced here, are attributed to V. Gorshkov.—ED.

NORTHERN LIGHTS

by

VLADIMIR SOLOUKHIN

1. The Nenets Tundra

We are in those regions where the earth's green attire dwindles to nothing.

This is the tundra. Here the mosses and the lichens are sovereign. Orange, yellow, pink, red, grey—they cover the earth.

The tundra is beautiful during the short summertime. Small lakes are spaced not more than a kilometre from each other. Round the lakes and on the banks of the innumerable streams grow tall grasses. The marsh rosemary fills the air of the tundra with its sharp scent, great expanses are reddened by the ripening cloudberry. Partridges so glut themselves on this berry that they can scarcely fly.

But if in summer the tundra is a tremendous mosaic of multi-coloured mosses in which have been set, as it were, the mirrors that are lakes, in winter there is nothing to delight the eye. Not a twig shows above the snow. Then the tundra appears flat and desolate. Even the reindeer go away to the south, to the wooded tundra zone.

Such is the land in which lives a small people, regenerated by socialism—the Nentsy.¹

Beyond the office window is the Nar'yan-Mar town stadium. At its near end a modest obelisk marks the grave of Comrade Vyuchey-skiy, a communist, a fighter for the establishment of Soviet power in the north, and a true son of the Nenets people.

The First Secretary of the regional committee of the Party listened to us and thought for a moment. Then he asked:

'You know what Kharp means in Russian? Northern lights. I can only approve your desire to go to the Kharp. I'll give you some advice: don't concern yourself only with the reindeer.'

'But isn't reindeer-farming the main thing at the Kharp?'

'It's a reindeer collective farm. In this collective farm alone there are several times more reindeer than, for example, in the whole of American Alaska. From the time of collectivization the number of reindeer at the Kharp has increased by more than five times. But there's something else you should notice. The farming is carried on in a new way. That's the point!

He was meaning to sing of how his wife would pick cloud-berries, but his attention was distracted by the team which had appeared. The dog rushed to meet it, and Letkov himself got up and stood waiting for the newcomer to approach. From a distance he determined that it was Fedor Yefimovich Sobolev coming. His master would find out that Sobolev was speaking to him, and would curse and stamp his feet.

Meanwhile Fedor Yefimovich sharply wheeled round his leader, and the team came to a halt, coming accurately alongside an unseen wall.

'Good morning, Letkov,' the visitor cheerily greeted the shepherd.



FIG. 1

'Reindeer farmers from various collective farms have gathered on the bank of the river Neruta and have set up a holiday camp. In the picture: a meeting of the Extraordinary Session of the Soviet for Malozemel'skaya Tundra on Reindeer Day.' (The offset reproduction from which this illustration was made is spread across two pages of the magazine.)

'Let us suppose that there are eight herds in the collective farm. Four herders tend each herd. Thirty-two men are sufficient to graze all the reindeer of the collective farm. Each herder has a family of five or six members. How many is that altogether? About 200. Of these at least half are able to work. But only 32 do work. What did the rest do formerly? Nothing. But they had to be fed. They ate reindeer meat. And as well as that, in order to convey such a lot of people across the tundra extra draught bullocks were necessary, since cows are not harnessed. The more bullocks in the herd, the fewer the bulls and cows. The fewer the cows, the fewer the calves and the slower the growth of the herd.

'What do they do today, those of this "superfluous" group who can work, who produced nothing and were only consumers and a nuisance when the herd was on the move? You'll find the answer to this question at the Kharp. I advise you to get to know Fedor Yefimovich Sobolev there. Well, *bon voyage!*'

2. Letkov the Herder's Two Songs

It was the last cold spell of winter. Since morning the frost had started to grow less and the motionless, crystal-clear air softened and became grey. From west to east fine scurries of snow ran along the ground, the first harbingers of a snowstorm. Letkov the herder was sitting in the snow, and was looking not at the reindeer but beyond, where the wind was coming from. At his feet lay a long-haired dog that looked like a bear cub. The shepherd was slowly swaying from side to side—he was singing. His singing was like the wailing of the wind, echoed it and was mingled with it.

'In my tent there is no meat. Wife and children went hungry to bed. I tend the reindeer of a master who has a well-fed wife. And my father tended the reindeer of a master who had a well-fed wife.'

It was hard to distinguish which was the mournful singing of the shepherd and which the wailing of the wind. And the shepherd went on singing:

'The wind blows into my eyes. Winter does not want to leave this place. Soon the Russian wind will come and will drive away winter. Then the grass will grow.'

'Good morning, good morning.'

They lit up their pipes and for some five minutes smoked in silence.

'How are you getting on, Letkov?' the visitor asked him.

'I'm getting on all right.'

'You're getting on senselessly. Your whole life you look after other people's reindeer.'

'I've none of my own, so I look after other people's.'

'But do you want to look after your own?'

Letkov turned sharply round to Sobolev. His face, with its high cheekbones and thin, drooping moustaches, became angry, and his eyes ceased to twinkle.

'Why do you mock me, friend, have I really done you any harm?'

'I'm not mocking you. Soon your master won't have a single reindeer. We'll drive away your master and all the reindeer will be ours. Would you like that to happen?'

'Can't you see that the dog is laughing at you as it listens to what you say?'

'The dog is laughing at its master. You've heard the words "collective farm"? We also will have a collective farm. Would you like to join it?' And Fedor Yefimovich began to explain what a collective farm was and how reindeer-farmers would live in it.

In this way 20 years ago the first collective farmer of the Kharp, the farm hand Letkov, met the organizer of the collective farm, Fedor Yefimovich Sobolev.

Much changed during these 20 years. Letkov grew older. Now he is in his sixties. He no longer tends reindeer. The collective farm has found lighter work for him. He looks after silver foxes.

Gavril Pavlovich [Letkov] does not live in a tent now, but in a good wooden house.

When we came to the fox farm and wanted to see Letkov, we did not find him at once. The old man was sitting the other side of a hillock and was looking at the tundra. The summer wind moved his sparse grey hair. Coming nearer we could hear that Gavril Pavlovich was singing.

The old man was singing of how he would harness 12 reindeer and go far away to the south. And when the reindeer brought him to Moscow he would find one man and would talk much with him. He would tell that man that his collective farm was called the 'Northern Lights' and that life in it was like the sun. And Letkov would go on to tell him that need had forever gone from the tundra, gone beyond the sea, whither the Russian wind drives the winter.

Right on the shores of the Barents Sea, on the Vangureyskiye uplands, graze the herds of the Kharp collective farm in summer. By the sea it is fresher and cooler and sometimes this is necessary for



FIG. 2

Not every farm has a reindeer like this! In the picture: B. V. Preobrazhenskiy, winner of a Stalin prize, inspects the best bull in the zonal station's herd.

reindeer. The sea breeze drives the pitiless mosquito and gadfly away from the herd. The reindeer feel more peaceful and feed better.

The baggage train was moving across the trackless tundra, through the low ground and marshland, round the lakes, over the long grass. The sledges run more easily through the water and mud than over dry moss.

Evening came on and the tundra grew black. Here at last are the reindeer. Their dark silhouettes were moving along the black ridge of a plateau in an endless chain of hills. This was the pedigree herd of the Kharp. It was here in charge of Fedor Yefimovich Sobolev.

In a quarter of an hour he himself, an elderly but still powerful man, met us and took us to his quarters. In the tent it was spacious and clean, as in a pleasant room.

'Well, how do you like our Bol'shezemel'skaya tundra?' asked Sobolev.

We said something about the open expanses.

'Yes, our country is spacious. It's a pity you're not here for long, or you could have come with us. We're moving south now. The nearer it is to autumn the further south we move. We shall reach the forests and winter there. The planned slaughter is to take place in the autumn near Nar'yan-Mar. We shall kill about 4,000 this year.'

'From your herd also?'

'No. My herd is pedigree. The gold reserve, so to speak, of the collective farm. The best cows and the best bulls go out from here to the other herds.'

Soon the conversation turned to the theme of building up the collective farm. Sobolev knew the history of the Kharp thoroughly, since it was in considerable measure the history of his life.

The Kharp was formed in 1930. Then it was an association for the joint tending of reindeer. From 1938 associations started to go

over to the agricultural *artel* statutes. The Kharp also went over. Twenty Nenets families banded together, having altogether about 3,000 reindeer. With the years this figure grew, but the collective farm just could not really get going. The amount of goods that could be marketed was pitiful. This was caused by the presence of those people who had no work to do. Herds of reindeer were slaughtered—for food.

The way out of this situation was suggested by the Soviet authorities. The attention of the collective farmers was directed to the development of a many-sided economy: let reindeer farming remain the chief feature, but why not, in addition, go in for breeding cows and fur-bearing animals, for fishing and hunting?

How could these branches of the economy be reconciled? If the reindeer had to move from place to place, it was useless to drive cows over the tundra, and anyway there was nothing for them to eat there. The reindeer gets its food from underneath the snow, and it is not grass but reindeer moss. Fish worth marketing are found only in the Pechora [River] and on the coast.

Thus arose the question of organizing settled bases. This was that fundamental change in the history of the Nenets people about which the First Secretary of the regional committee of the Party at Nar'yan-Mar had spoken to us.

The choice of a place at which to start a settled life was not such an easy matter. It had to be located as near as possible to the route of the grazing herds; there had to be marketable fish close by; the cattle needed a hay-making district. The two last conditions were decisive. It is in the Pechora that the most valuable species of fish are caught, and in the water meadows by the river grows abundant grass. The little place Koryagovka on the left bank of the Pechora, right on its delta, became the settlement of the Kharp farmers . . .

. . . We walk through the settlement. The sturdy huts are in no way different from the huts of the Russian countryside; except that on many roofs branching reindeer antlers are fastened to the roof tree.

We ask the Chairman of the collective farm, Grigoriy Mikhaylovich Smetanin: how many people capable of work would have gone off in vain over the tundra, if there had been no base? More than 60. What do they do now?

Smetanin tries to walk along with us, but willy-nilly he goes on ahead. His sailor's hat with its cockade is pulled down at the nape of the neck. His rubber fisherman's boots are turned down below the knee. On his open face, which has, however, a sly look, is written: You'll see for yourselves.



FIG. 3

'The holiday lasted for three days. For three days there was noise and there were crowds on the bank of the Neruta, and now it is time to go home, to the collective farms. In the picture: reindeer farmers disperse after the holiday.'

We enter the dairy farm building. To right and left, in two long rows, stand the cows. In the farm it is clean, dry and warm. It is milking time. From all sides comes the jolly noise of milk against the milk pails. One can admire the hands of Nina Vasil'yevna Morepanova. It is as if she had known this work right from childhood.

One could hear a separator working at the other end of the farm, and a little farther off, a butter churn.

On the fish farm they are impatiently awaiting the mass arrival of the salmon.

The fishermen are making ready their tackle.

Last year an unusual consignment reached the collective farm from Arkhangelsk—70 silver foxes. Now the Kharp has its own fox farm.

How has the collective farm gained from the development of a many-sided economy and a settled base? The main thing is that now every member of the collective farm has the opportunity of taking part in the work of the group. And as to how well it pays, one need only compare these two figures. In 1940 the income of the collective farm was 138,000 roubles, and in 1950 it had grown to 720,000. In a year or two the Kharp farmers reckon to become millionaires. The 'Nar'-yan-Ty, the Stalin, the Gor'kiy, and the Vyuchey'skiy collective farms will become millionaires. They are already close to it.

3. Reindeer Day

The small tundra river Neruta flows northwards. Its banks are wild. Not a house, not a tree is reflected in the limpid waters of the river. One bank is high and steep. One would never suppose that one could see in the tundra a landscape that could almost be at Zhiguli.³ Here, on the high bank of the Neruta, it was decided to celebrate Reindeer Day, the traditional festival of reindeer-farmers. Here we saw people from many Nenets collective farms.

It became livelier every hour at the temporary camp site.

The 'Red Tent'⁴ arrived and there was music in the tundra. A group of Nentsy surrounded the teacher-cum-librarian of the 'Red Tent,' Taya Kostyleva. Taya had not long finished at the school of political education and by her own wish had come to work in the tundra, in the 'Red Tent.' Now she is handing out books to the Nentsy, and they are taking Gor'kiy, Lermontov, Pushkin.

Everywhere there is laughter and happy talk.

Right in the middle of the camp-site there is a large portrait of I. V. Stalin. Next to it is the slogan 'Peace will defeat war.' Under this slogan Reindeer Day was celebrated.

The reindeer-farmers had not come only to enjoy themselves and have a rest. They were awaiting with impatience the opening of the Extraordinary Session of the Malozemel'skaya Soviet. At this meeting the results of the half-year were submitted, the best collective farms, brigade-leaders and herders were mentioned.

At the open session of the zonal station's Scientific Soviet the reindeer-farmers discussed how to make the most intelligent use of pastures, how to fight reindeer diseases. The exhibition of bulls took place here also.

On the third day, when business questions had been decided, the sporting contests and games started.

The Far North is severe. But the Nentsy love their land. At every step they feel Stalin's concern for them.

In the tundra lies permanently frozen soil, and I recall someone's lines, written about the Far North:

At midnight ice beneath the soil
Thaws from the warmth of the land.

I do not know whether this is true from the scientific point of view, but in the wider, more generalized meaning of the words there lies some truth.

Notes

¹ Formerly called the Samoyeds.—Translator.

² The south wind is called 'Russian' by the Nentsy. [Author's footnote.]

³ Hilly country on the right bank of the Volga.—Translator.

⁴ A mobile cultural, educational and propaganda centre.—Translator.

The Study of Anthropology and Folklore. By the Revd. Professor E. O. James. Summary of the im Thurn Memorial Lecture delivered in Edinburgh before the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society, 28 March, 1952. (Professor H. J. Rose, President, in the chair.)

A Lectureship founded to perpetuate the memory of a pioneer

amateur in the scientific study of man, said the lecturer, was a fitting occasion to consider the aims and methods of anthropological inquiry and to contrast them with those that obtained in the formative period in the Victorian and Edwardian era. Then the intellectual climate and outlook were evolutionary and progressive, and the steady march from savagery to civilization seemed to be in line with the Utopian optimism that prevailed in all other departments of human knowledge and achievement. Attention was concentrated upon the origin and development of social and religious organization in attempts to establish chronologically an orderly sequence from the simple to the complex. In the changed circumstances of the modern world of today, and with new knowledge and methods in the study of primitive peoples, anthropological investigation had taken a different direction in recent years. Now the centre of interest had become that of social structures as a functional unity, and little or no account often was taken of the psychological and historical factors in the human situation. Without minimizing the importance and results of the new approach, a reconsideration of the reaction seemed to be needed if all the elements in the study of man were to be given their full weight and due significance.

Similarly, in the investigation of the peasant cultures in civilized society, traditional beliefs and customs were so interlocked with arts and crafts in the past and in the present, and all that comprised the folk way of life, that they could not be rightly understood and evaluated in isolation from each other. Folk culture functioned as a consolidated whole and must be studied as such in its several aspects set against its anthropological background. Hence the importance and opportunities of such an organization as the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society, engaged as it was in the joint investigation of the two disciplines at a time when the available material was rapidly disintegrating and disappearing. The pressing need would seem to be for the collection, classification and interpretation of the available data along the lines that were proving so fruitful of results in Scandinavia and Ireland. This should also include modern folklore operative in the everyday life of existing communities and occupations, where the field was white to harvest but the labourers were all too few. The objective should be a central archive brought into relation with the local societies, folk museums and the universities adequately equipped for the training of fieldworkers in the various aspects and ramifications of anthropology and folklife.

Nigeria's First National Museum of Antiquities

I44 On 26 April the Governor of Nigeria, Sir John Macpherson, opened the new museum of antiquities at Jos, Northern Nigeria. Apart from small local museums and stores, this is the first museum on a national scale to be built for the Nigerian Antiquities Service (the head of which is Mr. K. C. Murray, Surveyor of Antiquities), in furtherance of a programme which is in part based on the report on the museum needs of British West Africa made for the Colonial Office in 1946 by Mr. H. J. Brauholtz, C.B.E., Keeper of the Department of Ethnography, British Museum. The Jos Museum has been built and equipped during the past three years by the Government Archaeologist, Mr. Bernard Fagg, with directly employed local labour, and mainly from local materials, to plans drawn up in collaboration with him by Mr. J. C. M. Hames. It includes one large and two smaller exhibition galleries, storerooms, a combined library and lecture room and excellent technical and research facilities.

The Museum, which lies, in favourable climatic conditions, in the midst of the tin-mining area of the Central Plateau, contains large palaeolithic and other archaeological collections (cf. MAN, 1946, 48), including the whole corpus of pottery sculpture

accumulated by Mr. Fagg from the extraordinary culture named after the Ham village of Nok and attributed to the late first millennium B.C. Also included in the exhibition are many fine examples of more recent tribal styles of woodcarving from the

Institute and the Director of the British Museum—will be widely welcomed, and the remarkable response of the African public (10,000 visitors in the first three weeks and 2,000 a week thereafter) is an indication of the demand for museums in West Africa. The



FIG. 1. FRONT VIEW OF JOS MUSEUM

Photographs: Bernard Fagg, 1952

southern provinces, chosen from the collections made during the past twenty years by Mr. Murray, as well as what is doubtless the finest collection in the world of the woodcarving art of the 'pagans' of Northern Nigeria.

The opening of the Museum—at which congratulatory cables were received from the President of the Royal Anthropological



FIG. 2. A LARGE DISPLAY CASE, JOS MUSEUM

Left to right: sculpture of the South-Eastern, Northern and South-Western Provinces. Photographed at night by case lighting alone

Nigerian Museum at Lagos, which is to be the headquarters of the Service, is in an advanced stage of planning and there is reason to hope that the building will be proceeded with during the present financial year. Its completion is a matter of the greatest urgency.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Yearbook of Physical Anthropology, 1950. Edited by G. W. Lasker and J. L. Angel. New York (Wenner-Gren Foundation), 1951. Pp. vi, 314

I45 The 1950 *Yearbook* of the Wenner-Gren Foundation, formerly the Viking Fund, follows the now customary pattern. The editorial serves as a useful guide to new literature, while the report of the sixth Summer Seminar in Physical Anthropology, devoted this year to discussion of the scope of the subject, summarizes the general consensus of opinions.

Rather bulkier than formerly, the remainder of the volume includes a selection of the more, and a few of the less, important articles published during the year. A trend is discernible towards a greater frequency of papers on topics referring to genetic aspects of the subject.

D. F. ROBERTS

A Mechanism for Personality. By R. Guley Lewis. Ifracombe (Stockwell), [1952]. Price 10s. 6d.

I46 Napoleon said that when he wanted a hard job of brain work done he looked for a man with a long nose, and the author of this book tries to find linkages between physical and physical features, always very tentatively. In studying physical characters he emphasizes what may be called growth types and suggests that genes give characteristics only in generalized forecast liable to be modified by hormone action both pre-natally and post-natally, especially in the very long period between birth and puberty in mankind. The argument depends on the author's impressions and needs much checking to become of value. His statement about the birth of more girls than boys is not correct; it is the

infant death rate among boys that so seriously affects the proportions of the sexes in adult life and enforces undesired celibacy on many women.

H. J. FLEURE

Il Folklore. By Paolo Toschi. Rome (Universale Studium), 1951. Pp. 164. Price 200 lire

I47 This well illustrated short survey is meant as a popular introduction to the 'Storia delle tradizioni popolari,' the subject for which Professor Toschi holds the chair at the University of Rome. The material has been selected from the point of view of the Italian reader, but numerous analogies and divergences from foreign countries have been added. The short international bibliography should be found very helpful by British readers. I was especially interested in the chapters on Family Life and Popular Art; the latter reminded me of the same author's profounder study *Saggi sull'arte popolare*.

E. ETTLINGER

Boats and Boatmen. By T. C. Lethbridge. London (Thames & Hudson), 1952. Pp. 199, 32 text figs., 4 plates. Price 15s.

I48 This is a most interesting book, well produced and admirably illustrated. Within the compass of some 190 pages the author presents an introduction to some of the main aspects of seafaring. The book accords well with the expressed aims of the series to which it belongs, namely to 'reveal from many points of view the past exercising its power to touch and often shape the life of the present.'

It is divided into six chapters. The first is an Introduction. The second deals with Fishing and Fishermen. 'Superstition and Ritual' is probably the best chapter in the book, and this difficult, albeit

fascinating, subject is delightfully treated in chapter 3. Chapter 4 describes some of the boats of the West, their origin and development. A most valuable 'Family Tree' is given on p. 103 which traces the primitive types of craft to boats of the present day. Chapter 5 deals with methods of propulsion. The development of the sail, which is here treated at length, cannot appear otherwise than as an extremely complex and at times controversial subject and not all students of nautical research will agree with the author's statement, on p. 162, that 'almost every form of fore-and-aft device developed out of the lateen.' This may, no doubt, be correct as regards Western Europe and the Mediterranean, but quite definitely it is untrue of China where the lateen sail has not been traced and the lug sail (probably derived from the dipped square sail) betrays, by its technical completeness and long history of development, a very ancient origin. In chapter 6 the author has developed several ingenious theories to account for the development of boats under the influence of geographical factors.

Among the many attractive features of the book are the excellent line drawings. Generally speaking it can be said that Mr. Lethbridge's book is a valuable introduction to the study of ships from an anthropological point of view, but it is a pity that the author deals, without saying so, almost exclusively with boats and their development in Western Europe and the Mediterranean, and there-

fore his explanations can never boast of completeness. If the reader bears this constantly in mind he will derive much pleasure from this quite charming book.

G. R. G. WORCESTER

The Moot Hall, Elstow. Bedfordshire County Council, 1952. Pp. 28, plates. Price 1s. 6d.

149 Elstow, famed as the home of John Bunyan, still possesses a market hall built about 1500 and recently presented to the public by Alderman Simon Whitbread, thus adding to the many services he and the family have given to the fine arts. The building has been carefully restored on the basis of good evidence; it has served probably as a manor court from early days, as a place of worship for the disciples of Bunyan, and now and henceforth as a museum devoted to the care of furniture, household equipment and allied matters relating to the days of John Bunyan. It already has interesting chests and chairs including some in walnut, which is so characteristic of the transition phase between the earlier oak and later mahogany.

The restoration and furnishing of the Moot Hall were carried through with the advice and generous help of our Institute's Vice-President, Mr. T.W. Bagshawe, and of Mrs. Bagshawe, well known for their work in saving and studying results of the craftsmanship of the last four centuries.

H. J. FLEURE

CORRESPONDENCE

The Founders of the Zimbabwe Civilization. Cf. MAN, 1949, 80; 1951, 280, 300; 1952, 118, 119

150 SIR.—Mr. Wainwright draws a comparison between the Zimbabwe civilization and archaeological and ethnological phenomena in Abyssinia. His conclusion that 'the Galla of the ninth century pretty clearly founded Zimbabwe' is based exclusively on the report of Mas'udi and the philological implications of the word *Waqlimi*. All his other comparative data are derived not from the Galla, but from peoples who are their geographical neighbours. It is thus difficult to accept as certain any very definite connexion of the Galla of a particular period and region with the construction of the stone buildings in Southern Rhodesia.

Nevertheless my chief object is not so much to criticize this new attempt to solve the difficult Zimbabwe problem as to contribute something to supplement the author's material. Since I have devoted myself to fieldwork in both Southern Abyssinia and Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Wainwright may be interested to learn that I have already expressed views on the Zimbabwe question which resemble his in many respects ('Simabawe und die Megalithkultur,' *Paideuma*, Vol. I, pp. 101 ff.). I have long been convinced that, whether we are dealing with the dating or with any of the other important questions relating to Zimbabwe, little is to be gained by purely archaeological methods. Consequently I regard Mr. Wainwright's method of carrying out cultural comparisons on ethnological lines as particularly valuable. With regard to the political organization of the Monomotapa Empire this method has often been applied in the past, probably most effectively by Schebesta ('Die Zimbabwe-Kultur in Afrika,' *Anthropos*, Vol. XXI (1926)).

In making such comparisons we should distinguish radically between two cultural provinces in Southern Rhodesia, which exhibit clear differences in spite of their close proximity. In Inyanga we find terraces and pits, but no high stone structures or ancient workings, and where stone buildings and ancient workings can be found there are no terraces and pits. So, archaeologically Southern Rhodesia could be clearly divided into two provinces. Terrace structures are found indeed among many of the old peoples of Southern Abyssinia; not exclusively there, however, but also in other parts of Africa. I have published a map of their distribution after Dr. Beck (*Im Lande des Gada* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 576). In most cases the users of the terraces were ancient food-cultivating ('planter') folk and mountain-dwellers, who preferred fairly elevated sites for their settlements, as at Inyanga.

But my principal reason for this note is Mr. Wainwright's

remark: 'There are, however, some notable exceptions to the resemblances between Zimbabwe and Gallaland.' Among these he reckons the conical tower of Great Zimbabwe. Monumental tombs for the warriors in the form of conical stone towers also occur among the Danakil (David Buxton, *Travels in Ethiopia* (London, 1949), illustration No. 110). One may note in passing that similar sacred monuments in the form of conical towers are not found in Abyssinia and Southern Rhodesia alone. Frobenius (*Und Afrika Sprach* (Berlin, 1912-3), Vol. III, pp. 320, 411f.) records similar conical structures, built of clay (or mud), from the Tamberma and the Kabre in the Western Sudan, and describes their ritual significance.

As a further supplement to the parallels which Wainwright seeks to draw between Southern Rhodesia and Southern Abyssinia, I may call attention to the so-called 'Handa Cross' and the moulds for the manufacture of these crosses found in several Southern Rhodesian ruins, whose wider distribution has been indicated by Frobenius (*Erythräa* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 45f.). On a special kind of large stone slabs, photographed by our expedition in Guragheland south of Addis Ababa, one finds drawings of the mentioned moulds, which correspond exactly with those found in Southern Rhodesia (unpublished documents in the Archives of the Frobenius Institute).

But I regard Wainwright's reference to possibly comparable stone reliefs in Yemen (note 37) as important, and for the following reason: all the comparisons between Zimbabwe and Abyssinia adduced by the author—equally with those enumerated by me in the above-mentioned article—show at most that (in Southern Rhodesia) an ancient culture was originally distributed, which resembled those found in many other parts of Africa. This culture stratum can perhaps best be studied in living form among the Konso of today in Southern Abyssinia. It is primarily in the Inyanga culture that I am inclined to seek similarities with the old peoples of Southern Abyssinia, as well as with the old negritic peoples of the Sudan extending right to West Africa. These peoples cannot be the earliest food-cultivators, for they evidently had corn, terraces, and various megalithic monuments, all of which are absent from the earlier peoples of the Northern Congo. But high stone structures of such a monumental character as Great Zimbabwe were not built by the old planters (food-cultivators). These must undoubtedly be attributed to the influence of some high culture, which spread both to Abyssinia and Southern Rhodesia. There is a strong case for seeking the home of this high culture in Arabia, as Röder ('Alt-arabische Parallele zu den Simabawe-Ruinen,' *Paideuma*, Vol. II, pp. 327ff.) has already pointed out with good reason.

But I consider it questionable to ascribe the construction of the stone buildings of Southern Rhodesia definitely to the ninth century A.D., because this can never be proved by historical evidence and has not yet been established in spite of the careful archaeological investigations of MacIver and Caton-Thompson. Even if some such data can be shown to be probable for one or more of the ruins on the evidence of certain finds of beads or other objects, the possibility still remains that other buildings may have been erected very much earlier. The crucial question is at what period the influence of a high culture, such as might have led to the erection of these monumental stone buildings, is most likely to have penetrated to the interior of the continent. Ethnological considerations, in my view, suggest the probability of at least a pre-Islamic, and possibly a very much earlier date. In Abyssinia and Southern Rhodesia alike this alien culture impinged upon very similar megalithic peasants (cultivators), who evidently formed the lower social stratum of the states at that time, and who, with their experience in stone-working, were able to render valuable services in the erection of stone buildings.

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* Translated by Mr. H. J. Braumholtz, C.B.E., M.A.

Social Anthropology: Past and Present. Cf. MAN, 1950, 198, 254, 271; 1951, 33-5, 62, 78, 120, 150, 199, 250; 1952, 14, 48, 53, 71, 97

151 SIR,—"Social anthropology," Professor Evans-Pritchard tells us in his series of broadcast lectures now published in book form, 'has a very limited technical vocabulary, so that it has to use everyday language and this, as we all know, is not very precise' (p. 2). 'Most people,' to whom these lectures were addressed primarily, may find it hard to decide whether this is a blessing or not; for terminological anarchy (or should one say autarchy?) would appear to be as rife between 'social' and 'cultural' anthropologists as it is among the various groups or schools of structural linguists—who suffer, rather, from a plethora of technical terms. So, according to Evans-Pritchard, 'the task of ethnology'—together with which he classes prehistoric archaeology and, 'as it is usually taught, comparative technology'—is to classify peoples on the basis of their racial and cultural characteristics and then to explain their distribution at the present time, or in past times, by the movement and mixture of peoples and the diffusion of cultures' (p. 4). 'Social anthropology,' he proceeds, 'has quite a different task to perform. It studies . . . social behaviour, generally in institutionalized forms, such as the family, kinship systems, political organization, legal procedures, religious cults and the like, and the relations between such institutions' (p. 5). It studies all these things moreover 'as parts of general social systems' (p. 11); and the theses written by students of this discipline are all 'studies of societies rather than of cultures' (p. 16). (Although he does not define 'culture,' Evans-Pritchard gives the impression that he regards it as synonymous with 'custom'.)

For most cultural anthropologists, on the other hand, 'social' and 'society' have specific reference to 'the organization of individuals into a group and their resulting relations,' while 'culture' includes all 'the man-made part of the environment' and is 'the product of men in groups.' However, 'specific human societies are more determined by culture than the reverse, even though some kind of social life is a precondition of culture.' For Herskovits, ethnology is 'the comparative study of culture and the investigation of the theoretical problems that arise out of the analysis of human custom'—of which I think he would consider social behaviour in institutionalized forms to be a typical part; so that for him (as for many other American anthropologists) social anthropology is a branch of ethnology; while for Evans-Pritchard they are distinct disciplines associated only by having 'primitive man' as their common subject matter.

It seems clear at least that social anthropology as understood in the United Kingdom has a narrower inclusiveness than has cultural anthropology as understood in the U. S. A., just as the latter is narrower in its scope than general anthropology. It may be that ever narrowing specialization is one of the unfortunate necessities of our time; but the danger to the one synthesizing 'science of man and his works' would appear to be less in the case of regional specializa-

tion, which can prejudice only the individual anthropologist, than in that of splitting up its objectives into a series of autonomous studies (to be called, perhaps: 'comparative human biology,' 'culturology,' 'comparative ethology,' 'ethnology,' 'comparative sociology' and so forth), which must lead to its final destruction. So far, the danger is perhaps more theoretical than real, since most university curricula, in England as in America and elsewhere, continue to regard all of anthropology as one 'subject'; but already, Evans-Pritchard warns us, some of his colleagues 'have indeed expressed themselves dissatisfied with the present arrangement' (p. 6). Should the latter be changed according to their wishes, one can foresee the day when some future 'political anthropologists' or 'marital anthropologists' will object to 'the present arrangement' by which their disciples have to study 'all the other branches of social anthropology.'

If, as Dr. Count says in a recent letter in the *American Anthropologist*,⁶ 'imparting perspective to the layman' is 'the prime form of "applied anthropology"' (and I for one agree that at this stage it is), there would seem to be room for the 'unsocial' anthropologists—including the 'cultural' variety—to re-state their positions as briefly and as pointedly as Professor Evans-Pritchard has that of his own group, so that the layman's view of anthropology may be not only in perspective, but also, so to speak, stereoscopic.⁷

Magua, Dominica, B. W. I.

DOUGLAS TAYLOR

¹ E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, London, 1951.

² A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, New York, 1948, p. 10.

³ Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and his Works*, New York, 1948, p. 17.

⁴ Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 10, note 5.

⁵ Herskovits, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶ Vol. LIV, p. 123.

⁷ There are still some people in the United Kingdom who think that 'social anthropology' is a branch of ethnology; and if there are those who regard, say, material culture studies only as a useful, but optional, accessory to social anthropology, there are others who take the reverse view.

Nobody, in Great Britain at least, has ever succeeded in defining the difference between 'anthropology' and 'ethnology' so as to satisfy more than a few. Indeed, uncertainty on this topic is probably growing (with the help of discussions such as those now proceeding in MAN and the *American Anthropologist*); and this may not be so undesirable as it seems at first thought.—ED.

Lascaux. Cf. MAN, 1951, 283

152 CHER MONSIEUR,—Les lecteurs de MAN ont pu lire sur l' 'Accident Scene' à Lascaux un article de Monsieur George Lechler, assistant-professeur à Wayne University (Détroit, Mich.), qui s'est aventuré sur un terrain qu'il ne connaît que de seconde ou de troisième main. Déjà, décrivant la scène où, à gauche d'un homme renversé et d'un bison éventré, s'éloigne fort tranquillement un rhinocéros, il nous dit que celui-ci charge. Nous parlant du bison, il reconnaît son immobilité, mais lui attribue une attitude 'backward,' alors que le bison regarde bien l'homme avec furie et lui 'fait les cornes' avec une tête anormalement renforcée dans l'encolure et le poitrail. Qu'il ne charge pas est dû à son éventrement dont Monsieur Lechler doute sans raison, voyant dans ses intestins éviscérés un simple signe symbolique; il est vrai que pour l'appuyer il prend des comparaisons absolument malencontreuses dans un bison polychrome de Marsoulas, surchargé ultérieurement de signes proto-aziliens d'un âge postérieur, et, pis encore, emprunte au plagiaire Stieglmann de mauvaises copies de mes propres planches d'Altamira, où il interprète comme signes symboliques de simples détails de pelage mal compris.

L'objet tombé sous les pieds de l'homme, avec crochet à un bout, et croisillon de préhension de l'autre, que Monsieur Lechler décrit à tort comme un trait, a été interprété par moi-même comme propulseur à crochet, dont un semblable existe à gauche du plus grand taureau de la grande salle. La longue sagaie placée en travers de l'arrière train du bison présente dans sa partie inférieure une longue barbelure unilatérale correspondant bien au type décrit par Obermaier et moi-même (à l'occasion des fresques d'Alpera) que relate

Monsieur Lechler. Il n'a pas vu que la hampe de cette arme était brisée. Quant au piquet vertical surmonté d'un oiseau, M. Lechler veut y voir un propulseur sculpté, du type de ceux du Magdalénien 4, mais il y a là un grave anachronisme. Les propulseurs sculptés du magdalénien 4 n'étaient plus probablement que des objets cérémoniels; leur crochet émerge toujours de la figure sculptée et n'est jamais à l'autre bout, comme Lechler le dit en trouvant une barbe récurrente à la base du piquet en question; la sculpture en ce cas aurait singulièrement gêné la préhension. Tous les propulseurs sculptés du magdalénien 4 n'ont pas cet évasement en palme élargie; il en est beaucoup fait d'une simple tige, bois de renne jeune, transformée généralement en protomé de cheval ou d'autre herbivore. Ceux-ci sont plus proches des propulseurs plus anciens, seulement connus du magdalénien 3 du Placard, lesquels sont lisses et très simples. Ceux du magdalénien 4 se terminent en bas par un bout percé en travers d'une ouverture fusiforme, destinée à recevoir un clavier fixant cette extrémité dans l'évidement en douille d'un long manche de bois; il n'y a plus un seul propulseur au magdalénien 5 et 6. Aucun de ces caractères ne se voit dans le dessin discuté. La barbelure récurrente observée par M. Lechler peut être semblable à celle d'une extrémité de trait mais avoir un autre but: assurer la solidité de la fixation dans le sol de l'image ainsi dressée. En tous cas il ne s'agit pas de propulseur; 'decoy' comme le suggère Monsieur F. Daniel (MAN, 1950, 65), ou poteau funéraire, sont seulement des hypothèses plausibles. Le fait que l'homme ait aussi une tête d'oiseau est un argument en faveur de l'hypothèse totémique; pas d'avantage. Jusqu'ici, aucun indice de propulseur n'a été trouvé avant le magdalénien 3; s'ils ont existé ils étaient d'abord en bois avec ou sans crochet adventice fait d'os ou de bois de cervidé. En tous cas, l'interprétation de Monsieur Lechler est de tous points intenable.

Il se lance d'autre part, sur les pas de Max Raphaël, sur un terrain où il n'y a pas lieu de les suivre, et où les entraîne une imagination sans contrôle, interprétant les figures d'animaux de nos cavernes comme représentation symbolique d'êtres humains de tel ou tel totem; à cela il n'y a aucun commencement de preuve et je n'apprécie aucunement ces fantaisies arbitraires.

Non que cela ne puisse être parfois vrai, mais ailleurs et dans un autre milieu; j'ai visité, le 27 avril 1932, la fameuse roche gravée de Kef Messiouer (Constantine) où, sur la face unie très élevée, inaccessible, dominant un vaste paysage, est profondément gravée une famille de lions dévorant un sanglier, tandis que des chacals prennent leur part à la curée. Cette étrange scène sans élément humain, en un lieu dénué de toute indication de station, m'avait amené à envisager qu'elle pourrait être un monument commémoratif de la destruction de la tribu sanglier par celle des lions, modestement aidée de celle des chacals. Mais il n'y a là rien qui rappelle la magie de reproduction, de chasse et de destruction, qui, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, suffisent à expliquer tout ce que l'on sait de l'art quaternaire; les élucubrations de Monsieur Raphaël, qui ne connaît pas mieux que Monsieur Lechler ce dont il parle, sont superflues et nuisibles à la science raisonnable et objective.

Paris

H. BREUIL

153 SIR,—In his stimulating article on the Accident Scene at Lascaux, Dr. Lechler regards the rhinoceros as pictured in 'a violent charging position, as though it had trampled the man.' Whilst the latter possibility cannot be excluded, the rhinoceros is certainly not charging; it is in a standing position. The raised tail might indicate one of two things, namely either that the rhinoceros is defecating (note the six dots under and behind its tail), or that it is acutely aware of danger and has raised the tail for this reason. In this case, the six dots would mean something different. I find it hard to interpret this rhinoceros with any degree of probability, especially since it was apparently never completed by the artist. Whether or not it forms part of the bison scene, therefore, is impossible to decide.

In Dr. Lechler's article, following the original publication by Windels, the animal is described as a woolly rhinoceros. I should like to point out, however, that this identification is by no means certain and that it contradicts the general character of the Lascaux fauna as depicted in the cave, which is temperate.

In the course of research bearing on the external appearance of the woolly rhinoceros and Merck's rhinoceros, the results of which are included in reconstructions made at the Institute of Archaeology, it became obvious that the Lascaux picture resembles Merck's rhinoceros rather than the woolly (*cf. my Dating the Past*, 2nd edn., Plate 24B). This temperate species is in keeping with the remainder of the fauna, but it points to a relatively early age within the upper Pleistocene. It is not in favour of a Magdalenian age, for instance, a period during which the climate enabled the reindeer and saiga to live in that part of France. On the other hand, Merck's rhinoceros is known to have survived into the first interstadial of the Last Glaciation in Spain (Conde, Castillo) and Italy (Romanelli), the Spanish sites being regarded as middle Aurignacian, whilst G. A. Blanc holds that the corresponding horizon (G) of Romanelli contains an Upper Palaeolithic of Aurignacian type in the widest sense.

A relatively early age is further supported by the identification of the charcoal remains. These have now been identified as *Abies pectinata*. The Silver Fir, however, is not a tree of a frost climate, which raises again the difficulty of placing the charcoal deposit as late as Magdalenian. The radiocarbon age estimate of 15,000 years, obtained from this charcoal, would, however, appear to support such a late age. It is possible that this is correct and that we shall have to modify our views about the late Pleistocene flora and fauna. On the other hand, there is no reason to accept a radiocarbon estimate, especially one which lies near the lower limit of efficiency of the method, as ultimate truth. It may be that this charcoal is contaminated with adsorbed organic matter of later age and therefore unreliable. It would be desirable, therefore, to carry out a larger number of estimates on material which has been deprived of adsorbed matter.

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F. E. ZEUNER

154 SIR,—Dr. Lechler's article brings to the fore the tendency of men to ascribe their own thought to people of other cultures. To begin to tackle the pictures of the palaeolithic caves we must look at them from the standpoint of the life of the people who made them. These artists were hunters, and therefore we shall expect to find the devices of their hunting among peoples who used them against similar animals. Unhappily we have no knowledge of whether the Bushmen hunted the rhinoceros successfully, so we are left guessing as to the meaning of the three pairs of dots beneath the tail of the rhino at Lascaux. This rather passive creature is not shown galloping, his tail is raised alertly as if he is aware of a hunter around. In style he seems to have been drawn by a much more accomplished artist than the man who drew the bison.

Is there any definite reason to think that the bison and the man are connected? The juxtaposition makes a picture in our sense of the word—an illustration—but the man and the objects around him are different in execution, or were drawn by means of different 'crayons.' The thickness of line gives this away. We may of course compare the bison with the experience of the American Indian hunters: it is angry and crooks its tail, and its head is lowered as if to toss an opponent; such a pose must have been a common sight at the biennial bison hunts when the herds migrated. This tends to favour the connexion of the non-vertical man with the angry bison. The man is not dead, and it may be that the state of his penis indicates mortal terror; Maori warriors noted this, and Mexican pictures of human sacrifice depict the same physical phenomenon. Thus we have some slight evidence to back up the natural assumption that a painting is an illustration of something.

Now let us return to the artist. What was his audience? Lascaux is very comfortable now, but in those days a stream entered its tiny mouth and the far end of the cave where this picture is found was only reached after a terrifying journey in darkness down narrow and steep passages. It could never have been meant for the populace to see. We are left with two alternatives: that it was meant for the spirits who live under the earth (*cf. an American legend that the souls of the bison were kept by a spirit safely underneath the hills, whence the shaman could sometimes charm them*); or that it was meant for initiates of some frightening ritual who were taken under

the earth (compare the death and rebirth themes of much Australian initiation). To visit Lascaux today is an experience to remember; how much more would it be so in the time of the artists who painted it.

Perhaps both possibilities are to be accepted. The food animals are not often found in close juxtaposition in the caves to the 'terrible' animals, felines, rhinoceros, etc. Perhaps one may guess that separate chambers like the bottom part of Lascaux were used for something other than food magic—possibly for making warriors of the young men.

If we accept the 'picture' as a unit, then we have the spear-thrower with the cross handle, as used on Lake Patzcuaro today, a lance across the bison's hind quarters with a coil of rope (disembowelling needs more than a wooden spear or a dart), while the bird remains a problem. Possible guesses are a counterbalanced spear-thrower, a stabbing implement like the carved daggers, or a 'ceremonial staff.' Plate Lc from Altamira has a branch and a rope at the bison's muzzle as if it were some drag fixed to the animal to hamper its escape, as in Eskimo hunting techniques. We can prove nothing, only assume, but whatever we do, let us try to frame our thought within the ambit of a hunting culture such as was practised by the artists whose work we are criticizing.

London

C. A. BURLAND

Caste in India. Cf. MAN, 1952, 72

155 SIR,—Lord Raglan is grievously wrong if he seriously supposes that 'the Indian caste system as it exists today is purely ritual.' He says that the rules which govern it 'serve no natural function or economic purpose.' I am doubtful what saving value may attach to the adjective 'natural' in this context, but the economic functions of caste have been so many and so obvious that observers like Nesfield with many years' experience of the system have regarded it as basically economic and functional in origin, and much more recently its economic functions have been pointed out by Furnivall.

Clearly Lord Raglan uses the term 'ritual' in a wider sense than I should, for he says that nine of the 15 factors which I suggested as contributing to the development of caste are concerned with ritual, whereas I can only determine three such, but in any case to write of the caste system as it exists in India as 'purely ritual' is a categorical misstatement. Further, I have been at some pains to point out that the sanctions which maintain the system have been secular rather than religious.

I have reflected long over Lord Raglan's statement that 'general causes are insufficient to account for particular effects.' That seems to imply in effect that general causes can account for nothing. But the causes in my list were not, as I understand the expression, general causes. Some of them may indeed have been widespread, but my point was that it was the unique concurrence of a number of such different causes in one area that accounted for the unique result of caste in India, and Lord Raglan's criticism shakes me not at all in that opinion.

New Radnor, Presteigne

J. H. HUTTON

African Psychology. Cf. MAN, 1952, 84

156 SIR,—In his review of Dr. Parrinder's *West African Psychology*, Dr. Cudjoe quotes a passage from my book, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, the meaning of which seemed to me as I read it to be clear, though I could not then remember the context. His interpretation of it, however, is the opposite of that which I intended, and which I think is unambiguous when the context is taken into account. So far from expressing a 'belief in African inability to think logically or in abstract terms,' my argument was that Africans are like all other human beings in not always thinking logically, and that it is therefore not necessary to explain their religious beliefs by ascribing to them unexpressed ideas which would make these beliefs coherent.

I did not argue from the fact that Africans 'believe in mysteries or supernatural events' that they have a peculiar or inferior mentality. I recognize, as Dr. Cudjoe points out, that such beliefs are characteristic of theologians, who are highly trained in abstract speculation. They, however, as I indicated in the sentence which follows that

quoted, are aware of a need to make their systems of belief logically coherent, and it is precisely in that way that they differ from the untrained. My view is that an African theologian's interpretation of religion would be more logical than an Irish peasant's just as an Irish theologian's would be more logical than an African peasant's.
London School of Economics

LUCY MAIR

157 SIR,—Your reviewer, Dr. Cudjoe, and the author he reviews, Dr. Parrinder, have combined to initiate an ironically perverse myth. For, seen in Dr. Cudjoe's text, which rests on a passage in *West African Psychology*, Dr. Lucy Mair is a stout champion of the theory of African prelogicality. Anthropologists will raise their eyebrows at this misrepresentation. Your more casual readers, Sir, may be badly misled.

In discussing and arguing for 'dynamism' in African beliefs, Dr. Parrinder cites the passage in *An African People in the Twentieth Century* in which Dr. Mair reasons that concepts of 'dynamism' are inadmissible as interpretative principles when they are not in what the observers actually observe. 'The Baganda,' she writes, 'are content to say that such an action produces such a result. . . . Dr. Parrinder begins his quotation with this sentence and ends half-way through another: 'This indifference to [the] logical consequences of one's assertions is a universal characteristic of minds untrained to abstract speculation.' In fact, the sentence reads: '... abstract speculation; there is no need to go to Africa or the South Seas to find it.' And what follows this immediately and closes the section shows quite unambiguously that the account of Ganda indifference to logical consequences in the field of religious beliefs has nothing to do with a theory of primitive prelogicality. 'Modern theories are the product of the curiosity of intellectuals who wish to reduce their religious beliefs to a logically coherent system, but the ideas of the supernatural which are current among the simpler adherents of modern religions are as innocent of such questionings as are those of the Baganda' (*West African Psychology*, pp. 10f., and *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 256f.). Dr. Mair is quite clearly concerned here with the application of logic in theology and not with questions of logical ability in general mental life.

Dr. Parrinder follows the truncated quotation with the remark that 'deduction and systematization' may nevertheless be a 'useful function of the European' as long as his theory accords with the facts. 'Moreover, not all Africans are "pre-logical," any more than all Europeans are untrained theologians; there are individual African thinkers who have thought and taught far beyond the popular beliefs of the layman.' It seems clear that, in its context, this passage suggests that Dr. Mair says what she does not—and could not—say. It is possible that Dr. Parrinder is right in arguing that the existence of a number of African thinkers justifies the denial of a generalization about the absence of theological preoccupations (if this is in fact what he means). But who, ignoring the sophisticated, asserted that Africans were prelogical? The same sort of person, presumably, who would say that 'all Europeans are untrained theologians [untrained as theologians?]. That person cannot be Dr. Mair.

Your reviewer, however, thinks it is. He quotes Dr. Parrinder's quotation and solemnly castigates it as a hasty judgment. If we may forgive Dr. Cudjoe for trouncing a second-hand 'heresy' and look charitably on his failure to verify his victim, we may, I think, lay most of the blame at Dr. Parrinder's door. However, Dr. Cudjoe has made another mistake. In countering what he believes to be Dr. Mair's point, he fails to indicate the true weakness of the imputed theory; namely, that it specifies as a characteristic of African society what is in fact probably true of all societies. Instead, Dr. Cudjoe seems content with establishing that what is (thought to be) said of Africans can be made to apply to many theologians and philosophers, who 'are far from being "minds untrained to abstract speculations."' This obscures the issue which underlies Dr. Mair's original statement and constitutes the real point of all such discussions. If we compare the comparable—African thinkers with European, the ordinary unsophisticated European with the African—logicality and prelogicality can be seen as approximate labels for two types of mind which are distinguished from one another by their degree of training.

London

MAURICE FREEDMAN



(a) No. 1947. *Am.* 10. 1.
Height 8 inches



(b) No. 1952. *Am.* 3. 1.
Height 9½ inches



(c) No. 1940. *Am.* 11. 1.
Height 7¼ inches



(d) Side view of (b)



(e) Back view of (b)

THREE CUPISNIQUE VASES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Photographs by courtesy of the Trustees



XXX INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS

A WELCOME

I58 *On behalf of the Council and Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, by whose invitation the International Congress of Americanists holds its thirtieth session this month in Cambridge, I have great pleasure in extending a most cordial welcome to all who come from abroad to share in its meetings and in offering the best wishes of the Institute for its success. The Institute will give all facilities in its power to make the stay of Congress members in Britain as profitable as possible. They will be warmly welcomed in Bedford Square and in particular are invited to make use of our Library—whose resources have recently been strengthened by a most generous benefaction from the New World.*

Britain has had a not undistinguished record in Americanist studies, as the names of my predecessors Maudslay and Joyce testify. But British anthropologists have much to gain from the presence in our country of so many distinguished Americanists for the first time in 40 years, and it is our hope that many new and permanent links will be established, with much benefit to the future development of these studies.

J. P. MILLS

President, Royal Anthropological Institute



THREE CUPISNIQUE VASES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM*

by

ADRIAN DIGBY

Deputy Keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum

I59 One of the disadvantages of our geographical position in these islands is the difficulty of organizing archaeological expeditions in remote fields, such as the Andean region of South America. Consequently our collections of South American antiquities are very largely formed from private collections, purchased here and there, and without good documentation. Despite these difficulties the British Museum has built up a fine collection of Peruvian pottery, which includes the well-known Vandenbergh collection of Mochica vessels from the Chicama Valley. But until very recently, as far as I am aware, the Cupisnique (or Coastal Chavin) culture was not

represented in any museum collection in the British Isles, and the rigorous Peruvian Antiquities Laws make it unlikely that any large quantity from this culture will ever be available for exhibition in this country. There is therefore some justification for recording a brief description of three vases of undoubtedly Cupisnique type which have been acquired in the last few years by the British Museum.

All three vases are of a massive construction with heavy stirrup spouts and a slip which varies from dark grey, or purplish brown, to black.

Perhaps the most interesting is one (Plate Hb, d, e) in which the shape of the body of the pot can best be described as resembling a cow bell. This is unornamented

*With Plate H and a text figure

save by a feline animal seated on a throne and by five panels terminating in scrolls all in high relief. These latter are suggestive of the decoration on Ulua Valley vases in Honduras. They are arranged as follows: one thinner large panel on each side with the terminal scroll towards the rear of the vase, and joined by a flat basal section headed by a scroll curving forwards. On the back is a large panel with a scroll termination facing the left. There are indications of pre- and post-firing incision used to embellish the relief work.

Unlike most feline representations on Cupisnique pottery, this animal shows no anthropomorphic features, yet we can identify him clearly with the anthropomorphic feline deity of the Cupisnique peoples, and indeed of Chavin, by the throne on which he is seated. The scroll-like forms are apparently associated in one composition with the feline deity, since the tail (which has been damaged) spreads over onto one of the scroll panels. This fact, together with the general arrangement, encourages us to suggest that these panels may represent, very conventionally, the sides and back of the throne, the seat of which is represented conventionally by a rectangular slab in front.

The stirrup spout, while narrower than on many Cupisnique vases, is still massive, and the arch is flattened on top to give a trapezoid effect. The actual spout is missing but presumably terminated in a flanged top rather like a chimney pot.

The second vase, the only complete specimen (Plate Ha), is a typical stirrup vase with an almost hemispherical body. The stirrup spout is of large diameter, and forms an almost continuous arc of a circle. It is surmounted by a heavy spout of 'chimney-pot' type with a flanged rim. Except for the base, the inner surface of the stirrup, and the spout, the whole vase is ornamented by evenly spaced protuberances and incised 'hatching,' the whole appearance resembling the outer surface of a fir cone.

The third vase (Plate Hc) resembles the second in general type, though the body of the pot is taller in relation to its base, and the ornament is more flamboyant and less carefully executed. The body decoration is basically the same, except that the protuberances are more irregular, and the 'hatching' is replaced by a great many rather deep punctate impressions. The over-all surface effect is broken up by five petaloid panels in relief, which are left plain. The outer surface of the stirrup spout is shielded by a number of bosses in high relief, and the intervening space between the bosses is covered with light punctate marks which resemble comb markings.

An examination of the spouts of all three vases raises some interesting problems. In each case there is evidence that the actual mouth, or neck, was made separately, and butted onto a hole in the arch of the stirrup, but X-ray photographs show no sign of any transverse join anywhere in the walls of the stirrup, and there is no sign anywhere that the stirrup was made in two halves and joined together sagittally, which would be an easy way to make a stirrup spout, and one which is in fact adopted in some Mochica vases of apparently late date and in many Chimu-style vases.

In the second and third pots the spouts are of so large a diameter, and on such a convenient curve, that the inside could possibly be modelled and smoothed by inserting the fingers through the two ends and the middle aperture for the mouth, but this method would be impossible in the case of the first.

Before an X-ray photograph was taken of the arch of the first pot it was expected that the form of construction would prove analogous to that found in the vases with a triangular-shaped stirrup arch, generally associated with the Mochica IV or V periods, in which two straight tubular pieces project outward from the body of the pot, and are joined by a third tubular piece which forms a bridge. In vases of this period the outside is smoothed to give an unbroken curve, but the inside shows the loose ends from manufacture quite clearly. In fact, however, an X-ray photograph of the spout of our first pot (fig. 1) shows no



FIG. 1. X-RAY PHOTOGRAPH OF 'STIRRUP' VASE (PLATE Hb)

Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

sign of a join. It seems most improbable that the spout was modelled on a straight stick which was then withdrawn to allow the ends to be bent over, for there would almost certainly have been a flattening or even a collapse of the tube.

We must therefore look for some alternative method of manufacture. It would of course be possible to start with the centre of the spout, and build up outwards, smoothing inside and out with the fingers as the stirrup advanced, but the process would be a difficult one. The alternative would be to make a core of wax or some other fusible substance around which the spout could be built up in exactly the same way as a mould for a *cire perdue* casting is made; the wax would then be dispersed when the pot was fired. There are arguments which could be put forward to support either view. The generally larger diameter of the Cupisnique spouts would permit of modelling on the lines suggested, and this method fits in very well with the general technological sequence for Peruvian stirrup-spout vessels. The following table based on this assumption shows a progressive simplification:

Cupisnique	Stirrup hand-modelled in one piece except mouth.
Salinar	No evidence available.

Mochica	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four pieces butted together. Four with very long horns giving a triangular stirrup.
Chimu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moulded in two pieces sagittally and then attached to the vase. Moulded integrally in two halves with the whole vase.

In favour of the *cire perdue* hypothesis it can be said that from a very early time in Peru moulds were used for pottery-making, and that small metal objects of Mochica style were probably cast by *cire perdue*, although no evidence has been found of such metal work in the Cupisnique phase. A lost-wax process was applied to pottery-manufacture as early as the Gallinazo culture to produce the effect known as negative painting, but this was 400 years or more later than the Cupisnique. On technical grounds therefore there

seems to be good reason for believing that it could be easy to conceive of *cire perdue* moulds and cores in pottery-making in Cupisnique times.

On the other hand, if cores of wax or some other fusible substance were used, it is surprising that the application of wax to negative painting lagged so far behind. It would also imply an anticipation of the application of the *cire perdue* process to metal-working. Finally—and this is perhaps the most telling argument—if spouts were made on wax cores by the Cupisnique people, it would be reasonable to expect the Mochica to use the same technique, which would be admirably suited to the narrower spouts they used. Since there is no evidence that this was ever done, the balance of probability lies with the hand-modelling process.



BLOOD GROUPS OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN MUMMIES

by

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I60 The determination of blood groups of the ABO system using mummified tissue has been carried out by Boyd and Boyd (1937), who investigated 300 mummies, and Matson (1936), while Candela (1939) succeeded in grouping skeletal remains. Boyd and Boyd and also Candela, who identified A and B substances by an absorption technique, were compelled to assume that failure to detect these substances meant that the tissue was probably group O. Matson attempted to identify group O tissues by using anti-O ox sera, with apparent success. However, it is now known that so-called anti-O sera derived from animals are not specific for group O substance but for an apparently closely related substance H (Morgan and Watkins, 1948). As the work on mummies had been carried out before the Rh system had been described, it seemed to us of interest to attempt the determination of the Rh grouping of mummified tissue and, as we had a potent human anti-O serum of proved specificity, we also attempted to determine the ABO grouping.

Material Used

Mummified muscle tissue was obtained from the gluteal region of eight South American Indian mummies, selected from the collection in the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum. In the five cases described below, the material was suitable for testing and it proved possible to determine their ABO and Rh group substances.

No. 1. An adult female found in the canton of Leiva, Colombia.

No. 2. An adult (sex not determined) found in a cave, with many others, at Gachansipa, in the canton of Leiva, Colombia.

No. 3. An adult (sex not determined) found near Truxillo Peru.

No. 4. An infant found in association with No. 3.

No. 5. An adult (sex not determined) found at Acari, Peru.

Mummies Nos. 1 and 2 belonged to the pre-Columbian period, but it was impossible to date them more precisely. Mummies Nos. 3, 4 and 5 belonged either to the Late Chimu or the Inca period.

Preparation of Tissue

The muscle tissue was powdered in a mortar and then ground to a mush with 0.85 per cent. saline. The mush was washed in saline and used for the absorption tests.

Standardization of Test Sera

The sera used in these investigations were of the following specificities, anti-A, anti-B, anti-O, anti-D, anti-C, anti-E and anti-c. They were all obtained as natural or immune sera from human donors. The anti-O serum was of the same specificity as that described by Boorman, Dodd and Gilbey (1948) and Morgan and Watkins (1948). The sera selected were of high avidity but moderate titre, the titre being not more than 32 and not less than 8. The specificities of the sera were carefully controlled against red cells of known genotypes. In addition, the sera were shown to identify specifically homologous antigens in fresh tissue obtained *post mortem* from subjects in whom the antigens had previously been identified during life by red-cell typing.

Absorption Technique

The technique used to identify the blood-group substances was essentially that of Boorman and Dodd (1943) modified to ensure that the sera were exposed to approximately equal quantities of muscle tissue in each absorption test.

Into precipitation tubes, marked at 0.09 ml., was pipetted a quantity of the tissue mush suspended in saline. By repeated centrifugation, removal of the supernatant liquid and addition of more suspension, the tissue mush was packed into a volume of 0.09 ml. To this volume was added 0.09 ml. of the serum to be absorbed and the whole well mixed. The tubes were incubated for three hours, at room temperature for sera of the ABO system and at 37° C. for sera of the Rh system. After this period, the tubes were centrifuged, the supernatant serum removed and titrated using red blood cells of the appropriate antigenic structure. The unabsorbed sera were titrated at the same time using the same red cells, thus giving a control titration.

As only small amounts of mummy tissue were available it was decided to use one serum of each specificity for testing purposes, selected as described above. The alternative procedure of employing several antisera of the same specificity would have necessitated using smaller amounts of tissue, resulting in a loss of sensitivity. All the results were checked by repeating the tests on another day by the same technique.

Following Boorman and Dodd (1943), titration results have been expressed as an absorption index, which is the number of times the original titre is reduced by absorption. An index of 4 or more has been taken as significant and an index of 2 has been considered to be within the limits of experimental error.

TABLE I.—TITRES OF SERA BEFORE AND AFTER ABSORPTION WITH TISSUE

Mummy	Before absorption								After absorption							
	anti-								anti-							
	A	B	O	D	C	E	c		A	B	O	D	C	E	c	
1	32	32	32	8	32	16	16		4	16	32	0	2	8	2	
2	32	32	32	8	32	16	16		1	16	32	0	2	16	16	
3	32	8	32	8	16	16	16		32	8	2	8	1	0	2	
4	16	8	32	8	16	16	16		16	8	2	0	8	8	1	
5	32	32	32	8	32	16	16		2	16	32	0	2	8	8	

TABLE II.—ABSORPTION INDICES OF TISSUES AND ANTIGENS DETECTED

Mummy	Absorption indices of tissues							Antigens present
	anti-							
	A	B	O	D	C	E	c	
1	8	2	0	>8	16	2	8	ADCc
2	32	2	0	>8	16	0	0	ADC
3	0	0	16	0	16	>16	8	OCEc
4	0	0	16	>8	2	2	16	ODc
5	16	2	0	>8	16	2	2	ADC

The sign > before a value indicates complete absorption of the antibody by the tissue

Results

The results of the tests are set out in Tables I and II from which it will be seen that all the tests gave unequivocal answers. The A substance was found in three mummies, O in two, D in four, C in four, E in one and c in three. The possibility that the failure to detect a particular group substance in the tissues may be due to its having disappeared or having been altered through age cannot be entirely excluded, but it seems unlikely that this is so, because of the survival of the associated antigens in the same mummy. The surprising absence of D in mummy No. 3 and C and E in mummy No. 4 was checked four times with identical results.

These results show, too, that the substances C, D, E, c are as stable to the effects of time as A, B and O.

Discussion

Although the number of mummies examined is too small for numerical deductions to be drawn, some interesting points arise. Until recently, it was thought that all American Indians were group O. This idea has now been shown to be wrong (Boyd, 1952), group A being found to a varying degree. It is tempting to believe that the American Indians were originally all group O and that they acquired their group A through contact with Europeans. The finding of A substance in three out of five mummies (A substance was also detected by the other workers on mummy tissues) shows that group A certainly occurred in American Indians before Columbus although it is not possible to say to what extent. The failure to find B substance is in keeping with the virtual non-existence of group B among modern American Indians.

There are only a few published figures on the distribution of the Rh blood types among American Indians. There are no rhesus-negative individuals reported among modern American Indians. In our small group of mummies none was rhesus-negative (*cde/cde*). However, one (No. 4) had the substances D and c, with the absence of C and E. This combination is rare among American Indians and almost all other people investigated, except among Porto Ricans, North American Negroes and the South African Bantu. Further, another mummy (No. 3) had the substances C, E and c, with the absence of D. This combination is also rare and few examples have been found among any of the world populations examined. The finding of two rare combinations of Rh substances in so small a group of mummies is surprising and suggests that they may have been of much higher frequency in the primitive South American Indians.

The problem of the origin of the South American Indians is unsolved. Blood-group studies in modern populations are proving to be of great importance in tracing the origin of the races of mankind. Perhaps the extension of this work to a sufficient number of mummies of South American Indians, of known age, would supply data to aid the solution of the problem.

Acknowledgments

We wish to offer our thanks to the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing us access to the mummies, and to Mr. H. J. Brauholtz,

Mr. A. Digby and Mr. W. B. Fagg, of the Department of Ethnography, British Museum, for their co-operation and advice. We also wish to thank Dr. G. Plaut, Dr. R. A. Zeitlin and Dr. A. E. Mourant for gifts of certain sera used in this work.

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OBITUARIES

Richard Charles Edward Long, 1872-1951

161 Richard Long was born at Carrickmines, near Dublin. Following a private education, he entered Trinity College, Dublin, from which he received his B.A. in 1894. Three years later he was admitted to practice as a solicitor, which profession he followed for the rest of his life in the country town of Portlinton, not far from Kildare. Except at rare attendances of meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and of the International Congresses of Americanists he had little direct contact with his fellow students of anthropology.

His interest was first directed to sociological aspects of primitive society, and his first published article was 'Notes on Dr. J. G. Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*,' published in *MAN* (1912, 55). There followed other articles on the same general subject, and then, in 1918, his first contribution to what was to be his main interest, the study of the Maya calendar, appeared in *MAN* (1918, 70, 74). Encouraged by the support of T. A. Joyce, Long followed this by many other articles on the problem of the correlation of the Maya calendar with our own in *MAN* and the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. His early work was largely devoted to advocacy of the Bowditch correlation, but when later discoveries made that view untenable, he supported the 11.16.0.0.0 correlation, for he was not the type that refuses to change his views.

His most outstanding contributions were: proof of the identity of the pictun or great cycle glyph, and of its value of 20 baktuns, which he obtained by clever decipherment of a passage at Palenque ('Maya High Numbers,' *MAN*, 1923, 39); identification of the murals at Santa Rita as a sequence of tuns in an incomplete katun ('The Date of the Maya Ruins at Santa Rita, British Honduras,' *MAN*, 1919, 29); evidence that the haab was a period of 360 days ('Some Maya Time Periods,' *Proc. XXI Internat. Cong. Americanists*, Göteborg, 1924); and new material on the starting point of the Maya calendar ('The Highest Known Maya Number,' *MAN*, 1919, 20). He was highly successful in elucidating dates in the Cakchiquel and Mixtec systems. Mention should also be made of his sound reasoning on the nature of Maya hieroglyphic writing. Several papers reveal his interest in Aztec culture.

He was a kindly man, for whom all his colleagues who had had the opportunity of meeting him had a warm regard. He was a very fine example of the cultivated and widely interested amateur which the Victorian age produced in such numbers. Men such as Long saw their special interests against a broad cultural background, a viewpoint rare among professionals of this age of intense specialization. His death was no doubt hastened by the death, a year or so earlier, of his wife, for they were a devoted couple.

The marriage was childless. With his passing, on 25 October, 1951, the small group of scholars in the British Isles interested in the ancient cultures of Meso-america suffers a serious loss.

Richard Long had been a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute for a third of a century. He bequeathed his anthropological library to the Institute. His bibliography (33 titles exclusive of reviews) will appear in *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana*, Vol. XIV. J. ERIC S. THOMPSON

Francisco de Aparicio, 1892-1951

162 I am sorry to have to announce to Fellows of the Institute the death of our Honorary Fellow, Dr. Francisco de Aparicio, of which I have recently learnt. I can add little to the notice from the *Revista del Museo Nacional*, Lima (Vols. XIX and XX, 1950-1), a free translation of which is appended, but I want to recall his part in the XXVIII International Congress of Americanists in Paris in 1947. He was Chairman of the section dealing with South American archaeology, and I shall long remember his cheerful, witty and capable handling of the meetings, which was not always a very easy task. *Que en paz descanse!*
 G. H. S. BUSHNELL

We regret to announce the death, in July, 1951, of the Argentine Professor Francisco de Aparicio, one of the foremost Americanists of our time. Born in Buenos Aires in 1892, he was Professor in the Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1920-31, and in the Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, 1930-46. He was Director of the Ethnographical Museum of the latter University, 1937-46. He was President of the Sociedad Argentina de Antropología in the years 1937-8 and 1944-9. He made numerous studies in South American archaeology, including that of Peru, and did field work on various sites, particularly in the valley of Calchaquí.

The following items are selected from his extensive bibliography:

'A Curious Custom of Child Burial in the Province of Entre Rios, Buenos Aires,' *Physis*, Vol. VIII (1925).

'The Aborigines of Tucuman,' *Revista Universitaria*, Paraná, 1926.

'Remains of Inca Roads in the Province of La Rioja,' *Revista Geográfica Americana* (Buenos Aires), Vol. VI (1936).

'Ranchillos: An Inca Tambo on the Road to Chile,' *Anales del Instituto de Etnografía Americana* (Buenos Aires), Vol. I (1940).

'Inca Penetration into Argentine Territory,' *Letras* (Lima), Nos. V, VIII (1942).

'The Ancient Province of the Comechingones,' *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, Vol. I (1936), pp. 389-438.

'The Archaeology of Lake Porongos,' *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología*, Vol. II (1942).

'A New Type of Plastic Representation,' *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Vol. LI (1923).

'Notes on the Archaeology of Entre Rios,' *Anales de la Facultad de Ciencias de Paraná*, Vol. III (1928).

'Reconnaissance in the Territory of Santa Cruz,' *Publicaciones del Museo de Antropología y Etnografía*, Series A, Vol. III (1935).

'The Native Dwelling in the Hilly Region of Córdoba,'

Revista de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Series A, Vol. I (1931).

Dr. Aparicio kept up close relations with Peruvian anthropologists and visited our country several times. He published several notes on Peruvian archaeology. His death took place about the time when he would have been considering whether to come to the First International Congress of Peruvianists. We regret to record that, as a result of political changes, he held neither his university chairs nor the directorship of the Museum during the last five years.



SHORTER NOTES

Mexican Art. By Dr. Erna Gunther. Note on an Exhibition at the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, May to July, 1952

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The exhibition at the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris is reminiscent of the 'Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art' shown a dozen years ago at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and, like its predecessor, the result of governmental co-operation and sponsorship. The objects were collected from Mexican, American and French museums and private owners and were chosen and assembled under the direction of Sr. Fernando Gamboa, Vice-Director of the National Institute of Fine Arts and appointed general commissioner for this exhibition. It is to be transferred after July to Stockholm.

The history of Mexican art is shown in a very comprehensive manner with every period represented from the earliest archaeological knowledge of the culture to modern times. The sub-divisions used are: Pre-Columbian, Colonial, Modern and Contemporary and Popular or Folk Arts. It is pointed out in the catalogue that the art of Mexico is a realistic one but not descriptive; it is interpretative, and as it reaches the climax of ancient Mexican culture conveys the philosophy and world view of a great civilization. This pageant of creative activity is an excellent index to the history of the country with peaks of development that can easily place it among the great art styles of the world.

The pre-Columbian section, which naturally is of greatest interest to the anthropologist, is very well selected and exhibited. The periods are well segregated and the catalogue gives both the locality and the archaeological culture to which each piece belongs. The earliest period is represented largely by figurines from Tlatilco, with human qualities which set them apart from the succeeding styles. The famous Olmec civilization exhibits its outstanding work in jade, serpentine and other kinds of stone in the form of masks and human figures. The strength of its sculpture in stone is perhaps best shown in the 'Wrestler,' a figure whose stark simplicity should appeal again especially to the contemporary artist. The culture of the Mixteca-Puebla area offers a display of the gold treasures of Monte Alban in the form of great collars, pectorals, rings, bracelets and rattles of gold, which both in design and execution reach heights seldom attained by the American Indian or any other goldsmith. In the Aztec civilization, where the great sculptures assumed a sombreness and revealed a great concern with death, some of the animal characters in the mythology gave the artists scope for fine realistic sculpture. Even the jaguar and the rattlesnake, important cult figures and highly stylized, still show the artists' touch with nature.

The only textile in the pre-Columbian part of the exhibition is a royal cape made of rabbit fur with the feathers of ducks, woven on a netting of cotton. For the anthropologist who is interested in establishing the relationship between the high civilizations of the Americas and their more modest neighbours, this textile is of great significance. Both the technique and the choice of materials are found in some recognizable form in many parts of western North America as the humble rabbitskin blanket, or on the Northwest Coast where duck down is combined with the wool of the dog and the mountain goat in a truer weaving technique.

Unfortunately the mural, which is one of the most important expressions of modern painters in Mexico, can only be represented in the exhibition by photographs and cartoons. Through these with their heroic proportions, and great feeling, the painters of Mexico have shown the great social upheaval which their country has experienced in this century. While some of the subjects of their easel painting are not so grim, they nevertheless show that they have not withdrawn from the world around them.

The folk-art section is perhaps best characterized by its colourful and ephemeral quality. Many articles are made for use at fiestas, and therefore very temporary, but even the straw toys and the thin hastily made pottery stands out in contrast to the solidity of the past. With this in mind, it might be ventured that an excessive amount of space was given to this part of the exhibition. Is there no art in Mexico today except this gaudy, transitory type and the great murals and easel painting?

Altogether the exhibition is well chosen and representative. There may be some finer examples of some types and styles, but that is often a matter of opinion among experts. The object of the show seems rather to introduce a European audience to the continuity of Mexican art, set apart from the museums where various phases of it can always be found. The impact thus created is well worth the effort and should help develop for another great pre-Columbian culture the respect it deserves from the world of art.

Ten Years of the Viking Fund. A note by Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S., on the Fund's recently published report

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The Viking Fund of New York, founded in 1941, has been renamed the Wenner-Gren Foundation in honour of its founder, Dr. Axel L. Wenner-Gren, a Swedish citizen who has an American wife. He was, and is, concerned to promote research into the Science of Man by using the income of his large gift in a highly flexible way, subject to the reservation

that grants may not be renewed beyond short periods, lest the Fund should become permanently locked to specific projects. The post-war rehabilitation of the Royal Anthropological Institute's Library has been generously helped—as has been most gratefully noted in our last two Annual Reports—by grants amounting to \$6000, and an additional grant has been made towards publication of a specially long article in our *Journal*. The Foundation is ready to take risks in supporting pioneer efforts still with uncertain prospects. A notably successful result of this policy was the programme of help in the determination of the proportion of the radio-active isotope of carbon ('Carbon 14') remaining in ancient objects, and thence the making of estimates of the absolute age of the objects concerned; the tendency seems to be to reduce previous calculations of the date of what is called the end of the last glaciation. A still newer field is that of experiment in anatomy, using rats and rabbits and showing already how excision of a muscle can affect the structure and form of the bone to which it is attached. Professor Dorothy Garrod's notable new work in western France on Magdalenian Art is another line that the Foundation has supported.

The Foundation—whose Director of Research is the distinguished Americanist Dr. Paul Fejos—organizes conferences, promotes publication, sends out researchers to distant lands and endeavours by all possible means to help anthropology to maintain itself above all possibilities of racialism or obscurantism of any kind.

Notes on Some West African Americana. By William Fagg, M.A., Department of Ethnography, British Museum. With 7 text figures

If I may be allowed, for the purposes of this Americanist issue of *MAN*, to call in the Old World to redress the balance of the New, I should like to offer some observations, in part uncertain and speculative, on traits in West African culture which



FIG. 2. 'BRAZILIAN' HOUSE AT PORTO NOVO

and it is not my purpose to summarize them or to attempt anything like a comprehensive account of the situation; rather, these notes set down observations (made for the most part during a four-month journey in West Africa in 1949–50 for the British Museum) which are intended to be complementary to the somewhat tenuous information so far gathered on this subject (and published) by other students of the African end of the 'contact situation.' While they do not themselves amount to pieces of research, they may, I hope, suggest lines of research to others.

'Brazilian' Architecture in Yorubaland

Herskovits has noted evidence, from passports, of extensive travel by some Yoruba of Lagos and elsewhere to and fro between Nigeria and Brazil. It appears that many Yoruba slaves freed in Brazil in the nineteenth century settled down there and became prosperous in the building and other trades. The Yoruba family sense, stronger even than in most West African peoples, led many of them to make frequent journeys across the Atlantic to keep in touch, and this practice persists after several generations. The

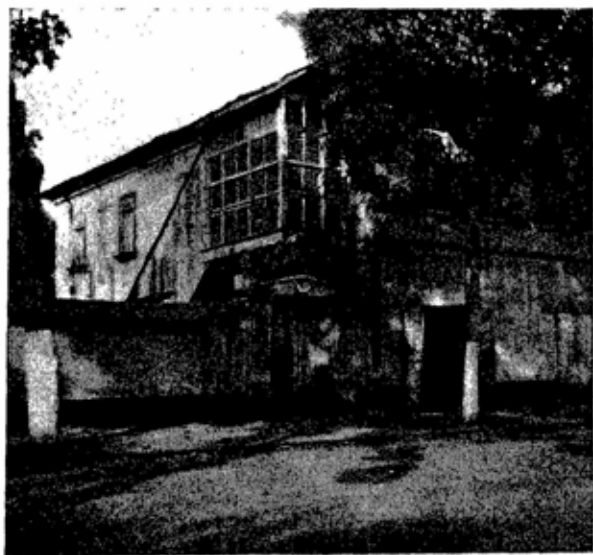


FIG. 1. OLD 'BRAZILIAN' HOUSE AT PORTO NOVO
Photographs (figs. 1–5): William Fagg, 1950

reflect or seem to reflect American influence, and in one case on a cultural traffic in the reverse direction. Afro-American studies have been greatly advanced in recent years, especially by Professor Melville Herskovits and his followers at Northwestern University,



FIG. 3. RECENT 'BRAZILIAN' HOUSE AT PORTO NOVO

skilled builders among them succeeded in transplanting to coastal Yorubaland the flamboyant baroque style of architecture which they had learnt in Brazil, and it is well known that fine examples dating from the early stages of its acculturation a century ago are among the rather few noteworthy sights of Lagos.

Apart from Lagos itself, the outstanding early specimens of the style are probably at Porto Novo in Dahomey and at Ijebu-Ode about 60 miles east-north-east of Lagos, both of which I visited briefly. In Dahomey, where I was conducted by my friend M. Paul Mercier, Director of the local centre of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, I photographed several representative examples (figs. 1-3), but regret that owing to failing light I could not photograph the most surprising and elaborate, which was the large and imposing Mosque; in this nineteenth-century building the synthesis of Brazilian and Islamic ornament produces a most bizarre effect, and is perhaps to be regarded as a symbol of the extraordinary power of this American style to acclimatize itself in West Africa. At Ijebu-Ode, which is a favourite place of residence for well-to-do Yoruba industrialists and traders, are to be seen some of the most elaborate and palatial specimens of the

by a new house (a cycle which can perhaps be best studied at Ife). A typical recent example is shown in fig. 4, photographed at the village of Ogere, 25 miles west-north-west of Ijebu-Ode. The social implications of the great change, and of the conflict and reconciliation of the two styles, ought to be studied urgently, if possible in conjunction with a survey of the South American prototypes.

Brazilian Influence on Yoruba Masks

In 1886 the British Museum acquired from the Government of the Colony of Lagos a series of Yoruba masks of the Gelede Society which had been made, probably in or near Lagos, for display at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held that year in London. Among them were a pair which obviously represented, or caricatured, Europeans, of a somewhat Mediterranean cast of countenance; the faces were painted pale pink, cotton waste was stuck on the forehead for hair and both heads were carved



FIG. 4. RECENT 'BRAZILIAN' HOUSE AT OGERE

Brazilian style both in older and newer variations, a gradual shift in emphasis from luxuriance of form to luxuriance of colour being discernible. I have no photographs to illustrate them, but undoubtedly this town is a rich field for the 'ethno-architect.'

A thorough socio-anthropological study of Yoruba housing during the last hundred years would be a most valuable and interesting contribution to our knowledge of this great people, five million strong, which has been so unjustly neglected by Africanists. The ancient traditional Yoruba house, with its well-known similarities to Mediterranean forms, can still be studied in complete form here and there among the inland towns (most notably perhaps at Owo in Ekiti), though for the most part it is being progressively simplified until its distinctive character is in danger of disappearing altogether. But nearer the coast the Brazilian style has carried the day, and since the last war it has undergone a great renaissance, apparently as a result of prosperity, in a form which we can regard as distinctively Yoruba; wherever one travels in Yorubaland, and even so far afield as the Yoruba quarters of northern towns such as Jos, one comes upon brightly painted Brazilian houses in course of building or freshly built, and it would seem that to build such a house, or even to superimpose a Brazilian façade on an old-style house, is a mark of social status. Moreover, once built, they are generally much better looked after than the unpainted red mud walls of the traditional house, which decay gradually, to be replaced eventually



FIG. 5. YORUBA GELEDE MASK: 'THE BRAZILIAN'

British Museum No. 1942. Af. 7. 23. Length 9.5 inches.
Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees

wearing what appear to be broad-brimmed straw hats. In 1942, the Museum was given another series of Gelede masks, collected before 1911, and described as having come from Warri—incorrectly, since the style places them between Lagos and the Dahomey border; they included one which clearly represented the same stock character, though the carving and characterization were very much better (fig. 5). It was assumed to represent a French official from Dahomey. However, when I visited several Gelede houses in Lagos and nearby towns in 1949 in the company of my friend Mr. K. C. Murray, the Surveyor of Antiquities, I found pairs of these same masks in each house, along with the other stock characters—Hausa priest, Shango devotee, drummer, etc.—used in the Gelede play (which is not dramatic, in our sense, but rather like a series of *divertissements*). In each case, we asked the name of the mask in question, and were always told that it was 'the Brazilian.' We were not able to collect an explanation of how this character was introduced into the Gelede plays, but no doubt more intensive study would provide one. (The character did not occur in any of the Gelede houses which I visited in Dahomey; nor did I see either in Nigeria or Dahomey any Gelede masks representing any other European nationality.)

Brazilian influence of a different kind may be discerned in certain recently carved mask headdresses of the Imole Society at Epe on the Lagoon some 17 miles south of Ijebu-Ode. From this point eastwards the coastal Yoruba have adopted, and adapted,

the distinctive Ijo form of mask, a long, narrow carving worn horizontally on top of the head, and often based on the crocodile. With these masks, even more than with the pure Yoruba Gelede and Egungun masks to the west, or the western Ijo masks to the east, there is a premium on inventiveness and surprising innovation, and they commonly include representations of all kinds of animals, fruits, machines (such as aircraft, ships, sewing machines), etc., carved with a good deal of humour and painted in as many bright colours as possible. However, my purpose here is to mention that many of the more recently carved masks of this society show

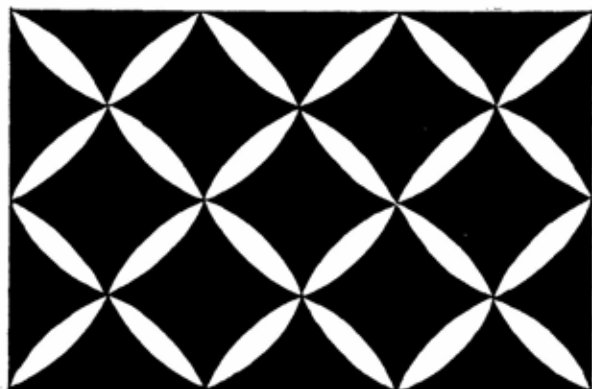


FIG. 6. 'ADIRE' CLOTH: 'AMERIKA' PATTERN

Scale about $\frac{1}{12}$

a marked influence from 'Brazilian' architecture, notably in the form of panels of curvilinear openwork ornament along the sides of the masks, as well as in the colour scheme. No one who saw these masks at Epe after spending an hour or two in Ijebu-Ode could be in doubt of the connexion. I have no photographs of the masks, but I believe that Mr. Murray (with whom I visited Epe) has specimens in the Nigerian national collections stored in Lagos.

'Adire' Cloth: A Possible American Connexion

Adire cloth, the reserve-dyed indigo cloth which is the normal wear of Yoruba women, has been well described by Mrs. F. de F. Daniel in *Nigeria*, No. 14 (1938), pp. 125f. The cloth itself is imported in the bleached state and dyed in large pots of vegetable or synthetic indigo, the patterns being reserved either by the application of starch (or wax) or by tying up (or sewing up). There are, it appears, considerable fluctuations of fashion as between the various patterns, all of which have definite names, by which they are known over a large part of Yorubaland. (A valuable piece of research could be carried out—perhaps at the Bale's Market at Ibadan by students of the University College—if a census were taken every year for several years of all the current patterns and their popularity, noting the introduction of new designs and the disappearance of old ones.) During my visits to Yorubaland in 1949–50, I was much struck by the extreme popularity of the fine, bold design reproduced (from memory) in fig. 6, and found that it is everywhere known as 'Amerika'. None of the many wearers of this pattern who were questioned about it by Mr. Murray or myself could offer any explanation of the name, which does not appear to have any meaning in Yoruba, and until the question is solved by further enquiry, we may be justified in speculating on some connexion with America or Americans. The pattern is eminently suitable for curtaining in rooms of modern design, and it is possible that it was invented at a time when many Americans were passing through Nigeria

during the late war; I can find no record that it was known before the war. Visitors might well have bought these cloths in large numbers (and probably for large sums) to send home, and this might have led to the attachment of the name. I should be glad of any information bearing on the matter, from either side of the Atlantic.

A Suggestion Concerning the Origin of Bush Negro Art

Bush Negro art has been well described and illustrated both by Herskovits (*Rebel Destiny*, New York and London, 1934) and by Kahn (*Djuka: The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana*, New York, 1931). The curvilinear, broadly arabesque carvings, usually applied to useful objects such as doors and stools, are to all intents and purposes abstract, and, although many of the designs have names indicating a derivation from representational forms, or even are visibly so derived, it is nevertheless clear that the desire to produce beautiful flowing patterns for their own sake has overshadowed the original symbolism; in this respect Bush Negro art seems closely parallel with Melanesian art.

Some writers, like Kahn, have spoken, in somewhat unspecific terms, of the markedly West African character of Bush Negro art forms, but most Africanists who have considered the matter have rather been struck by a conspicuous lack of similarity between them and the generality of West African sculpture. The parallels adduced have, to me at least, seemed unconvincing, except in the case of wooden combs, where there is an undoubted similarity (though this does not apply to a 'Nigerian' comb reproduced by Kahn, on p. 175, which seems to be of the Zanzibar type); but combs seem too slight a vehicle to have sustained the transplantation of an art form which was to develop on so large a scale. Partial parallels may be found, for example, in the simple interlaced or guilloche patterns of the Yoruba and Bini, known as *igbo*, 'bush pattern' (and identical with the *imbolo* of the Bushongo in Kasai Province, Belgian Congo), or in certain abstract designs of the Ibo; these might have predisposed slaves of these tribes to acceptance of the style, but would hardly have initiated it.



FIG. 7. CARVED STOOL FROM DUALA, FRENCH CAMEROONS

After W. D. Webster, *Ethnographical Catalogue* No. 31,
Item No. 167, where it is described as 'Ashantee'

One little-known West African style with marked affinity to that of the Bush Negro has, however, not been mentioned in this connexion in the literature, at least to my knowledge, viz. that of the Duala of the coastal Cameroons. Even the separate identity of this style has been obscured by the fact that the stools to which it is applied are commonly miscalled Ashanti, because of a similarity in the size and in the form of the top. Exiguous reproductions (correctly attributed to the Cameroons) appear in Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, Vol. I, fig. 232, 5, and in Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, Vol. II, p. 93, Nos. 3 and 4;

I have seen some specimens in Dutch and German museums, besides a few undocumented examples in British collections. A good one (whose whereabouts are unknown to me) is illustrated in fig. 7. (The Duala canoe ornaments illustrated by Kjerfve, *Centres de Style*, Vol. IV, Plates 14 and 15, and Griaule, *Arts de l'Afrique Noire*, fig. 1, p. 7, show some stylistic affinity with the stools.)

Here then was a fully developed style of woodcarving which of all African styles, in my opinion, shows most resemblance of form and feeling to the generally sinuous character of Bush Negro

carving. Those great collecting points of the slave trade, Fernando Po and San Thomé, were but a short distance from the Duala region, and the tribe can hardly have escaped heavy drafts upon its manpower. Such stools would have been natural objects for the slaves to take on board whenever possible, and such a style would have stood a good chance of acceptance by other tribesmen, given the predilection of most Guinea Coast tribes, from the Senegal to the Congo, for snake cults. I suggest, therefore, that other traces of Duala influence should be looked for in the Guiana region.



REVIEWS

AMERICA

Papers on the Physical Anthropology of the American Indian. Edited by W. S. Laughlin. New York (Viking Fund), 1950. Pp. vii, 202

I66

The papers in this volume comprise the major part of a symposium on the American Indian held at the Wenner-Gren Foundation in 1949. Two of them, Dr. Birdsell's on the Asiatic sources of New World populations, and Dr. Newman's on South American fossil remains, represent an attempt to apply a more critical methodology, and one which takes account of work in related fields such as archaeology and geology, to the extremely puzzling and heretofore prejudice-ridden problem of the settlement of the Americas. Professor Boyd and Dr. Dahlberg summarize the available information on the blood-group frequencies and the dentition, respectively, of living Indians; Dr. Spuhler discusses the genetics of several normal anatomical variations observed among the Navaho; and Dr. Laughlin's paper draws on both anthropometric and serological data to establish the racial relationships and internal division of the Aleuts.

Although this volume does not attempt to give definitive answers to the many interesting problems connected with the migrations to the New World and the subsequent evolution of the American Indian peoples, it has a considerable value in presenting many of the more promising approaches to these problems. Moreover, in the course of some of the papers several ghosts are effectively laid, among them Hooton's Pecos Pueblo types, the traditional racial classifications of South America, the alleged serological uniformity of Indians, and the Indian affinities of the Aleuts. But though there is properly place for criticism of the older methods and conclusions, the most useful function of these papers lies in the methods of study which they illustrate, in particular the use of genetics, the recognition of the implications of population size and structure, and the awareness of the limitations inherent in working with skeletal material (quite apart from the admitted need for more data). It is certain that the fuller elucidation of human evolution in the Americas will depend upon the pursuit of these and allied lines of research.

DAVIDA WOLFFSON

Early Man in the New World. By Kenneth Macgowan. New York (Macmillan), 1950. Pp. xiii, 260, 1 plate, text figs. Price £1 17s. 6d.

I67

This book was inspired by George C. Vaillant, whose untimely death prevented the collaboration originally planned. Working alone, Macgowan, an eminent professional of the theatre and film and self-declared amateur in archaeology, has produced a survey of American beginnings that has the impartial clarity of the 'March of Time' and is almost as well supported by visual aids in the form of maps, charts and line drawings. In a field where expert

opinion disputes tens of millennia, he is content to display the evidence and offer a minimum of direction as to the verdicts; it is indeed his advocacy of the open mind that prompts his one whole-hearted stricture—on the 'blind cranioclasm' of the Hrdlička school.

The 12 chapters review in order the general picture, migration routes into and inside the Americas, classification of the 'Ages,' the mechanism and significance of glaciations, background data on Old World man, the skeletal evidence, artifacts, the question of Pleistocene extinctions, racial components, sources of culture, and the testimony of cultivated plants, and end with a summary entitled 'Puzzles, Problems, and Half-Answers.' The author has tapped an immense reservoir of published and some unpublished work, ranging from strict operational reports to Gladwin's fantasy on the posthumous conquest of tropical America by Alexander the Great. Every point is documented. Typographical errors are few, although Ernest Thompson Seton is credited with publishing a book in 1827 and one may doubt that the allusion to 'the Aurignacians and Magdalenians of the end of the New Stone Age . . .' (p. 217) is as Macgowan wrote it.

A work of this kind can never be fully up-to-date. Carbon 14 is noticed briefly as a new tool of great promise; Oakley's work on relative dating by the fluorine test is not mentioned; Zeuner, whose time scale is quoted from the 1946 edition of *Dating the Past*, has since (1950) narrowed his estimate of the Magdalenian. Subject however to such modifications as this and other work in progress will call for, *Early Man in the New World* may be heartily welcomed as a balanced and readable guide for the layman, and a useful refresher for the general archaeologist.

GEOFFREY TURNER

Lost City of the Incas: The Story of Machu Picchu and its Builders. By Hiram Bingham. London (Phoenix House), 1951. Pp. 224, 59 plates, map. Price £1 1s.

I68

To Dr. Bingham belongs the credit for having opened up the magnificent ruins of Machu Picchu in the inaccessible region north-west of Cuzco in Peru, and for having made them generally known, so that they have been visited in comfort by thousands of people in the last 30 years or so. He does not claim to have been the first visitor to them in modern times, but he was only preceded by a handful of people, who did not publish what they saw. He published a full account of his work there many years ago but it is out of print; this is the justification for the present shortened account, which contains whole paragraphs taken, with little alteration, from the previous work.

Having recently revisited the scene of his labours, it is natural enough that he should want to fight his battles with climate, river, precipice and forest over again, and the result is a pleasant travel book, illustrated with excellent photographs. On the other hand

he has done nothing to bring his archaeology up to date, and he expresses his opinions in such a way as to be highly misleading to those unfamiliar with the subject. He uses the term Inca to cover the whole of ancient Peruvian civilization, and having given these 'Incas' credit for the development of cultural features, such as irrigation and the domestication of llamas, which were well known over 1000 years before the real Incas came to be of any importance, he argues that Machu Picchu, a strictly Inca work, must be of great age. His previous publication, which is fully illustrated, makes it abundantly clear that nearly all the objects that he discovered, particularly the pottery, belong to late Inca types, associated with the period of expansion and conquest in the second half of the fifteenth century. The rare exceptions are late Chimú objects of the same age from the Coast. This is very strong evidence for the late date of Machu Picchu and against Bingham's far-fetched suggestion that it is the legendary Tampu Tocco, their ancestral home re-occupied after a long period of abandonment. An indication of the author's neglect of recent work is his statement, 'We do not know, probably we shall never know, when corn was first cultivated in Peru,' when we already had a substantial clue, in the shape of a radiocarbon date of about 800 B.C. for its appearance in the north coastal valleys, about two years before this book was published.

As regards the description of the city itself, it may be well to point out that the names assigned to the different parts, the Royal Mausoleum and the like, are the author's own invention and not necessarily descriptive of their original uses. The description would have been a good deal easier to follow if the detailed plan in the original publication had been reproduced. Similarly, the general map showing Inca ruins in the vicinity of Machu Picchu would have been more helpful if it had covered the whole of the area of Bingham's search; it would easily bear reduction.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

The Tovar Calendar. By George Kubler and Charles Gibson. *Mem. Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sci.*, Vol. XI. New Haven, Conn., 1951. Pp. 82, 20 plates. Price \$6

169

The reproduction of the *Tovar Calendar* is an event which is especially welcome to all students of ancient Mexican lore. Thanks to the enterprise of Messrs. George Kubler and Charles Gibson in publishing this calendar, the manuscript of which is in the John Carter Library in Providence, a hitherto practically unknown work of the author of the *Relación del Origen de los Indios* (otherwise known as the *Códice Ramírez*) has now become available.

This publication contains the text with a description, a critical analysis and a translation of the *Calendar*, together with a study of its relationship to other works, a valuable discussion of Tovar's correlation and other sixteenth-century correlations, a number of excellently produced plates of the original illuminations and the correspondence between Tovar and Acosta.

Apart from being an interesting example of a correlation of a Mexican time-count with the Christian year, the *Tovar Calendar* contains information concerning certain festivals which is not to be found in any other source. Although, as Kubler and Gibson prove, it was composed as late as the year 1585, it is obvious that Tovar had received information from some aged and learned Indian well acquainted with the religious ritual of his people; this information was used by Tovar in the highly interesting commentary which accompanies the calendar. For instance under *Tlacaxipehualiztli* (Human Flaying) there is a unique mention of auguries connected with rain. In the commentary on the month *Toxcatl* we find a description of the seasonal appearance of the idol of *Huitzilopochtli* not recorded by any other writer. In this description we learn how the spectacles worn by some of the Spanish invaders were likened by the Indians to the mirrors which represented the eyes of their great war god. Other new and interesting details are: the identification of the term *quecholli* with the war lances of *Mixcoatl*; the quarrelsome tendency of the people in the month of November (*Quecholli*) at the time of uncertain and changeable weather; the reference under *Tititl* to an idea of the interaction of gods and natural forces which explains the ritual practices of stretching (*tititl*) and tension; under *Quahuitlehua* the rites of the raising of

masts and banners are shown to be symbolical of the renewal of foliage.

The illustrations afford a good example of the technique of a Europeanized native draughtsman similar to that of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. An interesting feature is the use of certain signs of the Zodiac made by the Indian painter, who, however, does not appear to have understood their correct correlation. This production of the *Tovar Calendar* is distinguished by a high standard of scholarship and a most meticulous care of detail. In addition to the value of having the *Calendar* made accessible, this particular presentation of it with the up-to-date and exhaustive bibliography and the very copious notes makes an important contribution to the field of Mexican scholarship.

IRWIN BULLOCK

Archaeology of the Columbia-Fraser Region. By Marian W. Smith. *Menasha*, 1950. Pp. viii, 46, 4 figs., 3 tables. **170** **Cattle Point: A Stratified Site in the Southern Northwest Coast Region.** By Arden R. King. *Menasha*, 1950. Pp. xii, 94, 25 figs., 13 tables. *Soc. for Amer. Archaeol.*, Mem. Nos. 6 and 7. Price, together, \$2.50

Seeking archaeological perspective for an ethnological study of her area, Dr. Smith found it necessary to supplement the scanty reports available by work of her own in the former discipline. For this purpose she analysed a series of artifacts collected by a local resident at a washed-out beach site on Puget Sound. Her comparative material for the Fraser consisted of a small number of mainly surface finds from an up-river farm (owned by a family with the curiously *Scoto-Salish* name of *McClallum*). Relating her findings to the uneven work of previous investigators Dr. Smith postulates four cultures for the area: Coastal Stone, Eastern Stone, and Early and Late Bone, the last extending into the historic period. She finds evidence for the early importance of the Columbia-Fraser region as a cultural focus, strongly influenced from the south, and suggests some revision of previously held theories of North-West Coast development. The arguments may be valid, but leave me uneasy as to the adequacy of their foundations.

The *Cattle Point* memoir is a report of carefully controlled excavation on an island in Washington Sound. The material recovered indicates long, although probably seasonal, occupation of the site and allows the tentative identification of four cultural phases. The first of these, which King calls the *Island* phase, was '... adapted to mainland resources, a hunting and gathering economy with some fishing ...', showing affinities with the 'so-called Archaic cultures of North America.' There follows the *Developmental* phase, characterized by increasing exploitation of marine food resources and leading into the *Maritime*, with primary dependence on shell-fish, fish and sea mammals. Antler wedges and a spindle-whorl, *inter alia*, suggests the development during this period of the wood-working and weaving typical of historic Coast culture. The final, *Late*, phase is one of attenuation rather than change and may be correlated with alterations in the shoreline which reduced the amenities of the island. It is suspected that this period is relatively recent, but no post-contact material has been found at the site.

Declining to draw widespread conclusions, King underlines the fact that much more fieldwork of this nature must be done before the prehistory of the North-West Coast can be set on a firm basis. His own contribution is significant and promising.

GEOFFREY TURNER

Art of the North-West Coast Indians. By Robert Bruce Inverarity. Berkeley, Calif. (Univ. of California Press), 1950. Pp. xiv, 52, 286 plates. Price \$10

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The introduction of this valuable book is intended to give an insight into the cultural background of the art of the North-West Coast Indians. Though it contains much useful information for the general reader not accustomed to this art, the author has not entirely succeeded in giving a clear picture of the very interesting relations which exist in this society between form and the socio-religious patterns. The result is that the book virtually consists of two more or less independent parts: the introduction and the plates.

In the chapter on Art (pp. 35-9) the term 'primitive' is applied to 'the work of early American folkartists and the contemporaries

such as Grandma Moses' because 'it reveals a lack of technical competence, exhibits a childlike approach, an unconscious naïveté'; the work of artists like Picasso, Moore and Klee shows primitive characteristics because they 'deliberately sought stimulus and inspiration in primitive art; they have utilized primitive conceptual approaches and design elements in their own work. . . .' (primitive art used here in the sense of African and Oceanic art); why the art of the so-called 'primitive' peoples is called primitive is not explicitly stated, but probably because 'the work presents an appearance which is below the standards of the culture of the observer.' For 'observers . . . usually lack sufficient knowledge of the artist's cultural milieu and, therefore, are prone to label the production "primitive"' (p. 36). Then the author gives some of what he considers the more obvious typical characteristics of these three kinds of art: portrayal of the unseen, distortion or over-emphasis, distorted perspective, outlining, condensation, *horror vacui*, socio-religious elements, form and content (pp. 36-9). Now these characteristics certainly do not apply to all of these three kinds of art, nor to the art of all 'primitive' peoples. For example, 'portrayal of things unseen' is something found especially in the art of the North-West Coast, in Australia and in some New Guinea art; 'distorted perspective' is not found in the art of 'primitive' peoples, for perspective is practically unknown to them; 'outlining' is certainly not typical for African and Oceanic art; the influence of socio-religious elements and the interrelation of form and content are very obvious in the art of 'primitive' peoples, but practically absent in the other two kinds of art under discussion here. It will be clear from these remarks that the wording of this chapter is somewhat confusing, mainly due to the fact that the author made no sharp distinction between the different meanings of that unfortunate term 'primitive.'

One more comment has to be made concerning the introduction. On p. 41 the author gives a list of many animals which appear in the North-West Coast art and the symbols by which they may be recognized. For better orientation of the reader it would have been of great value if this list had been accompanied by simple line drawings of these symbols.

The most important part of the book is formed by the 286 plates, seven of them in colour. These illustrations are without any restriction splendid, both from the scientific and from the artistic standpoint. They are accompanied by very detailed descriptions, giving tribe, dimensions, present owner, and, in addition to a morphological description, details of the use and history of the object, as far as they are known. The specimens illustrated are mainly chosen from American collections; from European collections there are only 23 objects from the British Museum (among them the Cook pieces) and two objects from the Musée de l'Homme—the well-known stone mask collected by Pinart (not Pinert) and the carved whalebone vertebra. It is to be regretted that the author has arranged the plates only according to the kind of objects (blankets, rattles, masks, etc.), and has not further subdivided them by tribes, so as to facilitate a stylistic study. Perhaps this is a result of his desire (p. 50) 'not to attribute any specimens whose provenience is not known to specific tribes solely on the basis of my familiarity with tribal styles. . . . The tribe indicated in the legend is generally that which the museum has recorded; for most specimens the attribution is correct, but occasionally this is incorrect. For some of the latter, I have indicated what I believe is the correct attribution.' This can have dangerous consequences, for if not all of the incorrect museum attributions are rectified, how are we to know which ones are still incorrect? Moreover, his opinion that it is not good procedure to base attributions on one's familiarity with the styles touches one of the fundamental problems of the stylistic classification of this kind of art. In my opinion it will often be quite possible to arrive at a stylistic classification of the art of a certain region. It therefore is necessary to start with a detailed stylistic analysis of those objects which are provided with reliable data as to provenience; using these pieces as type specimens it is, I think, permissible to attribute other specimens to the same style as that of the type specimens. I am quite aware of the fact that this stylistic attribution does not necessarily mean that these other specimens have exactly the same provenience as the type specimens. But a book review is not a place

for a technical discussion of this and other problems (stylistic areas, style diffusion, etc.) concerning the study of this kind of art. Moreover, only little work has been done in this field. The interested reader is referred to the publications by Vandenhouste, *Classification stylistique du Masque Dan et Guéré de la Côte d'Ivoire Occidentale* (A.O.F.) (Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, No. 4, 1948), and by Wingert, *Indian Sculpture: The Salish of the North-West Coast* (New York, 1947).

Notwithstanding the fact that this book excited these few remarks, it is one of the outstanding recent contributions to the study of the art of the North-West Coast Indians. A. A. GERBRANDS

The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music. By Viola E. Garfield, Paul S. Wingert and Marius Barbeau. *Amer. Ethnol. Soc. Publ. No. XVIII*. New York (Augustin), 1951. Pp. xii, 290, 8 plates, 22 text figs.

This book began as a collection of songs prepared by Dr. Barbeau. Printing began in Germany in 1939, but the war prevented publication. In 1947 Professor Garfield was asked to contribute an ethnographical introduction but as no general treatment of the Tsimshian apart from their neighbouring tribes of the North-West Coast exists, it was decided to expand the introductory material. To this an essay on Tsimshian sculpture by Wingert has been added.

Professor Garfield's contribution to the book is a useful examination of the history, material culture and way of life of the Tsimshian, in the wider setting of their neighbouring tribes of the North-West Coast of America—the one well documented example of an area in which food-gatherers kept and exploited slaves.

Wingert's essay discusses the character of the sculpture of the Tsimshian and of their immediate neighbours—the Haida, the Tlingit and the Kwakiutl—and makes a pioneer attempt to distinguish between them. This is a difficult task, which he does well. He concludes that there is a basic continuum throughout the area, with tribal differences which can be distinguished in the sculpture of masks and totem poles, but which are hardly to be found in other decorated objects, except blankets. He characterizes Tsimshian art as 'classical,' Haida as 'classical to baroque,' Tlingit as 'largely rococo,' and Kwakiutl as 'a vigorous "eclecticism".'

No musical material on the Tsimshian has previously been published, and this volume contains more than has been published from any other North-West Coast tribe. Seventy-five songs are published and analysed, all save four having been collected by Dr. Barbeau between 1915 and 1929. They are part of the collection of 3000 records of the National Museum of Canada, of which 255 are from the Tsimshian. Besides the music, phonetic transcripts are provided, together with both literal and interpretative translations. Some difficulty was encountered, owing to the retention in the songs of archaic expressions. Most of the songs appear to belong to the pentatonic system which is typically Mongolian. Many types of song are represented—lyrics, medicine songs, war songs, lullabies, etc. Some of them illustrate very well the functioning of social phenomena. One of them, for example, tells of a man whose wife had deserted him to marry an important Hudson's Bay Company employee. The aggrieved husband sent her 10 marten skins, intending thereby to ridicule her, as he presumed she would fail to return the gift in proper style. However, she got the better of him by sending him a big canoe.

One puts down this book saddened by the thought that this most interesting way of life is dying out, so that we must congratulate the authors on the effectiveness of their co-operation in preserving for us and making available so much information about this hitherto rather neglected tribe. FRANK WILLETT

A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma. By Muriel H. Wright. Norman, Oklahoma (Univ. of Oklahoma Press), 1951. Pp. 300. Price \$5.50.

This is a useful compilation of material on the Indians of an area where more tribes are represented than anywhere else on the North American continent. Under the headings of the tribal names, the author tells the history of the advent of each group into the region and their former locations. These facts, together with their relations to the United States government and the Office of

Indian Affairs are often useful to the ethnologist, who is becoming more conscious today of the historical background of ethnic groups. Moreover, these facts are difficult to find in the morass of government documents. The stress of the book is on the historical rather than the ethnographic side and its style is often naïve and antiquarian, rather than scientific. The illustrations follow the same line with good reproductions of historic characters among the Indian leaders that the student of ethno-history will appreciate.

At the end of each tribal entry there is a short bibliography which is often very uneven in choice, and would have been much more useful if a few critical or explanatory notes had been added. The entire bibliography at the end of the book is well arranged and fairly extensive.

ERNA GUNTHER

The Sand Paintings of the Kayenta Navaho. By Leland C. Wyman. Univ. of New Mexico Publ. in Anthropol., No. 7. Albuquerque, N.M., 1952. Pp. 120. Price \$1.75

174 The title of this book is too modest, for while the discussion is based on the Louisa Wade Wetherill Collection of Sand Paintings from the Kayenta Navaho, it is really a concordance of the present knowledge of the subject. The scientific study of sand painting has been retarded for many years because of the Navaho's attitude of secrecy. Only those who stayed among them for long periods of time like traders and artists could establish themselves sufficiently in their confidence to obtain any information either through gaining permission to see the ceremonies or getting good representations of the paintings. In recent years the Navaho have been persuaded that, as their children are receiving more modern education, and the ceremonies are becoming obsolete, a record of them is necessary, with the result that more collections are coming to light and publications are more frequent.

Mrs. Wetherill was a pioneer in this field and began her collection about 1906 from a Navaho who reproduced the paintings in crayon and worked in great secrecy. Since the work of editing this collection was not started until after Mrs. Wetherill's death, the inadequate notes accompanying the drawings have given Dr. Wyman considerable trouble and lead to many uncertainties. The care taken in their interpretation is apparent throughout the study. With this collection as a basis, Dr. Wyman has correlated the published material which has often appeared in highly regional periodical literature not cited in the standard guides, and thus gives the student a very valuable guide. The illustrations are simply done, but entirely adequate since the descriptions include a careful listing of the colours used.

The illustrations show designs which are not typical of the sand paintings known in earlier literature, but Dr. Wyman gives several reasons for these differences. First, the collection comes from an outlying group where regional characteristics might account for the variation. Furthermore, the artist was given a full range of colours in crayons and he probably indulged in experimentation. Another reason, and perhaps the most potent of all, was the painter's fear of reprisal from his own people, so that he may have introduced variations deliberately to avoid the charge of blasphemy for exposing sacred material. The most common variation in these paintings is the curvilinear quality to the lines and the semi-realistic plant forms.

The non-specialist in the Navaho field owes Dr. Wyman a debt of gratitude for this excellent guide to one phase of this interesting culture.

ERNA GUNTHER

Navajo Grammar. By Gladys A. Reichard. Publ. Amer. Ethnol. Soc., Vol. XXI. New York, Pp. xiii, 393. Price \$7

175 This is a finely worked, elaborate analysis, stressing new categories of grammatical thought whose discussions depart from interpretations of such noted predecessors in the field as Sapir and Hoyer. Professor Reichard studied the language while in residence among the Navajo at intervals over 15 years as 'a by-product of a project to investigate . . . inner meanings of Navajo religion.' She formulates a number of rules so as to include the 'irregularities' of earlier students. The frequent substitution of a high tone for *n* or a nasalization is perhaps the most unusual feature. The principal new contribution is the inflection

and translation of the prefixes (paragraphs 10-10.124). Considerable work was done on semantics. She follows Sapir's interest in 'pattern phenomena' and stresses that 'in language as in other cultural phenomena [the pattern] is often carried far beyond . . . "reasonable" limits.'

RUTH LANDES

Personality and Government: Findings and Recommendations of the Indian Administration Research. By Laura Thompson. Mexico (Ediciones del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano; distributed by the Inst. of Ethnic Affairs, Inc.), 1951. Pp. xviii, 229. Price \$2

176 This report is rather pompously written, but it is the result of much careful investigation, and can be read with profit by all interested in the administration of isolated groups. It deals with the Indians in the reserves of the U.S.A., and in particular the Navaho, the Pine Ridge Sioux, the Papago and the Hopi. Each tribe has a chapter sketching its history, customs and present condition, and concluding with recommendations on such matters as finance, education and the recruitment and promotion of the white staff. Some of the missions are criticized for disrupting tribal life and causing disharmony in individuals. The policy is now to keep the tribes apart and encourage them to develop their own culture, but the difficulty is that if they are told what to do they become disgruntled and lose initiative, while if left alone they remain at a loose end. The Hopi suffer in this way less than the others, for they are able to lead a life much like their traditional one, and the chief problem in their case is to find them enough cultivable land.

It is surprising to find (p. 76) the old fallacy that avoidance between certain relatives was intended to prevent incest. It should be clear by now that sexual avoidance is merely one item in a system of avoidances, just as intermarriage is one item in a system of mutual ministrations.

RAGLAN

Making a Living in the Marbial Valley (Haïti). By Alfred Métraux. Occ. Pap. in Education. Paris (U.N.E.S.C.O.), 1951. Pp. 217

177 Soil deterioration, illiteracy, large families and debt combine to give a picture of a community that is getting poorer under modern conditions. The degree of illiteracy and so on does not seem to vary inversely with the amount of land held, but this is due to the fact that a number of smallholders are really sons of large holders waiting for their inheritance. Polygyny, sometimes half recognized by the women concerned, is very common. The majority of households try to supplement food production by secondary occupations, and on the whole the author thinks the Protestant minority is rather more enterprising. It is, however, probable that some households registered as Romanist are, in practice, followers of the Voodoo cult. This study gives many catalogues—of cultivated plants, of farm animals, of occupations, of types of housing and so on, usually with statistical tables. The picture is vital if not happy. Betterment schemes are hardly mentioned as the effort is to get a factual basis for their consideration. It is evident that the peasants combine fragments of shrewd observation and argument with much traditional superstition and blundering in both economic and social matters. Studies of this type, when well done, as this one on the whole seems to be, are among the most useful activities of U.N.E.S.C.O.

H. J. FLEURE

La Africana de la Musica Folklorica de Cuba. By Fernando Ortiz. Habana (Ministerio de Educación), 1950. Pp. xvi, 477. **Los Bailes y el Teatro de los Negros en Folklore de Cuba.** By Fernando Ortiz. Habana (Ministerio de Educación), 1951. Pp. xvi, 466

178 Among Cuba's contributions to the world, two have achieved universal acceptance, says Professor Ortiz in the first chapter of *La Africana de la Musica Folklorica de Cuba*: her cigars, a mestizo product, and her folk music, a mulatto product. This remark sets the tone for the two volumes here reviewed. From the appearance of *Los Negros Brujos* in 1906 up to the present, Fernando Ortiz's interest in the life and culture of Afro-Cubans (a word coined by him) has never flagged. From these studies he seems to derive not only satisfaction for his intellectual curiosity, but also æsthetic and

emotional gratification, which he invites the reader to share with him. A lifetime of research and reflections will be embodied in his present *magnum opus* (a third and a fourth volume have been announced).

At the beginning of the first volume the author, after discussing the possibilities of Indian influences on Cuban music, finds that such influences do not exist. Then comes a spirited defence of Negro music, supported by a wealth of quotations from the most eminent musicologists. The author calls attention to works of African inspiration by modern composers of the first rank, and has a word of encouragement for Cuban artists who follow this trend. In the remaining chapters he draws a comparison between the music of African and Cuban Negro groups, *araras* (Dahomans), *lucumies* (from Niger Delta), Yoruba and Congolese.

The second volume emphasizes, in its first chapter, the social nature of African music. 'The Negro is never alone'; his actions, thoughts and emotions are closely woven into the social fabric. Music seems to be an ideal vehicle for emotional communication between the individual and the group, and that explains why the leader-and-chorus pattern (called antiphon by the author) is so widespread among Negro populations all over the world. Most frequently, music is associated with dances, or rhythmic movements of the body, as in the work songs. Purely instrumental music, and solo performances unaccompanied by chorus, though they occur, are rather unusual.

Boundaries between strongly marked rhythmical song and dance, and between dance and pantomime, are imperceptible. It is possible, nevertheless, to distinguish purely rhythmical dances performed at social gatherings; dances imitating animal movements and those

which are part of ritual ceremonies; masked dances and dramatic productions, which may comprise recitations and follow a plot. These three classes are dealt with in chapters II, III and IV respectively. The last two are perhaps the most original and most valuable contribution of the two volumes. The account of the Oru of Eyá Arana is a sound piece of ethnographical description. Musicologists will welcome the 48 songs given for this rite, as well as many other musical transcriptions. Data on the *fiatigos*, a secret society which perpetuates the Ekue organization of the Efik, are fresh and stimulating. Hitherto, Ortiz has mainly concerned himself with Yoruba and Dahoman practices; this change of emphasis may prove to be the forerunner of a new and promising trend in Afro-American studies.

These are only a few samples of the wealth of anthropological information contained in the two books. The arrangement of the material is somewhat haphazard, and it is a little disconcerting to find the flow of a theme interrupted frequently by a wide variety of references and quotations. For instance, on opening the first volume at random, one finds on pp. 190ff. a paragraph on the language of *Finnegan's Wake* in relation to African poetry; a passage by John Rhys on the magical uses of poetry; quotations from Pliny, Cato, Varro, Vergil, Lope de Rueda. Following on this are some very interesting lines on spirit possession among Afro-Cuban priests and laymen; and immediately after come allusion to Allans Kardec, Plato, Homer, and so on.

If, in his next books, Professor Ortiz were to adopt a more factual approach, his wide experience and scholarly writing could be better appreciated, and the works would be a more efficient aid to anthropologists.

RUY COELHO



CORRESPONDENCE

Bush Negro Calabash-Carving. Cf. MAN, 1951, 97, 281

179 Sir,—I was pleased to find that you had published a letter from Professor Herskovits commenting on 'Some Notes on the Carving of Calabashes by the Bush Negroes of Surinam' (MAN, 1951, 97), but I was rather appalled at its contents which, as they stand, would seem to indicate that Dr. Herskovits had but glanced at my article, for he misrepresents what I wrote and appears to me to be illogical in his criticism.

As to the relevant ethnographical facts, I relied on Morton C. Kahn's *Djuka—The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana*, Viking Press, 1931, and his 'Notes on the Saramaccaner Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana' (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), pp. 468ff.) for my tentative statements as to 'a certain lack of permanence in marital relationships, etc.' Perhaps I gained the wrong impression from Dr. Kahn's data; and I must, in any case, leave it to him and Professor Herskovits to settle any ethnographical difference. But Dr. Herskovits's phrase a 'sort of social chaos' distorts by the emphatic quality of the word 'chaos' my own statement as to 'a certain lack of permanence' in 'marital relationships.' The maintaining of a wife's affection through gifts of carvings by the husband, if correctly reported, would suggest that if the spouse's affection was not so maintained, it might be transferred to some other suppliant for her favours. Surely it is possible, moreover, for a culture to be well integrated while certain relationships are somewhat tentative and unstable without it showing signs of social chaos, even 'a sort of social chaos.'

That two different art styles, based on sex division of labour, existed in certain cultures is, as noted, no cause for amazement. A number of examples of this phenomenon have been reported in the literature. What particularly interested me about the Bush Negro, as I stated, was that Bush Negro art provided another example of

this phenomenon, but with a difference. 'Bush Negro art, considered as a whole, manifests an overall style which an observer would recognize as the Bush Negro style. The men appear to select from the components of this style a certain range which is in contrast to the range chosen by the women.' This elaboration by Bush Negro men and women of two distinct themes of a common art style is in contrast, for example, to the curvilinear style of the art done by the men of the Northwest Coast Indians and the angular and geometric style done by the women. The 'patterned interests' thus appear to take a turn that is somewhat unusual in sex differentiation of creative expression, or so it would seem to me, and this, I thought, was worth pointing out.

Since he agrees 'that the line of sex differentiation runs through all aspects of culture,' the fact that Professor Herskovits should then maintain from his own field experience and from his knowledge of the literature that there is no evidence of a difference in temperament between the men and women of this culture seems to be a *volte-face*. As to their actual differences, I only suggested that as between Bush Negro men and women these may be reflected in certain forms of their respective art styles. I did not assert that the men were more definite in their actions and more conservative than the women. I merely wrote that 'the men would appear to be definite in their actions and probably more conservative than the women.' It would be interesting to know what Professor Herskovits's approach is to the 'more difficult problem, whereby drives towards creativity are analysed' so as to give us an understanding of 'the historical and psychological causes' of observed varieties of artistic expression, if he dismisses clues and hypotheses derived from the objective analysis of aesthetic production and appreciation as the indulgence of speculation.

PHILIP J. C. DARK
Museum of International Folk Art, Santa Fé, New Mexico

A Stone Figure from Manabí, Ecuador. With a text figure

180 SIR,—The male stone figure shown in fig. 1 is in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. It is 12 inches in height, and the material is fine-grained, light-coloured stone, probably volcanic ash. The surface is weathered and the top of the headdress is missing, but it probably supported a plate or dish like that on the figure from the Cerro de Hojas illustrated by Professor Saville in *Antiquities of*



FIG. 1

Height, 12 inches. Photograph: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

Manabí, Vol. I, Plate XXIX, 3, to which it is generally similar both in character and in size. Unlike that figure, the ears are pierced, and the septum of the nose, the tip of which is damaged, is also pierced.

The figure was found among the articles in the collection at the institution formerly known as the Abbey of Christ the King, New Barnet, when it was bought by the Institute's Fellow, Mr. W. F. C. Ohly. I recognized it when it was in his possession and it was acquired by the Museum through his good offices. Nothing is known of its previous history.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL
University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge

The Wind Mask of Quetzalcoatl. With three text figures

181 SIR,—The fame of the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl has spread far beyond the Americanist field. His legends have served the study of comparative religion, and those seeking culture heroes or stellar deities are equally catered for in the literature which has accumulated around him. Unfortunately a great deal of mystification has arisen from the use of the same name for very different aspects of divinity by the Mexicans themselves. A study of the literature and of some hints in the painted codices of Mexico indicates that 'The Quetzalcoatl' was very probably a title for the High Chief of the Toltecs. In addition the word itself has a double meaning which is amply illustrated in the iconography of the god.

On the one hand he is the Quetzalcoatl ('Precious' or 'Feathered Serpent') clad in green feathers, a terrible deity of the Toltecs, seen often in the murals of Chichen Itza: towering ferociously over scenes of human sacrifice. In sculpture the human face of the god is seen within the mouth of the serpent. Beautiful examples are in the British Museum and the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. It seems that

this aspect of the god is linked with an earth cult. The serpent's jaws in the painted books often refer to the ever open jaws of the grave, and in Codex Azcatitlan,² the eclipse of 9 February, 1301, is shown by a half-sun rising from the jaws of the serpent earth.

No doubt the green feathers of this serpent, which was opposed to the sky serpent, represented the vegetation of the earth's surface. Yet at the same time the earth was believed to be a toad goddess. Perhaps the explanation is that the feathered serpent was an aspect of the earth seen as the sun's path at night, or else that it was always as in later times a special cult reserved for nobles of Toltec descent.

In his other form, Quetzalcoatl ('Precious Twin') was the hero of a dualistic cult in which as morning star he was eternally opposed to his twin brother Xolotl ('The Beast') who was the Evening Star.



FIG. 1. STONE FIGURE OF A TOAD

Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

This Quetzalcoatl was the god of priestly austerity who was befooled by the demon trickster Tezcatlipoca into a sexual misdemeanour which caused his retreat from Mexico³ and eventual burning on a raft of serpent skins. From the cremation his heart flew up into the sky to become the Morning Star. He was expected to return on a day *Ehecatl* (Wind) in a year *Ce Acatl* (One Reed—the birthday of Morning Star). This date fell every 52 years, and its last occurrence was on Maundy Thursday, 1519, when the ships of Cortes sailed to the coast of Vera Cruz.

The day *Ehecatl* (Wind) was always associated with Quetzalcoatl, the Morning Star, because he was also lord of the winds and consequently of the breath of life. This day was expressed by a glyph in the form of the wind mask which Quetzalcoatl wore 'like a trumpet' to blow the winds. His image is always seen with the mask, and in Aztec times its form varied so much that it is clear that its original form was almost forgotten and it had become a symbolic pattern. The Indians explained the mask to the Spaniards by saying that Quetzalcoatl was so fantastically ugly that he always wore a mask to cover his deformity. The codices give the lie to this statement by showing Quetzalcoatl in certain scenes⁴ with a perfectly normal face apart from his priestly face paint. Other native sources describe the mask as the face of the wind serpent. In fact the *tlacuilo* who painted Codex Borgia adopted this view and shows in his rendering of the dualistic story of the birth of Quetzalcoatl⁵ a number of serpents with wind masks, opposed to others with skulls for heads. He did not, however, intend us to believe that any such creatures existed in the world of his own day.

All modern students have been equally puzzled by this wind mask, and although it has been more and more apparent that it was to be looked for in a real creature, one guess was as good as another, because of the extreme formalism of the designs.

The first important link in the chain of evidence was the publication by Captain T. A. Joyce of the beautiful little black stone figure of a Quetzalcoatl-headed toad in the British Museum (fig. 1). This gave a direct link between the Morning Star wind god and the earth goddess. It was as if the head were the Morning Star emerging from the toad while the sun god was symbolically depicted on its back. Here the toad was actually used to replace the feathered serpent. The two religious aspects of Quetzalcoatl were united in a

and the incised lines of the legs. The design of the legs, almost human in form, was sufficient to establish the specimen as of Mexican origin; and the head was quite unmistakably that of *Rhinophryne dorsalis*, but so treated as to reveal its resemblance to the wind mask of Quetzalcoatl.

The series was now complete. There was no reason to doubt that the wind mask of Quetzalcoatl was indeed a poetic image derived from a little animal, which like the god blew the winds from its



FIG. 2. SPECIMEN OF RHINOPHRYNE DORSALIS

In the Gadow Collection, British Museum (Natural History);
by courtesy of the Trustees



FIG. 3. MARBLE FIGURE OF A TOAD

In the Abbey Art Centre Museum, New Barnet

single concept. Strangely enough, this figure was obviously linked ideologically with the great zoomorphs of Quirigua, in the Maya area.

The next link in the evidence I found in Hans Gadow, *Through Southern Mexico*.⁶ He mentions a harmless little whistling toad of restricted habitat and peculiar habits. This creature might well have inspired Mexican Indian artists with symbolic poetry. Inspection of Gadow's actual specimens, which are preserved in the British Museum (Natural History) did not disclose any clear resemblance between the unusually pointed little snout of the toad (fig. 2) and the wind mask; but their habits were still indicative of some connexion. They were the only toads with recessed eyes, and they in fact whistled rather than croaked; they were earth animals and burrowed near tree roots; I have been told, but have been unable to confirm, that when frightened they ran for the nearest shelter and turned their back on their foe; then they tucked their hind feet over their tail, and a pattern of yellow warty growths on the feet fell into position to present a horrific face with staring yellow 'eyes' and great yellow 'teeth.' Here then was a 'two-headed' toad. If it has any direct relation with the zoomorphs at Quirigua they commemorate the earth at sunset, for the face of the great Zoomorph P 7 which closely resembles the real face of *Rhinophryne dorsalis* is the closed one. Significantly the Maya day, and probably the Mexican also, began at sunset.

In April, 1952, I was given a little marble toad (fig. 3) by Mr. William Ohly for preservation in the Abbey Art Centre Museum at New Barnet. It had been bought in London and had no history. Under the chin was a fleck of gilding showing that it had once been a precious object and there were traces of vermillion in the mouth

mouth and which was in its every habit an earth creature. After one has seen the pictures painted at Bonampak one need have no surprise that a small creature was chosen by some ancient American Indian artist for his inspiration. The fact that the association of ideas was coherent and important led to the choice of design. The importance of the symbol in uniting the two views of the nature of Quetzalcoatl is immediately apparent. In fact it begins to appear that the feathered serpent itself was not necessarily Quetzalcoatl, but that the being inside it, the face in the jade sculptures, is the god—in all probability a form of the Morning Star in its period of invisibility.

In dealing with the art of a people like the ancient Mexican Indians, we must realize that their thought was not scientific. The Indian way was to build up a series of images in the mind and use them as metaphors and similes to form a poetically coherent whole.

C. A. BURLAND

Notes

¹ Morris, Charlot and Morris, *The Temple of the Warriors*, Carnegie Inst. Publ. 406, Washington, 1931, Vol. II, Plate 145.

² Barlow, *Codice Azcatitlan*, Soc. des Américanistes de Paris, 1949, Plate 9.

³ Duc de Loubat, *Codex Magliabeciano*, fol. . . .

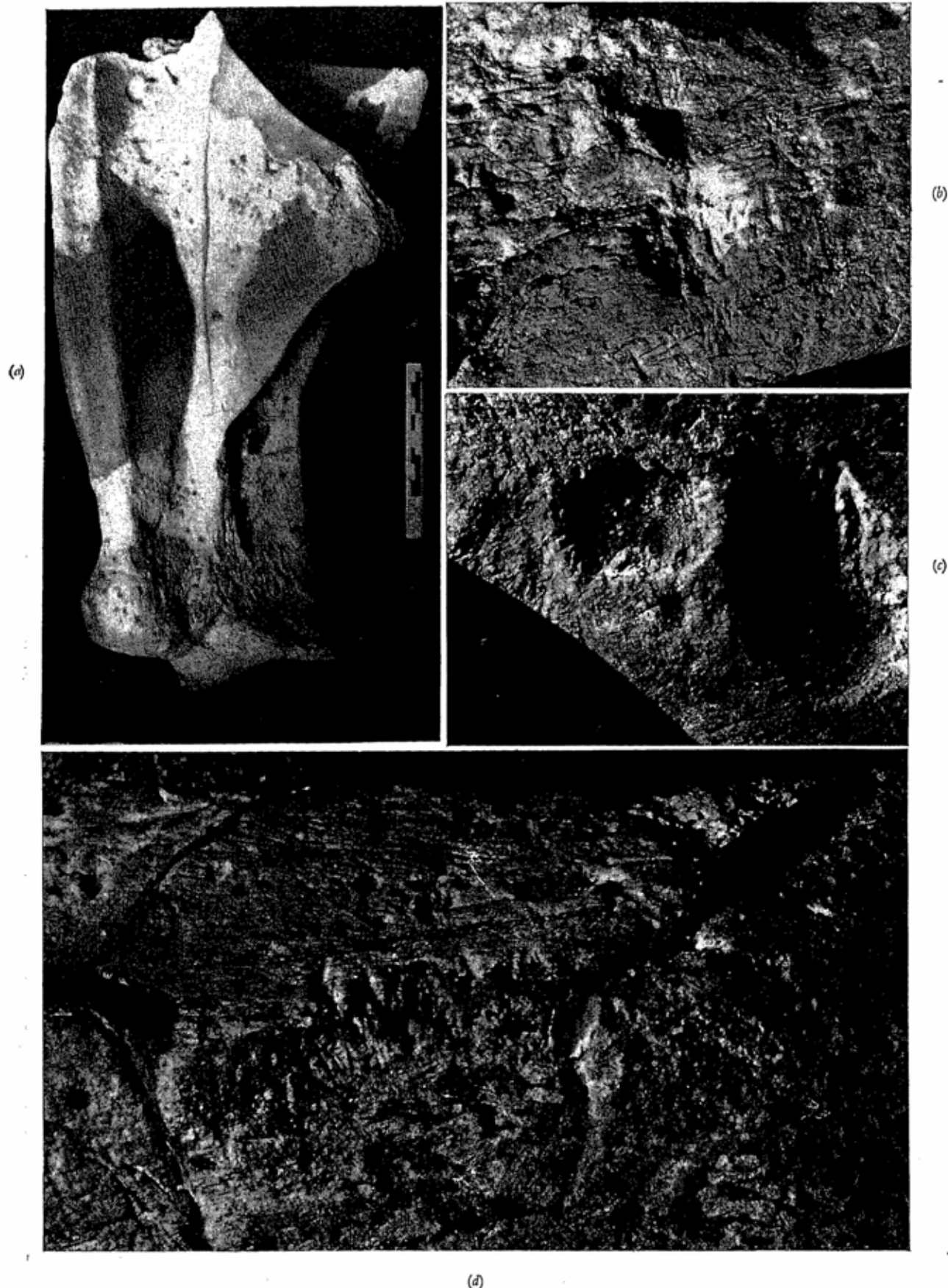
⁴ Sahagún, *Codex Florentino*, trans. Anderson and Dibble, Santa Fé, 1951, Book I, fig. 5.

⁵ Duc de Loubat, *Codex Borgia*, p. 29.

⁶ Gadow, *Through Southern Mexico*, London, 1908.

⁷ Maudslayi, *Biologia Centrali-Americana*, London, Vol. II, Plates 53, 54.





RHINOCEROS SHOULDERBLADE ANVIL, LANGHNAJ, GUJARAT

Coll. Deccan College, Poona. (a) View of the shoulderblade with the spine replaced. $\times 0.29$. (b) Anvil pit No. 1. $\times 1.7$. (c) Anvil pits Nos. 4 and 3. $\times 1.85$. (d) Area of crest where, presumably, the backing of the microliths was carried out. $\times 1.85$.

THE MICROLITHIC INDUSTRY OF LANGHNAJ, GUJARAT*

by

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182 In 1946 H. D. Sankalia described a prehistoric site at Langhnaj in Gujarat.¹ It yielded a large number of microlithic artifacts which, in the higher levels, were associated with the remains of pottery. I have since investigated the environmental conditions and the position of the site within the framework of climatic fluctuations.² The site has further yielded human remains³ and a large amount of mammalian bones which were originally regarded as representing a domesticated fauna.⁴ These faunal remains, at present under investigation, are in a bad state of preservation. They are broken not only by man but by lime concretions which formed in the cracks and disintegrated many of the bones which at the time of deposition were still relatively intact. Moreover, all the bones are covered with a calcium carbonate crust of the 'kunkar' type, so that few details are available for investigation unless the bones are treated. The bone matter being softer than the kunkar, they could not be prepared mechanically. They were immersed in dilute acetic acid, which dissolves carbonates more rapidly than phosphates, and a careful check was kept on the progress of the reaction, especially in order to prevent the bone falling to pieces where it was held together by the calcium carbonate cementing the cracks.

This long-drawn-out preparation has, however, brought forth some interesting results. Though the identification of the species present still requires some time, it has become certain that game animals are conspicuous in the fauna. Of these, the Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis* L.) is the most remarkable, the Hog Deer (*Hyelaphus porcinus* (Zimm.)) is frequent, and the bovine remains appear in part to be Indian buffalo, quite possibly a wild form. Some small horn cores, which superficially resemble those of the Neolithic *longifrons* cattle of Europe and were presumably interpreted as taurine remains in the previous identification, may belong to the Nilgai Antelope (*Boselaphus tragocamelus* Pall.). Among the smaller ruminants, the Black Buck (*Antelope cervicapra* (Linn.)) appears to be present, but this requires final confirmation. Of the species which cannot be regarded as game, the mon-goose (*Herpestes* sp.) is represented by an almost complete skeleton, evidently of an animal which perished in a burrow and therefore need not be contemporary with the human occupation. Remains of a dog-like animal have been found also. It is possible that the presence of domesticated animals can be established after all, but game animals are so conspicuous in the food

debris of this site, that its microlithic occupants' economy must have been largely dependent on them.

The aspect of the microlithic industry agrees with the faunal evidence. Microliths occur throughout the Langhnaj



FIG. 2. MICROLITHIC INDUSTRY OF LANGHNAJ

1, Fluted core made from one half of a quartz pebble; 2, ordinary fluted core made from jasper; 3, polyhedric core (earlier flake scars used as striking platforms); 4, rough polyhedric core; 5, flake struck by Clactonian technique and later used as core (similar specimens were frequently used as scrapers); 6, 7, unused blades from fluted cores; 8, asymmetrical backed point (a type tool of the Indian microlithic hunting industries); 9, lunate, back blunted from underside only; 10, lunate, back blunted from both sides; 11, asymmetrical lunate, transition to asymmetrical point. No. 1: coll. Deccan College, Poona, India; nos. 2-11: coll. University of London Institute of Archaeology.

section (fig. 1). They are concentrated in the neighbourhood of the ancient land surface (X), but the rhinoceros shoulderblade which is discussed below came from between five and six feet deep in the sand (W). It certainly belongs to the pre-pottery phase. The sediment is a fine-grained dune sand which forms an eminence in the surrounding country. The details of the environment have been published elsewhere.⁵ Here it is important to note that the makers of the microliths sat on a sandhill, much as was the case in so many microlithic sites all over the world. The industry (fig. 2), which does not vary throughout the deposit, is of a poor quality. Rather fewer than one in 100 artifacts can be regarded as tools. There are innumerable irregular flakes which were apparently never used. This is not surprising in view of the raw material encountered at the site. In all probability pebbles were collected on the Sabarmati river some miles away and taken to Langhnaj. The only raw materials available were grey, pink and brown cherts and jaspers, and vein quartz. The cherts and jaspers break irregularly and the cores illustrate that it was very much a matter of luck to obtain a usable flake (fig. 2, Nos. 2, 3, 4). Accidental step flaking was almost the rule in

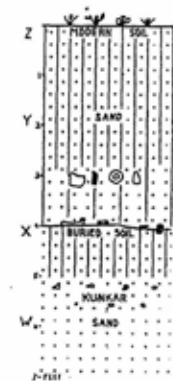


FIG. 1. SECTION OF THE MICROLITHIC SITE OF ANDHARIO TIMBO, LANGHNAJ
After Zeuner, 1950

an almost complete skeleton, evidently of an animal which perished in a burrow and therefore need not be contemporary with the human occupation. Remains of a dog-like animal have been found also. It is possible that the presence of domesticated animals can be established after all, but game animals are so conspicuous in the food

* With Plate I and two text figures

these materials as illustrated by the cores. This explains the enormous amount of waste on the site. From the point of view of flaking qualities, the vein quartz appears to have been somewhat better. If good quartz pieces were found they were treated with great care. A quartz pebble with a diameter of 21 mm., for instance, had been split across and then used as a core to obtain minute blades by the fluting technique (fig. 2, No. 1). The striking platform was re-chipped from time to time. At least eight flakes were taken from this minute specimen, each about four to five mm. wide and not more than 20 mm. long. This is a masterpiece of microlithic flaking.

Other fluted cores were made of chert. Their condition shows plainly that this was an unsatisfactory way of using a bad raw material, for many of the intended blades broke off half-way down the core. Nevertheless, they illustrate that the makers were trying to use fluted cores wherever possible. Even rejuvenation of such cores was practised, since Sankalia found trimming flakes which had been taken off the end of the core.

Other cores are of the irregular polyhedral type, in which the previous flake scars were used as striking platforms for the next series of flakes until the core was worked down to a minute size, or until a flaw in the material made further flaking useless (fig. 2, Nos. 3 and 4). Some 'cores' were made from thick flakes (fig. 2, No. 4), here as in other Indian localities, such as the Jubbulpore sites discovered by D. H. Gordon. Both cores and trimming flakes were occasionally converted into scrapers by retouching a suitable edge.⁶ Among the implements made from blades and flakes, parallel-sided specimens are not infrequently found, but it is usually impossible to say for certain that the edges were used. Backed blades are either rare or absent altogether. The commonest type of implement is the lunate backed along the arc, sometimes from one side only (fig. 2, No. 9), sometimes from both sides, mainly when the back of the specimen was thick (fig. 2, No. 10). The lunates are 15 to 20 mm. long. They grade into asymmetrical specimens in which the arc forms a bulge nearer one end of the specimen (fig. 2, No. 11). These specimens could equally well be described as a kind of point.

Apart from the lunate group which is characteristic but fairly ubiquitous in microlithic industries, there is another, the asymmetrical point (fig. 2, No. 8). It is made from a thick flake with a high rib by the method of backing one of the sides obliquely away until a sharp point is obtained. In view of the thickness of the flake, the backing is carried out from both sides. The specimen figured is 24 mm. long. It is difficult to interpret this type of point, which is characteristic of Langhnaj and a few other microlithic sites in India, as anything but an arrowhead. It is one of the few items that distinguish the Indian microlithic 'hunting' industries from the Wilton of South Africa. They have, however, this point in common with Australian microlithic industries.

That these microliths are to be regarded mainly as barbs and points or arrowheads has been evident since Vignard published his interesting article on Egyptian arrowheads.⁷ It is inferred, therefore, that the Langhnaj industry was

made by a people who subsisted mainly on hunting, and this is confirmed by the faunal evidence.

When found, the shoulderblade, which is the main subject of this article, was lying with its spine downwards in the sand. It is a left one, about 43 cm. long. Its characters agree with the species *Rhinoceros unicornis*, though the teeth found at Langhnaj suggest the possibility that a sub-species occurred in Gujarat which is not identical with the surviving Nepal and Bengal races. The spine of the shoulderblade of this species is produced into a remarkable overhang which forms the roof of the infraspinous fossa (Plate Ia), much as in the European pig. This overhanging portion of the spine was detached from the blade when it was found, along a fracture parallel to the axis of the shoulderblade. It was incompletely preserved in several fragments. These were pieced together and mounted in their correct position on the shoulderblade. When the preparation was complete, it was discovered that there were at least eight artificial pits measuring 10 to 25 mm. across, on the upper side of the blade. Since there are numerous other pits on the specimen due to partial solution of the bone (Plate Id), and also a few scratches resulting from damage in the course of excavation, the true nature of these pits was not noticed until the incrustation had been removed almost completely (Plate Ib, c). It then became evident that these pits were present on the bone before the incrustation began, and in order to preserve the evidence one of them (No. 8) was left with part of the incrustation remaining. Surprisingly enough three of these pits (Nos. 3, 4 and 5) were in a position so close to the overhang of the spine that they could not have been made unless the spine had been removed previously. The fracture of the spine, therefore, is artificial, in other words the spine had been removed by man before these pits were made.

The pits in question are either circular (Nos. 1, 2 and 5) or oval (Nos. 3, 4, 7 and 8), whilst one (No. 6) is only partially preserved. What is available of it suggests that it was very shallow and made up of three separate centres. The pits are all crowded with short cut marks which are mostly arranged radially (Plate Ib). A few run across the pits without passing through the centre, so that it looks as if the pits are the result of the frequently repeated action of sharp cutting edges, which were impressed upon the bone in all manner of directions, though more or less exactly on the same spots. The result of this repeated operation was a wearing-away of the bone, which naturally was deepest where the largest number of cuts were superimposed. It is clear that these cuts, the longest of which is of the order of 12 mm., cannot have served any purpose such as cutting or carving the bone. The explanation which suggests itself is that the bone was used as an anvil for the manufacture of microliths, the cores being placed on the bone and the cuts being produced either by the sharp edge of the core or by the edge of the flake when it was being struck off. The fact that the overhang of the spine had been removed deliberately and that parts of the surface had been used, which would rest flat on the ground, suggests that a bone anvil was considered an advantage in making small microliths. The thickness of the bone would prevent it from

splintering and its weight made it stable. It might be worth while to experiment with bone anvils in order to find out whether they are more suitable than stone anvils for the manufacture of microlithic blades and flakes.

The bone was lying upside-down when found, so that it must have been turned over after the pits had been made. On the underside thus exposed there is one further place where ancient cut marks occur. It is on the underside of the infraspinous fossa near the upper end, on the crista or edge which is formed by the main underside surface of the blade and its upturned margin. The cuts on the edge are all parallel and extend over about three centimetres of the crista, being at right angles to it. They may have been made in one of two ways; either by a knife-like instrument drawn across this crista or by means of chisel blows, like the cuts in the pits on the upper side, except that the core, or whatever else acted as a chisel, was held always in the same position at right angles relative to the crista. The odd thing is that the cuts do not extend far on the underside of the shoulderblade but are virtually restricted to its upturned flange. If they are the result of a cutting operation, it would have been necessary to hold the shoulderblade upright, resting on its left edge. On the other hand, the same position would have been required for the making of the cuts by percussion. It is, however, so unstable a position that the shoulderblade would have had to be held securely between the feet or knees, or by the hands of another person, and this is probably the reason for the removal of the spine. Experiments have shown me that a shoulderblade of this shape cannot be held securely between the knees unless the spine is taken off. It is difficult to interpret the incisions except as the result of a deliberate cutting operation, since they are too long, deep and regular to be percussion marks of the kind found in the pits, and their location would be inexplicable. Experiments were there-

fore made on the shoulderblade of a horse and using blades of different sizes made from fluted cores. It became at once evident that the position is indeed awkward for percussion. It is, however, convenient for retouching by pressure since the shoulderblade, held between the knees, allows the hands to be used freely on the two sides of the narrow 'anvil' platform afforded by its edge. But the marks left on the bone by pressure retouching are vague, since the artifact is liable to slip. A cross-cut was then made at right angles to the edge of the bone, much like the cuts present on the Langhnaj specimen. It was then found that, if the blade was placed close to the cut, being tightly held with the fingers on both sides, and then pressed so as to slip into the cut, retouching became an easy matter. Chips up to four mm. long could be readily detached. It was easy to produce the steep retouch so characteristic of backed blades and small scrapers, to carve notches into blades to make micro-burins by twisting off the end portion, and to produce the rounded back of a lunate. For this reason, the rhinoceros shoulderblade from Langhnaj may tentatively be regarded as the anvil of a microlith-maker, the pits being the places where the blades were struck, and the cuts on the edge the places where the 'backing' operation was carried out.

Notes

¹ H. D. Sankalia, *Investigations into Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat*, Baroda (State Press), 1946.

² F. E. Zeuner, 'Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat,' *Deccan Coll. Mon. Ser.* 6, 1950.

³ I. Karve, in Sankalia and Karve, 'Early Primitive Microlithic Culture and People of Gujarat,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LI (1949), p. 32.

⁴ A. H. Khan and I. Karve, in Sankalia, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 313.

⁵ F. E. Zeuner, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁶ Sankalia and Karve, *loc. cit.*

⁷ E. Vignard, 'Armatures de flèches en silex,' *Anthrop.*, Vol. XLV (1935).

PREHISTORIC BEADS FROM TIBET*

by

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183 Archaeology is still one of the least developed fields of Tibetan studies and prehistoric discoveries from Tibet are therefore rather rare.¹ Among them a type of glassy bead with various designs in black and white is encountered with comparative frequency; beads of this kind are still in use among the Tibetans and are highly prized as ornaments. They are called *gZi*² in Tibetan—a word which is also used in the sense of 'brightness' or 'splendour.' *GZi* are said to be found in all parts of Tibet, as well as in some of the neighbouring regions of Ladakh and Bhutan. According to Tibetan tradition, Bhutan was at one time the best-known source of *gZi*, but recently more extensive discoveries are reported to have been made in the East Tibetan province of Kham; the *gZi* found in Ladakh, on the other hand, are said to be mostly of

inferior quality. Though no discoveries of *gZi* seem to have been reported from Sikkim and Nepal, *gZi* of Tibetan and Bhutanese origin are worn by Lepchas, the aboriginal inhabitants of Sikkim. Tibetan sources claim that the *gZi* are either found on alpine meadows—where they are sometimes eaten by grazing cattle and are thus later discovered in the dung—or, less frequently, are unearthed by peasants engaged in cultivation.

Two main types of *gZi* are distinguished by the Tibetans:

- (A) Oval-shaped beads, up to three inches long, with alternating black and white, or brownish, streaks, and with white 'eyes' (*mig*), from one to 12 in number. Beads with five, seven, eight or 11 'eyes' seem, however, to be less common than those with one, two, three, four, six, nine, 10 or 12 'eyes.' A high number of 'eyes,' deep colours and a shiny surface increase the value of the *gZi*. Most of the beads found in Bhutan are said to belong to the type just described.

* With a text figure

A certain preference is shown for the *gZi* with nine 'eyes',³ as they are supposed to protect the owner against dangers such as apoplexy, caused by the evil planet *sGra chan hdzin* (Skr. *Rāhu*), harm by weapons—being able even to stop a bullet—and the unlucky influence of inauspicious days.

(B) Roundish *gZi*, of which three different kinds are distinguished:

- (1) *gZi stag riz chan*—the *gZi* with tiger stripes. These beads, as their name indicates, show a characteristic design similar to that on a tiger's skin.
- (2) *gZi padma chan*—the *gZi* with a lotus-like design.
- (3) *gZi tshé bum chan*—the *gZi* which have a design similar in shape to the 'life vessel' (*tshé bum*), an object frequently used in Lama ceremonies.

In general, beads of group B, and especially the *gZi* with a 'life-vessel' design (B3), are considered of higher value than those of group A.

The technique of manufacturing *gZi* and their true origin are unknown to the present-day Tibetans, but various explanatory legends are in circulation.

Many Tibetans believe that the *gZi* were originally worms, which later became petrified. This, they claim, explains why it is that sometimes a great number of *gZi* are found forming a kind of 'nest' (*gZi tshang*) in the earth. It is even believed that after they have been unearthed some of the beads will continue to move slowly round for some time. According to another legend, the *gZi* were jewels worn by deities (*Lhai rgyan chha*), who when a bead was even slightly damaged, threw it away; this is said to be the reason why scarcely any of the beads are found in perfect condition. In Western Tibet it is believed that the *gZi* originated from a mountain near Rudok. In ancient times, they were said to flow down its slopes like streams. One day, however, a wicked woman 'cast the evil eye' on the mountain and the flow of beads immediately stopped. And to this day, so the legend claims, the characteristic black and white stripes of the *gZi* are still to be seen on the mountain at the spots at which the beads once issued. The *gZi* also occur in Tibetan mythology, figuring in the legends which recount the exploits of the most famous legendary figure of Central Asia, the hero-king Kesar (*Gesar*) of Ling (*gLing*).⁴ After bringing his war against the kingdom of *sTag gZig* (Iran)⁵ to a victorious end, King Kesar carried off many of the enemy's treasures, including a great number of *gZi*. In the course of time, these beads became scattered over all parts of Tibet and some even reached neighbouring regions. Many of the Tibetans believe that the *gZi* are still a common ornament in some parts of Persia, and in the South Tibetan border area there is a popular story of a Sherpa servant, who accompanied his master to Persia, where he was able to buy a large amount of *gZi* and so made a fortune upon his return to Sikkim.

Besides being reputed to protect their owner against various kinds of evil, the *gZi* are credited with strong healing qualities and are therefore sometimes ground and pounded together with powdered pearls, silver and gold dust, various herbs, etc., and made into highly prized pills (*Ril bu*), which are taken as a remedy for a great number of diseases. More frequently, however, the *gZi* are used as ornaments: in a type of necklace known as *gZi shal* (see

fig. 1) four or five *gZi* are strung together with several red coral beads; and in a type of necklace known as *Gau shal* they are used to decorate the strings which carry a charm box (*Gau*).

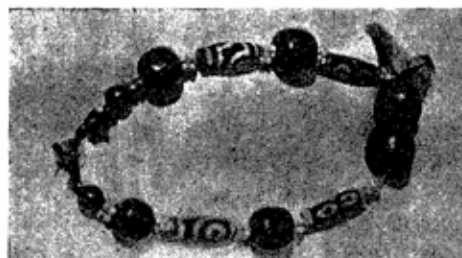


FIG. 1. A 'GZI SHAL' WITH FOUR THREE-EYED 'GZI'

They are interspersed with beads of red coral and pearls; acquired by H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark for the Ethnographical Collection, National Museum, Copenhagen. Photograph: H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark

The high price of these beads—the equivalent of about £30 being paid for one of average quality—has resulted in porcelain imitations of *gZi* being manufactured with more or less success in India or China. In Tibet, too, a crude kind of *gZi* is made nowadays with the help of black and white sealing wax.

At present, and until more extensive archaeological work has been carried out in Tibet,⁶ nothing definite can be said on the origin, dating, etc., of the *gZi*. Of all the legends here recorded the most plausible appears to be that which suggests that the *gZi* came from the direction of *sTag gZig* (Iran), in view of the strong connexion which once existed between ancient Tibet and that country.

Notes

¹ On the state and tasks of archaeological work in Tibet see G. N. Roerich's 'Problems of Tibetan Archaeology,' *J. Urusvati Himalayan Research Inst.*, Vol. I (1931), pp. 27–34, where the *gZi* are mentioned.

² All words printed in italics are orthographic romanizations of Tibetan terms.

³ Nine is the most important number of the ancient pre-Buddhist Bön faith of Tibet. For its use see the various instances mentioned in H. Hoffmann's 'Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bön-Religion,' *Abh. der Akad. der Wissensch. und der Literatur*, Mainz, 1950.

⁴ For an analysis of the various versions of the Kesar legend see G. N. Roerich, 'The Epic of King Kesar of Ling,' *J. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VIII (1942), pp. 277–311.

⁵ This term connotes the country of Iran or more generally the 'empire of the Arabs.' The Bön faith is supposed to have originated within the borders of this country and many religious books of the Bön are said to have been translated into Tibetan from the language of *sTag gZig*. For further details see Roerich, 'Epic of King Kesar,' p. 294, Hoffmann, 'Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bön-Religion,' p. 213, and especially H. Hoffmann: 'Die Quarlug in der tibetischen Literatur,' *Oriens*, Leiden, Vol. III (1950), pp. 190–208 (note 31).

⁶ Dr. G. Roerich has informed me, that during his research work in north-eastern Tibet it was repeatedly reported to him by the Tibetans that they had found a number of *gZi*—together with arrowheads—when they accidentally discovered ancient burials in this area. Dr. Roerich has also called my attention to a certain similarity between the *gZi* and some of the beads unearthed during recent excavations at Harappa. Compare the plate facing p. 121 in R. E. M. Wheeler's publication on Harappa in *Ancient India: Bull. Arch. Surv. India*, No. 3, 1947.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

A Preliminary Statement of a Survey of Negro-White Relationships in Britain. By Ruth Landes, Ph.D. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 6 May, 1952

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The status of Britain's Negro population of some 50,000 to 75,000 was the subject of a 'preliminary statement' by Dr. Ruth Landes, formerly of Columbia University, who has been studying the problem here as a Fulbright senior research scholar. Dr. Landes said that it had seemed a rare variation of the usual interracial arrangement in the Americas to learn that in Britain immigrant Negroes established families with native white women and reared their children in the host community. However, the more she learned the more sceptical she became of the generally accepted concepts of prejudice, tolerance and acceptance as applied to Britain in this matter.

She described the Negro problem in the U.S.A. as a sociological reality, distinct and compelling, while in Britain there was no such orientation but there was considerable confusion, particularly on the part of the coloured immigrant. It was revealed best by statements of the Negroes themselves. One of them summed up the situation thus: 'Yeah, there's freedom in Britain but a man don't have a chance. In the States there's Jim Crow, sure. Only certain jobs, and so on. But he gets any job he goes after. Here the job disappears with a black face. With the Yanks you know where you stand. Here you don't. But you learn this much: you can have what the Englishman don't want. You can get the room he won't live in, the job he won't take and the woman he throws out.'

It had taken her months, she said, to fathom the underlying problems, and to realize that there were no 'Negroes' in Britain, since the British did not think that way. They thought of men from Jamaica, from the Gold Coast, from Barbados. A 'coloured man' was an anomalous creature whom the British did not know how to place, like a stowaway. The United Kingdom was seen as composed fundamentally of ancient settled populations, fairly inhospitable to penetration, by everyone unable to speak English and not born on the islands. Dr. Landes had found it useful to visualize the British gamut of 'foreigner' as ranging from the entirely vulnerable Negro to the powerful American, and including even folk who lived just ten miles away.

Everywhere the British, especially the English, resented the

sight of a black man with a white woman, reacting rivalrously, sometimes violently as though to an outrage, to the thought that an alien man was being admitted to the closed society, through a woman violating her social trust. Besides natural sexual attraction between the races, the Englishman's personal and social discipline was affected primarily by the Negro's incomprehensible and perhaps theatrical zest and spontaneity; it challenged the English at some vulnerable level, 'perhaps that at which their self-discipline could break.' It was possibly that responsiveness of the Negro, so warm and friendly, that entertained Englishwomen. One had to keep in mind, Dr. Landes noted, 'that Negro men everywhere, from Dahomey to New York, take women into their lives much more entirely than do most other peoples, and elevate them institutionally, whether in the Congo or in the Americas.'

Most British people never encountered coloured humanity, which had played no identifiable part in the Kingdom's history and was located properly 'only in some removed limbo of Colonial grace.' It was remarkable that, in Britain, Negroes have never banded together in strong communities of interest; those born in Britain were as outcasts in their native land and, like their Negro parents, were expected to leave at some time or other. Where other countries explicitly stated a prejudiced recognition of Negroes, Britain simply ignored recognition, and in effect denied the special existence of the Negro and his problems.

From recent conversations with Negroes in London, Dr. Landes had become conscious of a newly aroused bitter awareness over 'what they regarded as the naked exposure of their second-class status.' This was growing with the strained South African situation, the negotiations over the Bamangwato succession, and the 'painful conduct of discussions over proposed Central African federation.' The question arose, she said, of what this connoted for future relationships within the Commonwealth. Besides, 'The Negro elite studying in Britain, who might have mediated in some fashion, are actually trained for leadership outside, in the colony of origin where they are thought to belong. The Negro thousands in the United Kingdom, whatever the land of their birth, are not assisted into established relationships within British home society. They belong vaguely, if beautifully, to the Crown: never, unhappily, to the country.'

REVIEWS

GENERAL

The Origin and Evolution of Man. Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology, Vol. XV (1950). Pp. xii, 425, illus.

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The papers in this volume cover a wide range of problems, but the emphasis is clearly on those connected with human genetics. From a historical point of view this is most interesting; 10 years ago, a symposium on human evolution would have been weighted on the side of palaeontology and racial history in the traditional sense of the term. Now, however, the revolution in Darwinism brought about by contemporary geneticists is beginning to have a substantial effect in physical anthropology; one of the implicit assumptions in this book is that one of the best ways to understand human evolution is to investigate heredity, adaptation and population variation in living man.

Since our present knowledge of human genetics is very largely limited to such simple segregating systems as certain pathological

conditions and the various serological traits, it is natural that these obtain considerable attention in this volume. There are excellent papers by Neel on sickle cell and thalassemia, by Race on eight blood-group systems, by Mourant on blood-group frequencies in the Mediterranean area, and by two Scandinavian workers on hereditary diseases in Sweden and Denmark respectively. Further genetic data on dentition, by Lasker, and on three anatomical variations, by Spuhler, encourage us to believe that much can be done in the investigation of non-serological, normally varying traits.

The study of adaptation presents subtler problems of experiment and interpretation: the unit of selection is the whole genotype, and the unit of adaptive response is the entire functioning organism. Moreover, the effects of selection may be very slow in manifesting themselves, particularly in man. An example of the use of fossil material, comparative anatomy, and experimental anatomical

studies in elucidating a major evolutionary adaptation is given by Washburn in his paper on the primate radiations. Other authors suggest the laboratory testing of presumably adaptive features (for example, the resistance of the Mongoloid facial structure to extreme cold), and, especially in Dr. Coon's contribution, mention is made of social and cultural factors peculiar to human ecology.

Some of the most stimulating papers have to do with the study of population structure and its application in problems of local variation. The use of demographic data is discussed by Buzzati-Traverso, and that of socio-anthropological data (e.g. kinship), by Kluckhohn and Griffith. In these and in the more empirical papers of Thieme, Angel, Laughlin and Birdsell, it is possible to see the emergence of quite a new kind of fieldwork, one which combines concepts and methods borrowed from genetics and other biological disciplines with many which are uniquely anthropological in nature.

A symposium of this scope is doomed to a certain amount of unevenness in the quality of the contributions; it is also more or less bound to include some material which has been published elsewhere in different forms. In the case of this volume, the number of really good papers and the amount of originality and stimulating ideas easily outweigh the usual drawbacks. One very useful innovation consists in including part of the group discussion of each paper; in this way, something of the atmosphere of the symposium itself has been preserved, and it is made quite clear that no decalogues were taken as handed down.

DAVIDA WOLFFSON

Arrest and Movement: An Essay on Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East.

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By H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort. London (Faber), 1951. Pp. xxiv, 222, 94 plates, 47 text figs. Price £2 10s.

Here are three essays, on the art of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Crete. The first is the most elaborate, nearly three-fifths of the book, as indeed the volume of material and length of period deserve, but it is loaded with much highly speculative interpretation, some of which is presumed in the other two sections.

The brief introduction, a 'clarification of concepts,' does not by any means clarify everything, even the vocabulary. Even to compare 'space' in pre-Greek and in subsequent art is not easy. What is 'monumentality' which looms ever larger in the argument? (pp. 26, 65, 165)—even while the use of the term at all is discouraged (p. 22)? The intrusion of personal names onto seal stones apparently does not make them 'monumental,' whereas the stele of Naramsin is so, though anonymous (Plate LXII); and why are 'mythical acts' particularly suitable for monumental treatment 'as the Greeks have shown'? What is 'illusionary corporality'? What are 'ideoplastic,' 'haptic,' 'cavalier-perspective'? Even 'arrest' and 'movement' are not very clearly explained; 'cyclic time,' 'amorphous space,' 'static space,' 'space-time definition' and 'tectonic coherence' not much better. A 'groundline which originates in a simple accolade' may well have 'insidious potentialities' and inevitably lead to the use of registers.

A short excursion on 'sculpture in the round' does not fully explain why a baboon statuette should bear the name of Narmer. Is not the reason the same for naturalistic heads and accurately planned 'cubic' bodies?—to record accurately in essentials. And why should portraiture, because it is 'monumental,' require the setting of a tomb, while many fine portraits have done without it?

In dynastic Egypt there is more material than earlier, and fortunately less theory, though still much. The significance of the scenes of daily life in early tombs is discussed; apparently the deceased began by 'inspecting' them, without taking part, though it is not clear why. Yet a man takes part in the tomb scenes of his own wife (p. 32) and later, rarely, in his own. Private and royal scenes are contrasted (pp. 36-44) and the transcendence of actuality noted in the latter. The figures of Egyptian gods however are noted as 'dull' (p. 55) and 'more like hieroglyphics in action.'

In the First Intermediate Period, social changes are accompanied by technical innovations, not always fully exploited. There is even attempted narrative (p. 57). In the Middle Kingdom, monumentality begins in the tombs; ground lines may be omitted, permitting larger hunting grounds, and the deceased is included in industrial scenes. New concepts intrude again in the New Kingdom, and new space-

time implications. The Amarna 'revolution' was less revolutionary than has been claimed, though excused by its political setting and personal inspiration. Mrs. Frankfort's wide knowledge of the material enables her to enjoy unique achievements like the naturalist frescoes of Mahu (fig. 15), the bedroom scene (Plate XVIII, 13), the garden (Plate XXVIII), the accidents to a guest or a girl (Plate XXX, p. 91) or the hunted ibex (Plate XXXVIII, fig. 15); and the aftermath of Amarna in the reaction therefrom (p. 110).

Direct political influences appear in the monuments of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III and IV, but truly 'monumental' art begins with Seti I, leading to that of Rameses II and III, when the King is completely humanized, and the battle of Kadesh reveals not only strategy but tactics and personal prowess. In the Palestinian sea-and-land fight, however, 'this is not the confusion of battle' but 'pure chaos' (fig. 33). Yet the 'fatal encirclement of the enemy craft' has 'dramatic actuality,' and some have seen more than this.

But the 'long period of senile decay' which follows is 'absolutely barren of new ventures' and 'ended in fatuity,' and 'mere reverence for the State'; and so the present survey ends, art keeping step with history as before.

In Mesopotamian art the material, though less copious, is more diverse, and comparison more difficult between cylinder seals and wall reliefs, religious scenes and secular or monumental. It is difficult to see how the 'pictorial' victory monument of Eannatum is 'a contract too, but in a different sense' (p. 169) and another paradox is the stele of Urnammu, 'a pictorial record of historical acts performed in honour of a god.' A climax comes with the stele of Hammurabi (Plate XV), 'hardly a historical monument' though it records a great historical event. The proposed categories seem to overlap; and in the Pre- and Proto-Dynastic periods there is correlation between 'figure' and 'design' without parallel in Egypt, integrated by 'inorganic movement of vase form and design,' though 'in the long run animal character is sacrificed to decorative function.' But the painted pottery of Sura is an 'isolated peak of achievement in a long monotony of abstractions'—a rather hard saying. More significant is the relief sculpture of animals at Warka, whatever its relation to cylinder-engraving with its indefinite lateral repetition (p. 54).

The first inscribed sculpture, and the inlays, are of the same monumental type, more explicitly contractual, linking votary and deity as at Tell Asmar (Plate LIX). Though Naramsin is central in his deity, surely the stars or rosettes above him are divine symbols (Plate LXII, p. 164). On the seals 'dramatic representation of myth' (p. 165) is treated as the reverse of secular monumentality; a view hard to reconcile with that of the representative scenes (Plate LXIII, B), dedication of a seal (Plate LXIII, C), and the priest before his king (Plate LXIII, D).

In strongest contrast with all this are the secular pictorial sculptures of Assyria, and the cylinder styles of the new regime (Plate LXVI, a-c). 'Presentation scenes,' and even divine figures, almost disappear (p. 171), kings are completely humanized, animal art matures, and there is 'passionate interest in receding space.'

In Crete, previous critics of Minoan art have expressed their bewilderment in various terms. Mrs. Frankfort adds the notion of 'serious play.' To develop it she distinguishes between Cretan and Mycenaean-Mainland technique, and between religious scenes and scenes of nature without human activity. She finds warlike scenes at Mycenae but not in Crete, and distinguishes between Cretan and Mainland bull scenes. But it is odd to call the Vaphio scenes 'un-Minoan.' She eliminates not only the Thisbe goldwork but the Copenhagen ring (because the votaries kneel); but why not condemn the Mycenaean ring because it alone shows poppies? Our evidence for all Minoan art is really very limited, and the uncertainty whether figures were human or divine limits the repertoire further. 'The pictorial emphasis,' for Mrs. Frankfort, 'is entirely in the human agent' (p. 214); yet she thinks with Nilsson that the Mycenaean ring is a 'pantheon,' and that there is 'mystery' in Minoan religion: 'the worshippers experience the divine presence through action, dynamically' (p. 214). Here the notion of 'serious sports' is helpful. Summarily, 'life means movement' inspired by a 'transcendent presence.' But this leaves much to be explained on the technical side, as by Matz and Snijder.

JOHN L. MYRES

Ursprung und Ausbreitung der Kultur. By Pia Laviosa-Zambotti. Baden-Baden (Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft), 1950. Pp. 455, 19 plates, 59 line drawings. Price DM. 42.

187 The book under review is a translation of *Origini e Diffusione della Civiltà*, the magnum opus of the Professor of Palaeo-ethnology in the University of Milan. It represents an attempt at synthesis comparable to Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* and Schmidt and Koppers' *Völker und Kulturen*, two works to which it owes many concepts and almost its entire ethnological terminology. In every discipline there is a place for such comprehensive studies which not only serve the purpose of consolidation, but lead also to the formulation of new working hypotheses. It is another question, however, whether a synthesis of this type should be combined with a mode of presentation which dispenses with all documentation and hence makes it impossible for the reader to follow the author to the original sources and to form an independent view of the proposed conclusions.

Professor Laviosa-Zambotti's ambitious book nevertheless makes stimulating reading. Her canvas is the world, and her argument ranges from the old stone age to present times. The central theme of the book, however, is the origin and diffusion of the agricultural civilizations. She has a useful chapter on the mechanism of cultural diffusion, in which she develops the thesis of 'cultural centres of early development which gradually draw more and more distant zones into their sphere. This occurs by means of secondary and tertiary subsidiary centres, whose direct dependence on the original centre of stimulation can be ascertained despite the process of differentiation. The more marginal the location of a subsidiary centre, the looser become the links with the original centre, and the greater is the effect of local reactions' (p. 66).

Proceeding from these premises the author traces all agricultural civilizations to two main centres of diffusion, namely Egypt and Mesopotamia. Subsidiary centres dependent on either one or both of these original centres are distributed over a belt of country reaching from Spain in the west to China in the East. On Professor Laviosa-Zambotti's map it is from a Chinese and from a Further Indian centre that arrows indicate cultural radiation into the Pacific sphere and to America. Here it is impossible adequately to summarize an argument elaborated with a wealth of detail (but no references to sources or authors) over some 440 closely printed pages, nor is it easy to sift the concrete data from the many hypothetical conclusions often presented in a manner which suggests that they are firmly established facts. This lack of discrimination between fact and working hypothesis is particularly noticeable when in Chapter 4 of Part 2 the author indulges in a long and detailed description of the antiquated Oceanic *Kulturkreise* of Graebner, which in this form have long been abandoned by the Vienna school. In this respect the book does not constitute any significant advance on Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*, published in 1931, even though Professor Laviosa-Zambotti disagrees with some details of his scheme, and in particular with the theory of the great age and primæval character of Pygmy culture.

The major part of the book is taken up by a comparative study of the prehistoric and proto-historic agricultural civilizations, and as few anthropologists and archaeologists are at home in all the areas and ages dealt with by Professor Laviosa-Zambotti every reader's reaction to her interpretation of the archaeological and ethnographic material is likely to depend on the treatment of the regions with which he is most familiar. The chapter on the rise and distribution of agricultural civilizations in India and South East Asia left me, I must admit, with a feeling of unreality. The unquestioning acceptance of the Dravidian character of the Indus civilization and the implied equation of Indus and South Indian civilizations betrays a tendency to over-simplification excusable in one whose interests range over the whole world, but distressing to the specialist who finds himself in disagreement with many assumptions relevant to the author's main thesis. Statements such as 'the Todas are originally Mediterranean matriarchal tribes [*sic*]', thus presumably agriculturists who have abandoned agriculture, and retained only the breeding of the most significant domestic animal of the Mediterranean world, namely oxen' are at the best conjectural, and it is certainly misleading to say that the Todas keep and

worship cows, whereas they actually breed exclusively buffaloes.

The author suggests that the Dravidians moved from Northern to Southern India at a time when they no longer used bronze but had iron implements and weapons, and believes that this occurred at the end of the second millennium B.C. But she does not seem to realize that there is no evidence for the use of iron in Northern India until the first millennium B.C., and that its first introduction into Northern India may well have occurred as late as 700 or 600 B.C., when copper was still the dominant metal. South India, on the other hand, had a developed iron culture closely associated with megalithic burials (which are absent in the north) by the middle of the first millennium B.C., and was exporting iron to the Near East by about 400 B.C. It is unimaginable that early in the first millennium B.C. South India could have received its iron industry from the north without taking over also the use of copper. Indeed all archaeological evidence speaks against a movement of Dravidian populations from Northern to Southern India, and against the identification of the pre-Aryan civilizations of the north with the Dravidian culture of the south.

It would be pedantic to harp too much on such flaws in the appreciation of a work which is bound to impress more by the wide sweep of its basic hypothesis than by the attention to detail in the treatment of any particular area. The book certainly abounds in fertile ideas, and there can be no doubt that many of them would warrant elaboration in a fully documented form. Though the author tries to combine archaeological and anthropological data she speaks always with the voice of the prehistoric archaeologist. She repeats, for instance, the fallacy that stone axes, even of the type known as *Walzenbeil*, were used as hoes for digging over agricultural land (p. 162), although there exists practically no ethnographic evidence in favour of such use.

In a book dealing with the origin and distribution of agricultural civilizations one would expect to find substantial references to the growing botanical literature on the natural home and early cultivation of the various varieties of cereals and other food crops, but the author touches upon these problems so important to her argument only very cursorily. Nothing is said about the association of the different cereals with the individual centres of agricultural civilizations, and the absence of an index makes it difficult to piece together casual references to food crops grown in particular areas and at particular times.

The German translation is good except in places where the translator has transcribed Italian equivalents of English and Indian words without checking the originals. Thus Tamils are referred to as *Tamiliker* (which is neither German nor any other language) and Kolarians as *Kolorianer* (p. 131); even worse is 'Csatrien' for Kshatriya, and 'Wasien' for Vaishya on p. 327. The production of the book with its fine plates is of a high standard.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

The Human Group. By George C. Homans. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. xxvi, 484. Price £1 5s.

188 This book is a major contribution to the study of the human group through the approach of interaction sociology. The author's purpose in writing the book was twofold: 'to study the small group as an interesting subject in itself, and in doing so, to reach a new sociological synthesis.' As evidenced by an occasional *divertissement* and the frequent garnish of aphorisms, there is no question that Homans finds the small group an interesting and stimulating object of study.

Homans's definition of a 'group' stems from C. H. Cooley and is limited for the purposes of this book to the primary group. A group is defined as '... a number of persons who communicate with one another often over a span of time, and who are few enough so that each person is able to communicate with all the others, not at secondhand, through other people, but face to face.' The major tone and focus of the book is set by this definition. Within this frame, the fundamental elements of behaviour are seen by the author as being 'activity,' 'interaction' and 'sentiment.' Using these basic categories, an analysis is made of five different and relatively small groups.

The five groups selected for analysis were well chosen with respect to diversity (a challenging test for the method of analysis) and a reliable and complete coverage in the literature. They are: The Bank Wiring Observation Room reported by Rothlisberger and Dickson in *Management and the Worker*, etc.; The Norton Street Gang reported by W. F. Whyte in *Street Corner Society*; The Family of Tikopia reported by Raymond Firth in *We, the Tikopia*, etc.; Hilltown reported by C. C. Zimmerman in *The Changing Community* and D. L. Hatch in *Changes in . . . a Rural Community* (unfortunately no longer available in the mimeographed form in which it was published); and The Electrical Equipment Company reported by C. M. Arensberg and D. Macgregor. A highly competent synoptic version of the social structure of each of these groups is presented and followed in each case by an analysis within the framework which Homans sets for himself. Throughout these analyses, the author stays close to his approach and theory, irrespective of the consequences.

In my opinion, Homans is at his best with his approach when he is dealing with specifically identifiable individuals in small groups—the Bank Wiring Room and the Street Gang, for example. In a larger grouping, such as Hilltown, the approach faces a number of difficulties in bridging the gap between concrete interaction and the broader socio-historical context. This becomes a particularly difficult problem in the last chapter where the discussion turns to the question of 'Groups and Civilization.'

The book's virtue lies in its attempt at a systematic comparative analysis of diverse groups. Although the five groups differ greatly in externals, Homans has applied a scheme of analysis which brings out the similarities in human relationships that underlie these externals. And, further, he has applied his analysis consistently throughout the book.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers.

By Kurt Lewin, edited by Dorwin Cartwright, London. (Tavistock Publications), 1952. Pp. xx, 346. Price £1 1s.

In this edition of Lewin's later theoretical papers Dorwin Cartwright has made the best of Lewin's thought easily available for the first time, and he has fitted these papers into a coherent sequence which makes the system seem much clearer than hitherto. He has avoided the barren geometry, the woolly democratic idealism and the erection of men of straw which have marred some other writings.

The first three chapters give a clear statement of Lewin's method of theory-construction, and good examples of this are provided in the book by the theory of uncompleted task tensions (pp. 9-20) and the treatment of regression (chap. 5). This method consists in attempting to coordinate empirical concepts and laws with the concepts and theorems of a formal deductive system (topology), so that empirical facts and laws can be derived purely logically. While it may be objected that the isomorphism of topology with psychology has never been demonstrated, this is not necessary, since the logical system is derived piecemeal to fit the empirical laws as they are discovered. Further, Lewin never actually uses any theorems of topology, and the explanatory value of his theories rests more on analogies with elementary physics and mechanics. Topology may perhaps better be regarded as a language for describing psychological situations which abstracts their important features and is finely structured. It has certainly enabled Lewin to produce a number of sensitive and illuminating analyses of psychological situations in their full complexity. He was, for instance, able to distinguish different types of conflict and motivation (chap. 10), while he often showed that there was more than one factor behind seemingly unitary phenomena. This, together with the interpretation in systematic topological terms, constituted for Lewin understanding what a psychological situation 'is' (chap. 2)—an aim of theory in addition to relating diverse facts and suggesting further research.

Lewin aimed to derive behaviour logically from the structure of the present situation as it has meaning for the agent, and not in terms of objective stimuli. The situation is represented by the 'life space,' which shows person and environment as they exist psychologically, i.e. how goals, barriers and possibilities of action are perceived in relation to the individual. There is representation of

different levels of reality and of the psychological past and future, for these also exist concretely in the present and therefore can have effects. Past learning is represented by its influence on the present cognitive structure and the disposition of needs and goals. It has often been objected that since the life space can be inferred only from behaviour or subsequent introspections, this kind of theory is useless for prediction or manipulation: it can only relate two responses. However, the life space can be anchored to independent variables by derivation from the past if a closed system is assumed (p. 47) and by assumptions about the effect of needs or other states of the person (pp. 9f.). It would be better than either of these to use the laws of perception which relate the perceived or psychological environment to the physical stimulus conditions. Nevertheless, the use of the life space limits one to the study of momentary situations and is no good for serial phenomena or for progressive changes through time.

Lewin's social psychology is covered in chapters 6-10. He began his work in this field with observations of children in adult fields of force, an area to which his method was well suited, as is shown by the admirable survey in chapter 10. This led up to the classic experiment on autocratic and democratic atmospheres in boys' clubs carried out by Lippitt under Lewin's direction—the first important small group experiment (cf. pp. 207-14). Associated with this is the emphasis on behavioural units of sufficient size for them to be meaningful to the observer. While he is keen that 'group' shall be defined by the interdependence rather than the similarity of its members (p. 147), Lewin falls into J. F. Brown's practice of applying the life space to the group and calling it a 'social field' (pp. 200f.). This assumes the identity of the life spaces of all the members and is consequently useless for the consideration of interaction between them. An alternative attempt to conceptualize interaction by means of successive states of the individual life spaces (p. 196) is extremely clumsy, and social psychology still lacks any adequate means of portraying it.

Lewin's sociology centres round the idea of quasi-stationary equilibrium (chap. 9). Steady states in groups or institutions are regarded as the result of a central converging force field, including social forces. The equilibrium position can be changed by increasing the forces on one side or reducing those on the other—the difference being that the former increases tension while the latter reduces it. This is a good example of the way Lewin's analysis reveals a number of underlying factors, enabling him to explain further facts and to show the dynamic structure of the present situation. What Lewin calls 'Psychological Ecology' (chap. 8) consists in the analysis of the social and economic channels within an institution, together with the forces behind the quasi-stationary equilibria at the 'gate sections'—points at which decisions are taken about passage through the channels. The above theory was derived from Lewin's experimental study of group decision as a way of changing food habits.

No one who reads this book with its incisive contributions to social-psychology theory, and its references to many crucial investigations conducted, can doubt that Lewin is one of the giants of the subject. It may be hoped that the task of distilling the best of Lewin's ideas, so ably begun by the editor of this book, will be continued by its readers, and that more of them will be assimilated into the body of social science.

MICHAEL ARGYLE

Principles and Methods of Colonial Administration. London (Butterworth), 1950. Pp. vii, 252. Price £1 10s.

In April, 1950, the Colston Research Society promoted a Symposium at Bristol on the Principles and Methods of Colonial Administration which brought together a notable assembly of experts on Colonial Affairs from Western Europe and the United States. The papers which they read at the Symposium together with a précis and a short but masterly summary of the discussions which followed each of them have now been published by Butterworths Scientific Publications, and constitute a most convenient and readable exposition of contemporary views on the development of dependent territories and related problems. These views are necessarily those of colony-owning nations as they alone make any provision for research on colonial problems. Though some of the papers have an unmistakably official

ring, the majority are objective and factual. Perhaps the most balanced and impressive is the concluding paper by Professor Logemann of Leyden, on 'The One World and the Diversity of Cultures'; perhaps the most provocative Professor T. S. Simey's on 'Social Advance in Non-Autonomous Territories.' British colonial studies are ably represented by the contributions of Professors Margaret Read and Simey, Mr. E. W. Evans and Dr. Lucy Mair, but the main value of this book for British readers lies in the papers of the foreign guests, particularly the Dutch and French, which supply ideas and information not available elsewhere in this country.

The Dutch papers have the additional advantage of being written in English and even the French have an English summary. I was present as an onlooker at this Symposium and can testify to the accuracy of the summary of the discussions, while the publication as a whole forms an excellent record of what, from the British point of view at least, was an extremely helpful and profitable international interchange of ideas on colonial administrative precept and practice.

G. I. JONES

The Code of Maimonides: Book Fourteen, The Book of Judges. Translated from the Hebrew by Abraham M. Hersman. Yale Judaica Series. New Haven (Yale U.P.) London (Cumberlege), 1949. Pp. 333. Price 40s.

This is a sound and readable translation of the fourteenth and last book of *Mishneh Torah*, a major work of Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (1135-1204). The latter is a great feat of systematization, and was the first codification of all legal traditions of the Jews, giving a very succinct extract not only of the Babylonian but also of the Jerusalem Talmud and of the relevant Midrashic literature. Throughout seven centuries Maimonides's work has been an indispensable tool of the advanced Talmud scholar, as a *repetitorium* and as a stimulant; for it gives in bewildering if logical juxtaposition rulings and points from

legal discussions so completely divorced from their context that they almost create a new meaning.

Book fourteen comprises five sections: Laws concerning the Sanhedrin, Evidence, Rebels, Mourning and Kings and Wars. Thus in the last section we learn, among other things, that:

The first king of a dynasty cannot be set up save by the court of seventy(one) and a prophet, as was the case with Joshua, who was appointed by Moses, our teacher, and his court; and as was the case with Saul and David, who were appointed by Samuel the Rahamite and his court.

This shows the method clearly: records of entirely different events are strung together, and their common element is formulated in a way which in our time may be mistaken for a constitutional or canonical law, while the intention is classificatory. A reader using this work as an introduction to Rabbinical Law or to the study of mediaeval Jewish society could easily be led to believe that the notion of several dynasties succeeding each other was to Maimonides and his contemporaries a familiar one which they would have applied to past and future alike; but contrarily, as other passages clearly demonstrate, legitimate kingship was thought of in association with the house of David. Thus the book has very little value for the student of comparative jurisprudence or the history of culture. It appeals to a very small group of specialists, and one may wonder why they should be in need of a translation. Most other people will not find this book instructive, but rather a guide into perplexities.

It is, however, to be supposed that this translation has filled a gap; and if that gap had to be filled, it could not have been done better than by the Yale Judaica Series. The book is well produced, the notes are concise and very valuable.

F. B. STEINER

AFRICA

The Origin of Death: Studies in African Mythology. By Hans Abrahamsson. *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia*, III. Uppsala (U.K. Agents, Kegan Paul), 1951. Pp. vii, 178. Price £3.

In this study in African mythology Dr. Hans Abrahamsson has made an exhaustive investigation of the motif concerning the origin of death in this region. Although he adopts to some extent Frazer's classification of the material, he regards the moon and the skin-casting theme as secondary, 'woven into other main motifs not discussed in any particular detail by J. G. Fraser.' In relation to other workers in this field he makes Baumann's comprehensive investigation of the African myths the point of departure for his own inquiry in the light of the fuller evidence that is now available, supplementing the African material with that of Madagascar, as being adjacent to the mainland, with passing references to the recurrence of the theme in India, Indonesia and the Pacific.

Starting with the most widespread and prevalent African myth of death originating through a perverted message, some act of negligence or unwise choice on the part of man, or through opening a fatal bundle in which death resided, a divine test or ordeal is illustrated and discussed. This leads on to 'discord in the first family' considered under four sub-groups, and to myths of death caused by human beings engaging in sexual intercourse regarded as a practice forbidden to them by the Creator. In some cases (e.g. among the Pangwe) the notion of death being due to the first copulation shows traces of the influence of the Eden story, but the motif is too deeply laid to have originated from Christian sources. Similarly, that of 'the forbidden fruit' follows familiar lines well known from the account of the Fall in the Genesis narrative. More unusual is the contention that death is good and desired by man as an expression of life-weariness, or that it was the price paid for a divine gift of a cow. Among other myths recorded are those relating death to premature burial, disease, moral corruption and various forms of disobedience. Finally, the Madagascan material is grouped in accordance with the same general principles as those applied in the case of the African data.

In most of the traditions the initiative is taken by the High God, or some other divine being, who permits death to enter the world.

Henceforth the grim law becomes a living reality as part of the permanent destiny of man, often embodied in the cultus. Thus, it plays an essential role in the religious life of the community until the myth loses its sacred character and survives only as a profane narrative told for entertainment, or as a 'just so story.' The epoch of the early hoe culture is regarded as the great myth-making era, and the origin-of-death group are referred to the Old Sudanese culture and characterized by numerous oriental motifs, as against the culture-hero stories which belong essentially to the Eurafrian areas. The maps illustrating the distribution of the themes add to the value of this important contribution to African mythology, which has been competently translated by Dr. D. Burton of Stockholm.

E. O. JAMES

Das Fortleben nach dem Tode im Glauben westsudanischer Völker. By F. Hugo Huber, S.V.D. Mödling bei Wien (St. Gabriel Verlag), 1951. Pp. 157.

The bibliography (of 278 items) of this carefully annotated compendium of West African beliefs in survival after death is particularly full in the periodical literature (French, German and English). There are, however, some serious omissions, especially as concerns English monographs of the last 20 years: to cite only one instance, none of Meek's Nigerian books are considered.

On the basis of tables of ethnographic summary—for the most part by tribes—the author gives generalized discussions of burial, 'souls' (their names, fate after death, etc.), beliefs in the hereafter, and reincarnation and metamorphosis into plants and animals after death. The discussion does not always make it clear whether the interpretations of the data are those of informant, of field anthropologist, or drawn by the author from general anthropological theory. Certainly, there is no consistent and sustained theoretical development or orientation: thus the place of burial is discussed in distributional and functional terms; the orientation of the body in diffusional, cultural and psychological terms.

One of the author's observations dealing with reward and punishment after death is of considerable interest. The continued prosperity in the hereafter of the prosperous need not imply a lack of ethical judgment on their lives: the ethical significance of a

corresponding state of prosperity and happiness in this world and the next depends largely upon the degree to which one's fate in the present world is held to be of ethical significance. In Africa also there are those who argue 'who ever perished being innocent? or where were the righteous cut off?' Reward in this life and the next may be held compatible because prosperity in both situations may itself be held of ethical and religious significance.

LAURA BOHANNAN

L'Art nègre. Présence Africaine, Nos. 10 and 11. Paris (Éditions du Seuil), 1951. Pp. 254

194 This volume, with a wealth of illustrations, consists of a number of articles written by various authors, some of them well known from earlier writings on African Negro art. Much therefore is repeated, which cannot be avoided in a book that sets out to give a summary, but much also is new, particularly with regard to the approach to the subject. In earlier times writers were preoccupied with the aesthetic of what they called 'primitive' art; now the viewpoint has broadened and African art is also looked at from other angles, as is demonstrated in the first section of the book.

Alioune Diop in the Introduction rightly says that vocable Art does not cover the same reality in different continents. But he does not develop the theme further and does not formulate precisely what the difference is between present-day European art and traditional African Negro art. F. H. Lem touches on the subject when he speaks of figures as 'sculptured ideograms'; Marcel Griaule when he emphasizes the importance of the symbolic content of masks, musical instruments, in architecture and so forth and the significance of the geometric and semi-geometric signs on carvings and other objects, all of which convey complex ideas connected with the myths of origin or the universe. This feature, even more pronounced in other regions than the Sudan, is entirely missing in modern European art but was prominent in Bronze Age art all over Europe as well as in Asia and North Africa, and the geometric signs, symbols or pictographs are, moreover, precisely those used in that era. African art would seem therefore to be essentially a Bronze Age art, a view which is supported by other features, and it strikes me as curious that none of the writers came to this conclusion or even suggested it. The political organization of kingdoms such as those of Ife, Benin, Yoruba, Dahomey, Ashanti and others in West Africa and of the Bushongo, to name just one from the Congo region, with a divine king at the head of the state, is essentially Bronze Age in character. So is much of the religion, and Olokun, the great bi-sexual deity of Ife and Benin, is a striking example of a mother goddess at Ife and of a city god at Benin. Animal masks, it is known, were used by the priests of Isis in ancient Egypt and by the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and the statues of the Egyptian kings to which sacrifices were made in the Dual Shrines were ancestor figures in the African sense of the word. This is not the place to follow up the subject, but seen from this angle much becomes clearer and helps to put African Negro art in the right perspective.

To return to the 'sculptured ideograms' and their implications: the *akuaba*, the so-called fertility doll of the Ashanti, and the *ibebi* or twin figures of the Yoruba, to name just two, can undoubtedly be classed as ideograms. Both have been carved, although with slight variations with regard to detail, over and over again through the centuries. In many a carver's workshop they must have been mass-produced. The Ashanti carver Bonsu, for instance, told me in that connexion that he has carved over 500 *akuaba* in his life, one exactly like the other; that was 10 years ago and he still produces them to order (nowadays largely for Europeans). Also he has carved hundreds of the same low stools of which over 50 traditional designs exist and only one new design once for the King of Ashanti, which was a synthesis of the ancient symbols in a new arrangement; in addition, dozens of the 20 or 30 different designs of umbrella tops, spokesmen's staffs and other objects still in use by the chiefs in the Gold Coast. In other words, as can still be observed today, the pupil of a craftsman copied his master's designs, who in turn had copied his predecessor's designs. Once in a while, if he was an outstanding artist, and was recognized as such, he was allowed by the king or the chief of his town for whom he worked, to create a new design, or to modernize a figure with regard to headdress or dress—the

ibebi figures are a case in point. The problem of the artist's personality was practically non-existent and his liberty restricted because the final representation of the work, in so many cases an ideogram, could not be altered. This aspect of African art and others related to it, as was, for instance, mass-production of the object, has been dealt with excellently by Paul Mercier in his contribution 'Evolution de l'Art dahoméen' of which every word applies equally to the Akan states in the Ivory Coast and Gold Coast, of which the best known is Ashanti. In other regions it would seem that the Negro artist had more liberty, as for instance in Yoruba where much in art is illustrative, but even there I suspect that research will show that the situation is much the same.

This difference in the approach to artistic creation is noticeable also in the modern European-trained African artist of whom the Gold Coast has quite a few. In spite of generally three years of study in English Art Schools and a good knowledge of the history of art, many still do not seem to understand that it is not possible to copy their own carving or painting, if it happens to have pleased, as often as they think that they are able to sell it. It is alien to them to want to get their personality across, their eyes are always on the customer and they are generally eager to comply with his wishes.

The second section in *L'Art nègre* is concerned with ancient art and includes a summary by William Fagg on the finds of the remarkable Nok culture which goes back, it is estimated, several centuries B.C. These terra-cottas and other objects were excavated by his brother, Bernard Fagg, at Nok and other places in the region of the Jos Plateau in Northern Nigeria. J. P. Lebeuf, in turn, describes some of the very interesting finds of the culture of the Sao people, dated to the tenth century, which he excavated in the region of the Shari delta.

The third section of the book deals with aspects of some of the art of various African peoples. Charles Rattón's article *L'Or fétiche*, beautifully illustrated with about 60 objects in gold from the Gold and Ivory Coasts, such as small masks, soul-bearer's discs, pendants in animal form, rings, bracelets and so forth, is particularly welcome as it is concerned with a so far much neglected aspect of art in Negro Africa.

EVA L. R. MEYEROWITZ

Kirdi: Les Populations païennes du Nord-Cameroun. By B. Lembezat. Mém. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Afrique Noire, Centre du Cameroun. Duala, 1950. Pp. 101

195 After a short account of the history and geography of this area, just south of Lake Chad, the author devotes 35 (large) pages to the 'caractères communs aux diverses tribus' and another 35 to the 'traits particuliers des différentes peuplades.' Since there are about 20 peoples or tribes referred to (excluding Fulani and Arabs) this area remains one of the least-known—although admittedly one of the most difficult for the fieldworker—in West Africa. A survey of this area was badly needed; this paper gives only a cursory survey, but a valuable bibliography. The author expresses regret, in his introduction, that no work comparable in scope to Meek's *Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria* (1931) has yet appeared for the adjoining Northern Cameroons. A reviewer can but echo the regret.

PAUL BOHANNAN

Les Kissi: Une Société noire et ses Instruments de Musique.

196 By André Schaeffner. *L'Homme*, 2. Paris (Hermann), 1951. Pp. 86, 8 plates

The results of M. Schaeffner's careful study and fieldwork are recorded in a similar pattern to his earlier *Origine des Instruments de Musique*, where, owing to the nature of his survey, rhythmic and percussive instruments are treated first. This order, although contrary to most writing on musical instruments, has the merit of rescuing the rhythmic and percussive groups from being somewhat cursorily treated in final chapters, whose authors and readers of European prejudice give string and wind instruments priority.

Introducing his subject the author states: 'Toute division entre instruments de musique correspond à une division dans la société ou parmi les rites qu'elle pratique.' With this constantly in view each instrument is studied with its distribution and influences passive or active, but since cent scale values are omitted and instrumental group termino-

logy is not strictly applied, the value of the work would appear to be for the ethnologist rather than the musicologist.

Whilst there are numerous measurements, illustration and several approximate European-scale correlations, and although it was beyond the author's intention, an analysis of Kissi rhythmic patterns would have been appreciated, especially as two of the simple examples recall European dance-rhythm formulas. Of the danger of reading more than correspondence in such relationships M. Schaeffner is well aware, since, referring to the tuning of a certain pluriarc, he writes: '*hasard ou effet de la civilisation européenne.*'

As many studies have appeared under the general term 'African Music,' this survey of a smaller field is welcomed for its detail, whilst its value may be found in the author's own words: '*Des articles du Dr. MacLaud et du Dr. Charles Joyeux constituent les seules études de détail que nous possédions sur la musique et les instruments de musique de la Haute Guinée française.*' WILLIAM YEOMANS

The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti. By K. A. Busia. O.U.P. for Internat. Afr. Inst., 1951. Pp. xii, 233. Price 18s.

Ashanti has been exceptionally fortunate in its chroniclers and expositors. Dr. Busia's work is as good, of its kind,

as anything that modern anthropological method has produced anywhere.

It is now a commonplace among students of 'Indirect Rule' that British administrators have long been sawing off the branch on which they sat. Many African chiefs are doing the same thing. Dr. Busia describes, in prose of a clarity and dignity seldom achieved even by natives of Britain, every tooth of the saw and exactly where it bites. How much it hurts he makes no attempt to convey: the tumult and the shouting are not heard in this book. This patient, painstaking and comprehensive account of the interplay of incompatibles is delivered with dispassionate aloofness. It must, however, have been with a wry smile at official pomposity, complacency and naïveté that Dr. Busia selected from published Government reports such quotations as 'The Administration continued throughout the year to watch and guide the inevitable change, maintaining the rightful authority of the chiefs but discouraging retrogression and superstition.'

It is reassuring to know, in these days when politics are the resort of maladjusted young men who have failed in other careers, that solid study and detached thought are going on among young Africans. The quietness of this book betrays resources of judgment rather than lack of vitality. M. J. FIELD

AMERICA

The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character. By David Riesman, with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer. New Haven (Yale Univ. Press) (London: Cumberlege), 1950. Pp. xvii, 386. Price £1 5s.

This interesting and provocative study of American life ranges widely in time and in space, in superficialities and in fundamental social processes. The author has used history, literature, work, leisure, family life, politics and religion to support a challenging hypothesis of the nature of the character types favoured by American society at different times and in different spheres. The emphasis throughout is on the behaviour of individuals and on the characterological deductions which can be made from data of this type.

The principal thesis, developed in Part I, may be stated briefly. Americans, and by implication all modern peoples, have changed their fundamental personal drives from a state known as 'tradition-directed' through one called 'inner-directed,' to a state known as 'other-directed.' 'Tradition-directed' peoples are those who live in either a pre-literate or a peasant society where change is minimal. The character type known as 'inner-directed' is most powerful in a developing society and is typical of the private goals set by early capitalists and of the moralizer in politics. In contrast to these two types of individuals stands the 'other-directed' person whose ends are not given by tradition or by private internal drives towards success, power, or some other selected goal, but by the opinions and aspirations of a group of peers. A suggestive attempt is made to link these character types to fluctuations in population, tradition-direction belonging to the phase of population stability which has high birth rates and high death rates, inner-direction to the phase of population increase caused by a lowering of the death rate without a corresponding fall in births, and other-direction to the present state of the population cycle, a phase of incipient decline as the number of births falls rapidly. To sustain these theses, the author has conducted some empirical research in various regions and with several class groups in America. This material is used as illustration only; no serious attempt at sampling, nor at testing the validity of the hypothesis, is involved; in fact this data is used in the same manner as the historical and literary material is used.

Part 2, devoted to political behaviour and government at all levels, is as full of insight and intuitive understanding as the earlier part, though in its detail difficult to follow by readers unversed in the minutiae of American political history. A most interesting chapter here compares the American character type of today with those described by Benedict and gives much qualitative evidence to show that, although American ideals postulate hard competition both in work and play, when the evidence is sifted there is probably more gentleness, tolerance and a desire for approval in America than of unabashed struggle for set goals. Thus, far from resembling

the potlatching Kwakiutl, they are more like the peaceful unemotional inhabitants of the Hopi or Zuñi Pueblos.

The final part of the book, Autonomy, concerned with individuality and personalization, continues the analysis of the three character types. These are now 'ideal' types, most individuals being a blend, acting in some situations as 'inner-directed' and elsewhere as 'other-directed,' or even on occasions, as 'tradition-directed.' The most challenging theme here treats of modern Americans as consumers and particularly of the consumption patterns of middle-class groups in their leisure-time activities.

The author, whether he discusses population trends, politics, or 'consumerism,' has always much more valuable things to say than his rather facetious chapter headings indicate. He has made a significant contribution towards our understanding of the American people. J. M. MOGEY

Personality and Conflict in Jamaica. By Madeline Kerr. Liverpool (Univ. of Liverpool Press), 1952. Pp. xii, 221. Price 15s.

West Indian sociology has hitherto largely been a field of American scholarship. Dr. Madeline Kerr's book *Personality and Conflict in Jamaica* is a British contribution to this field of studies. The author acknowledges her debt to Professor Herskovits and Dr. Abram Kardiner. The first has apparently been her main source of material on the Negro in the New World, and the other has provided her with a theoretical framework. Miss Kerr in a sense is breaking new ground in that her study is concerned with the personality structure of the Jamaican. Kardiner has utilized the fieldwork material of trained anthropologists (Linton, Du Bois, etc.) in developing his theories of the basic personality. Miss Kerr has however relied on her own field material collected in the course of her work as social psychologist with the West Indian Social Survey (1947-9). It is unfortunate that this material is not as full as it might be. For example the reader is left with only a vague suggestion as to the type or types of family structure existing in Jamaican society. In regard to the role of colour in the society the author does not relate this to the class system nor to the family structure. Again the literature of comparative areas such as the U.S.A. or Brazil (Dollard, Myrdal, Davis, Gardner, Pierson, Freyre, etc.), is not mentioned. The impression given is that Jamaican problems are of a unique nature, which indeed they may be, but not quite in the way suggested.

Miss Kerr's main thesis is that there is a conflict or clash between two cultures, the African and the European, the result being an insecure type of personality. Examples of this clashing of cultures do not always ring true. That the peasant represents one type of culture and the middle class another is not borne out by the facts given. Transition from one group to another in any class society poses

certain problems. Jamaica is no exception—but the successful individual manages in time to achieve stability within his new class. It is possible that the author has allowed the evidence of insecurity undue prominence in her estimate of Jamaican personality structure. The fact of the matter is that the latter has evolved and developed in particular conditions and for those conditions exhibits a definite stability.

But the whole thesis under review depends upon corroboration of the psychological test material. Unfortunately Miss Kerr has not seen fit to include more than a brief survey of the techniques used and the result; detailed analysis is reserved for a further volume. It is therefore somewhat difficult to judge the validity of a correlation between field and test material.

Miss Kerr at the beginning of her book writes of the emergence of a specific Jamaican culture compounded of diverse elements—with this one is in complete agreement—but the main part of the book overemphasizes the conflict and clash between the European and African streams. The result is to obscure the importance of the synthesis first stated. Evidence from a variety of fields suggests that where different cultures are in contact the resulting symbiotic relationship is of equal importance with the conflict inherent in the situation.

But the main criticism remains that owing to the inadequacy of the field material the book does not entirely justify the hypotheses used or the conclusions reached. Despite this *Personality and Conflict in Jamaica* as a pioneer study is a definite addition to the somewhat meagre sociology of the Caribbean.

FERNANDO HENRIQUES

Music in Java. By Jaap Kunst. Second edn. The Hague (Nijhoff), 1949. 2 vols., pp. xvi, 640. Price 46 guilders

201 This is a valuable book for two reasons, first on account of the author's great experience and the love he has brought to the treatment of his subject, secondly on account of the faithfully described material itself, as the changes that have taken place within the last decade have often resulted in the destruction of much that depended on personal traditional knowledge of the artists and craftsmen. If violent happenings—or just lack of interest on the side of the patrons—destroyed the living link in the chain of tradition before the knowledge had been handed on, the consequence was the irreparable loss of that particular tradition. This seems to have been the case with the ancient and mysterious craft of the gongsmiths of whom there was only one centre left when the first edition of the book appeared (in Dutch) in 1933. The latest reports have it that that one surviving smithy has disappeared and with it the thousand-year-old tradition of its secrets.

In his numerous and detailed musical analyses the author often refers to gramophone records of which he gives a fairly exhaustive list. It is a matter of great regret that those records are no longer obtainable except in very rare instances.

All the same it would be a great mistake if non-musicologists were to be deterred from studying the book on the supposition that it had been written for musicologists only. It is full of the most interesting data concerning the social and cultural life of the people of Java with occasional references to the inhabitants of the outer islands. This could hardly be otherwise in Java—or in Indonesia in general—where music is intertwined with every stage of life at every social stratum.

It is not sufficiently realized that music originally is not a diversion, a kind of relaxation of the spirit, but that—whether vocal or instrumental—it is an essential part of the whole cultural structure, which cannot be fully understood without it.

Kunst gives three quotations (Vol. I, p. 9) which should be more widely known. Helen Roberts, an American musicologist, says in her 'Suggestions to fieldworkers' (*J. Polynes. Soc.*, Vol. XL, p. 103): 'Musical compositions and especially musical instruments, because of their complicated construction and non-utilitarian character, afford particularly valuable criteria for tracing cultural connexions between peoples whose history is still and probably will remain to a great extent a matter of conjecture.' Curt Sachs says in his *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*: 'Das Wissen um Art und Schicksal der

Cherokee Dance and Drama. By Frank G. Speck and Leonard Broom, with Will West Long. Berkeley and Los Angeles (U. of California Press), 1951. Pp. xv, 106. Price \$2.50

200 The materials for this study were assembled over a long period of time, at intervals between 1913 and 1944, by several collaborators, American, European and Cherokee. It is written with an acute awareness of the passing of the culture, and carries an especially nostalgic atmosphere to anyone who has worked among the sad proud tribes of contemporary North America. The old fire and magnificence are gone, but memories and feelings are tenacious and detailed.

The Cherokee were early in contact with the settlers but this account does not attempt to explore in detail the influences of European dances on the Cherokee forms, partly because of the thorough integration of European influences with the aboriginal forms. The authors comment upon the prominence of native artistic conventions in the ritualistic dance and drama and this is linked to the tribe's general status as 'near the horizon of a civilization...'. The dances are said to 'reveal an equilibrium between the Cherokee and their environment... animate and inanimate... [Sometimes] the equilibrium is precarious.'

The bulk of the work consists of carefully analysed, lengthy descriptions of ceremonial songs and dances, with a number of figure illustrations, all owing much to the free cooperation of the Cherokee collaborator, the late West Long. It is an invaluable source book for studies of the aboriginal Southeast, especially for ethnological information about some apparently non-European aspects of Cherokee culture.

RUTH LANDES

ASIA

Tonzeuge ist keineswegs nur Sache der Musiker und Musikforscher.' And finally the famous Sanskritist Sylvain Lévi wrote in 1929—in connexion with research then to be undertaken by myself—'On ne sait pas assez le rôle immense qu'a tenu la musique dans les civilisations anciennes comme un élément intégrant de la vie religieuse et politique.'

Kunst himself speaks of a 'cultural geology' (Vol. I, p. 2) '... for on analysing the music in a given territory and on examination of the instruments in use, one is sometimes struck by the fact of a noticeable stratification. Some evidently very ancient cultural remnants may still linger on the surface, almost swamped by a younger stratum which itself has not remained quite unaffected either. It is possible in some cases to arrive at a reasonably documented relative chronology, i.e. at the conclusion that a given cultural phenomenon is younger than another.'

The author applies this method with great success to the relative position of the two Javanese tone scales, the pentatonic *slendro* and the heptatonic *pelog* (both may be safely said to have been derived from an original pentatonic scale closely akin to the one found on the neolithic lithophones excavated in Indo-China and now in the Musée de l'Homme). Javanese tradition places the origin of the former roughly in the fifth, of the latter in the fifteenth century and connects *slendro* with the dynasty of the Sailendras, who ruled from the fourth century onwards. While supporting—and it seems on very good grounds—the Javanese tradition of the connexion between *slendro* and the Sailendras, Kunst maintains that *pelog* is the older and substantiates this thesis by a detailed survey map of the occurrence of both in the different parts of the island. *Slendro* is seen to be paramount in the parts that formerly belonged to the Sailendra empire or its successors, but one finds small enclaves, mostly inaccessible mountain plateaus and so on, and isolated localities along the *slendro* periphery where *pelog* has the upper hand. *Pelog* is current in those parts that have had no connexion with the rule of the Sailendras and their heirs. The conclusion is that the younger *slendro* pushed the older *pelog* up or out.

From the historical standpoint the relative date of the adoption of the different instruments of Chinese, Indian, Arabic or Persian origin sheds interesting sidelights on cultural currents through the centuries, and many mysteries would be cleared up if the real explanation of the distribution of the curious equal-stepped pentatonic scale could be found—apart from the highly artificial attempt by means of the Chinese 'cycle of blown fifths' proposed

by von Hornbostel. How is it that one finds this scale, which does not base itself on primary acoustical principles (i.e. the partials inherent to a note when struck), in Brazil and Peru, in Polynesia and Melanesia, in Indonesia, China and Indo-China, and then, all of a sudden, in Central Africa? This means not only among peoples on the highest cultural level like the Chinese at the time of the height of the Chinese Empire, but among more or less primitive tribes like the Uitoto in Brazil or the inhabitants of the Ganda territory in Africa.

From the point of view of cultural anthropology the customs and taboos connected with the use and manufacture of instruments are of great importance. Interesting data are scattered all through the book, but a reference to the gongsmiths will suffice. Smiths in general, but in a higher degree smiths making *gamelan* instruments, and among them especially the makers of bronze gongs, are not like other craftsmen. The precautions they have to take suggest that they are conscious of two things, namely that they are working under the influence of a higher power and, secondly, that they need special protection against evil influences which might hurt them in their normal state. Hence they adopt new names when they are busy casting and finishing gongs. They identify themselves with legendary heroes.

The ancient heroes of India, the Pandava princes from the *Mahabharata* and the gallant Rama and his followers from the *Ramayana* are familiar to every Javanese in whatever station of life. Shunters at a goods yard will scrawl the figures of the beloved heroes with chalk on the wagons, so true to tradition that nobody will have the slightest doubt who is meant. Javanese princes usually have the Pandavas somewhere in their genealogical tree. Each of the Pandava princes is the embodiment of one of the virtues preached to every Javanese child. They are meant to absorb these qualities so to say with their mother's milk.

Side by side with these imported but assimilated heroes run the legends connected with Prince Panji, a noble of purely Javanese origin. The remarkable thing is now that the gongsmiths identify themselves with the different characters from the Panji cycle and not from the much more widely popular cycle of the *Mahabharata*. The master smith is Panji himself, while his helpers, in order of importance, are identified with his half-brothers, his body servants, his half-sister and his jester. The tradition varies slightly from locality to locality but is essentially the same whether found in Semarang, Soerakarta or Dyogyakarta. At times the identification is so complete that smith and hero are indistinguishable.

The heavy gong they make serves to mark the conclusion of each main period of a *gamelan* composition with its deep boom, so deep that it is somewhere near the limit of the sound spectrum, as Kunst remarks on p. 42. From the time of casting till the final conditioning of the finished instrument there are numerous technical processes, and each part of the perfected gong has its own name. Kunst mentions more than a dozen of them, from *ucheng*, the top of the beating knob, to *lambé*, the outer edge of the rim that is slightly curved inwards, and *lolohan*, the circular opening at the back.

It is remarkable that, whereas the smiths choose to identify themselves with the heroes of the Panji cycle, the sound of the gong is likened to the laughter of the giant brother among the Pandavas, the hero Bhima. When the reverberation of the gong is slow, they call it *Bima gumuyu*, the deep slow laugh of Bhima; when the reverberations follow one another in quick succession, it is called *Bima nggukuk*, Bhima's burst of laughter.

A poem describing the different instruments of the *gamelan* orchestra and their sound effect says: 'The sound of the gong, beaten heavily, rolls its ponderous beats like the ocean tide.'

Religion, legend, history, arts and crafts all are as inseparable from music as music is from them. Of Java as—*mutatis mutandis*—of other oriental countries, e.g. India, the words of the eminent historian J. Huizinga (quoted by Kunst on p. 2 from an article in *de Gids*, January, 1928) give a characteristic that ought not to be overlooked: 'Here indeed is a splendid field for the collaboration between the Netherlands and the Javanese expert, the musicologist, the archaeologist, the linguist, the ethnologist and the historian.'

To me it seems one of the greatest merits of this book that, apart

from illustrating and accurately analysing the musical values of the amazing musical system of Java, it brings out the vital importance of this general aspect.

A. A. BAKE

La Danse Sacrée en Indochine et en Indonésie. By Jeanne Cuisinier. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1951. Pp. 158. Price 300 francs

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The anthropologist and the art historian will find Dr. Cuisinier's book most valuable for the neat and compact form in which she has arranged her numerous data on dances of South-East Asia. Yet her book is not meant to be 'a catalogue in which their names would be registered with the exact indication of the places and the conditions in which they are carried out.' The author argues that it would be impossible to give such a nomenclature of all dances, within the scope of the little book, since the countries involved comprise a great diversity of races, traditions and stages of civilization. She therefore looks for the common features of the dances, and the cultural setting of which they form an important part.

One downright conclusion of the author is that the dance is always sacred, be it carried out in the pageantry of the countryside, in the royal courts or in the magician's profession. The dancer is lifted beyond the mediocrity of his everyday life, and feels the liberation of his mind. While he dances he imagines himself a better and higher being, as he represents traditional heroes, or is possessed by deities and deceased ancestors.

According to their nature and function, the dances of the various areas are classified into popular, royal, religious and magic dances. The student of anthropology finds much support in his quest of determining characteristics of the notions of magic and religion. The concise description of movements, expressions and apparel is most interesting. The clear-cut picture of the social and cultural background of the dances and dancers will also be highly appreciated by the reader.

Some reference is made to the traces left by Indian culture in South-East Asian countries. Many heroes of the royal dances and dramas are derived from the Hindu epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Another epic is mentioned on p. 57, the Pandji Cycle from Java. It is rather doubtful, however, whether this cycle should have been regarded as being derived from the *Mahabharata*, rather than as having originated in Old Javanese literature.

Much deserved is a cordial welcome to this book, which also has the merit of including a useful bibliography of French, English, German and Dutch publications on the subject.

HURUSTIATI SUBANDRIO

Bingkisan Budi: Een Bundel Opstellen aan Dr. Philippus Samuel Van Ronkel door Vrienden en Leerlingen Aangeboden op Zijn Tachtigste Verjaardag 1 Augustus 1950. Leiden (Sijthoff), 1950. Pp. 356

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The charm of a jubilee volume is rather like that of a kaleidoscope. The scholar to whom homage is paid usually has had a long and busy life behind him, either with fieldwork or with academic teaching or with both, and consequently his range of friends is wide and his pupils have branched out in many directions. Their contributions, short articles on sidelines of their main work or indications of larger treatises to come—little chips of coloured glass falling together haphazardly in the circle of vision provided by the central personality—form a diverting pattern.

Especially in connexion with Indonesia, where van Ronkel's main activities lay, there is no danger of uniformity. It had its connexions with Europe, Arabia and Persia, with India, China and Indo-China; and within Indonesia itself there is an astounding variety of races and tribes on different levels of cultural development from the most primitive to the most sophisticated.

It is but natural that the different contributors should have touched on almost every one of these aspects. Europe appears in K. H. E. de Jong's article on Camöens and Indonesia. The Moslem world makes its appearance, among others, in the articles of A. A. Cense on Sjaich Jusuf in South Celebes, Th. Pigeaud's notable contribution of the legend of Amir Hamza, and P. Voorhoeve's research on the work of Ar Raniri. India, in its connexion not only

with Indonesia but with almost all the countries of Europe, is seen in the amusing essay of H. H. Damsté on the 'Man in the Well' as found among the Achenese. Java's connexion with ancient India is touched upon by Walther Aichele, A. A. Bake, F. D. K. Bosch and G. Coedès. The last mentioned, speaking as he does about the Sailendra dynasty, naturally leads our thoughts to Indo-China. China's influence is not dealt with directly, but a prominent Chinese scholar, Tjan Tjoe Siem, contributes a valuable essay on a tract on Javanese-Moslem ethics. The different strata of indigenous Indonesian culture are prominent in various articles by R. Winstedt, A. Teeuw, V. E. Korn and others. Linguistics—comparative as well as special—are elucidated by C. C. Berg, C. A. Mees, Onvlee and numerous others.

In perusing the book one consequently has the satisfaction of getting a glimpse of the actual state of research in all these different fields, apart from the quite personal pleasure of meeting the work of friends and colleagues with whom one may have been out of touch for years.

Baginda Dahlan Abdullah, Prijohutomo and Mohamimad Zain write in Malay, Aichele in German, Coedès in French and Bake, Berg, Gonda, Pigeaud and Winstedt in English. The other articles, containing a wealth of useful data, are in Dutch, which is in many respects a great pity, for the book as it stands, for those who can read it, offers a wide and highly instructive range of information. It is a worthy homage to the old guru. A. A. BAKE

Creation Myths of the Formosan Natives. By Arundel del Re.

Kanda, Tokyo (Hokuseido Press), N.D. Pp. 76, 25 plates. Price \$1

The contents of this little book are mainly reprinted from an essay which appeared some years ago in the review *Marco Polo*. Apart from some of the photographs and a number of not very relevant footnotes the text refers almost exclusively to the Yami tribe inhabiting the small island of Koto-sho (Botel Tobago).

The author's data derive from two main sources, first a scholarly monograph by Asai¹ and secondly unpublished notes supplied by Kilton Stewart who visited Botel Tobago at the same time as myself in 1936-7. It is symptomatic that Dr. Stewart, who is a graduate of Utah and a Ph.D. of the London School of Economics, is simply but erroneously described as 'Dr. Stewart of Columbia University (New York)'. Despite a considerable erudition, the author is regrettably casual as to his facts. The long quotations from Dr. Asai's work sometimes deviate from the original; errors of ethnography are numerous—the Yami do not live in stone-walled houses (p. 24), marriage is not established by a gift of blue beads (p. 28), the flying-fish season does not begin in October (p. 33), and so on.

The photographs are, however, excellent and in some cases even supplement the superlative collection recently published by Kano and Segawa.² Del Re's pictures, for example, include illustrations of some remarkable native drawings collected by Stewart. The explanation of these drawings in terms of Yami cosmology forms the most valuable portion of the book, though the interested reader would be well advised to examine also Dr. Stewart's own unpublished thesis³ which deals with the same matter from another angle.

E. R. LEACH

References

- ¹ Erin Asai, *A Study of the Yami Language: An Indonesian Language Spoken on Botel Tobago Island*, Leiden, 1936.
- ² Tadao Kano and Kokichi Segawa, *The Illustrated Ethnography of Formosan Aborigines: The Yami Tribe*, Tokyo, 1945.
- ³ Kilton R. Stewart, *Magico-Religious Beliefs and Practices in Primitive Society: A Sociological Interpretation of their Therapeutic Aspects* (Ph.D. Thesis), London, 1947 (unpublished).

Das Toba-Reich Nordchinas. By Wolfram Eberhard. Leiden (Brill), 1949. Pp. 395. Price £1 17s. 6d.

The Wei dynasty of the T'o-pa ruled the major part of north China from A.D. 386 to 550. The purely political history of this heretofore neglected period has been adequately covered in the second volume (1936) of Otto Franke's *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches*. Professor Eberhard's aim has not been to write another history, but to attempt something at the same time more

novel and much more difficult: a sociological analysis of the T'o-pa state and its institutions. In accomplishing this task he has produced a work whose importance goes far beyond the contribution it makes (which in itself is considerable) to our understanding of the period.

His book is, in the first place, of outstanding interest methodologically. Eberhard himself recognizes an indebtedness to Thurnwald, claiming only to have modified the latter's technique so as to make it more suitable for the study of a "Hochkulturgebiet," and to have extended its range to include statistical investigations. Eberhard had already (1945) used quantitative methods of analysis in his study of the Chinese short story (*Die Chinesische Novelle des 17.-19. Jahrhunderts*, Ascona, 1948). In *Toba-Reich*, with richer and more diverse material at his disposal, he has brilliantly illustrated the use that can be made of statistical techniques in exploiting Chinese historical sources. He has restricted himself to a single source, the Standard History of the Wei Dynasty (*Wei Shu*). The book is therefore, in effect, the *mise en valeur* of a particular type of Chinese historical source, the dynastic history. His results show conclusively that these histories, always provided that the raw materials they contain are intelligently 'processed'—statistically or otherwise—can be as revealing to the sociologist as we have long known they can be to the historian.

A summary of the Table of Contents will bring out the diversity of the subjects covered. The early chapters investigate the ethnic elements entering into the population of the T'o-pa kingdom, the local provenance of the persons mentioned in the History, and the network of 'great families' (*kao mén*) to which almost a half of these persons belonged. The next group of chapters (5 to 8 and 10 to 13) examine various special categories of persons mentioned by name in the History—fief-holders, governors of commanderies (*chün*), 'censors' (*ts'ih-shih*) of provinces (*chou*), court dignitaries, diplomats, criminals, slaves and historians (no implicit criticism seems to be intended in this curious arrangement). Chapters 14 to 21 deal briefly with a number of economic topics: animal husbandry, agriculture, transport, the salt gabelle, metals and coinage, and the economic role of the church. Two of the most interesting sections discuss social mobility (ch. 9, on the examination system), and marriage and the family (ch. 22). Eberhard's categorical conclusion on the first of these points is worth quoting: 'Die chinesische Gesellschaft ist eine geschichtete Gesellschaft. Der Übergang von einer Schicht zur anderen ist theoretisch zwar möglich, aber praktisch unmöglich.' On the second he has been especially fortunate in his choice of period and source, for though the Annals in most of the dynastic histories contain a certain amount of information concerning family relationships, 'besonders stark, stärker als in anderen Geschichtswerken, ist dies im Wei-shu.' This has enabled him to document in unusual detail the part played by marriage alliances in the building up of the 'Great Family cliques' which assumed so important a role in the gentry state.

With a pioneer work of this kind it is easy enough to formulate criticisms, especially in matters of presentation. In a number of instances the Tables could have been more clearly explained and more intelligibly laid out, and in some the results could best have been shown with the help of maps. The provision of a short list of Western terms used by the writer (*Gau, Provinz, Zensor*) with their Chinese equivalents would also have been a convenience to the reader. These are minor points. Professor Eberhard's *Toba-Reich* is a work of the highest order, and not least among its achievements will be the stimulus it must afford to other workers in the comparatively untillied field where Chinese and social studies meet.

O. BERKELBACH VAN DER SPENKEL

The Affairs of a Tribe. By D. N. Majumdar. Lucknow (Universal Publishers), 1950. Pp. xxvi, 367. Rs. 23/8/-

This stimulating and informative book—an enlarged and reorganized version of the author's earlier work on the Ho tribe—should not be judged solely from a sociological standpoint, for it contains much that will interest also physical anthropologists, psychologists, jurists and administrators. It covers a very wide field, from the anthropometry and folklore of the Hos to a consideration of aboriginal labour problems in modern industry. Dr. Majumdar is clearly inspired by a profound sympathy

for the tribesmen of India. This has given him a deep insight into their immediate problems, and it is to the solution of these problems that he has directed much of his attention. Nevertheless he has provided abundant material for those interested primarily in the development of theory in Indian sociology. There is, for example, his account of the emergence of a class system among the Hos, based upon differentiated patterns of behaviour, particularly in diet. This development, associated as it is with a progressive ban on inter-marriage and 'inter-dining' between classes, bears many of the hallmarks of the segmentation of endogamous sub-castes in the caste system. An interesting complication is that Ho nationalists oppose class fission for reasons of political solidarity, thereby creating tensions which should throw valuable light on the nature and influence, in the field of social change, of ideas about democracy, status and pollution. Then there is the effect upon the Ho social structure of the recent introduction of the all-India police *thana* system. This innovation, coupled with a growing tendency among tribesmen to by-pass their chiefs and headmen and take their complaints to central government courts and officials, might be expected to remove the last vestiges of the political and jural authority linking the tribal officials with their followers. This would tend, in turn, to convert the tribe, for purposes of the internal administration of whatever distinctive social behaviour it retains, into a society with

a structure of the normal caste type. Metamorphosis from tribe to caste is not only or even mainly a question of allegiance to Hindu Gods. It involves collapse of 'vertical' lines of political and jural authority based on territorial organization, and the emergence of a 'horizontal' jural authority vested in exogamous lineages or lineage segments, and in endogamous groups. Above all it involves adjustment of group behaviour to the complex of Hindu beliefs concerning pollution, and the acceptance of a status in the caste system proportionate to the degree of that adjustment. Failure to understand the last point led one eminent authority on central Indian tribes to complain bitterly that conversion to Hinduism, far from bettering the status of the Gonds, had resulted in their relegation to the lowest rung of the caste ladder. The answer was, of course, that although the Gonds had changed their Gods, they clung to a number of kinds of 'polluting' behaviour. It is in the solution of problems of this nature that Dr. Majumdar's work will find its most lasting value. The weakest part of the book is the Introduction, which shows many signs of haste and inconsistency. In view of the significance of lineage in the caste and tribal systems of India, and of the 'desocialization' arising out of increasing industrialization, it is surprising to find no reference to the important literature on these topics produced by Africanists during the past two decades.

H. N. C. STEVENSON

EUROPE

Prehistoric Europe: The Economic Basis. By J. G. D. Clark. London (Methuen), 1952. Pp. xxxv, 349, 16 plates, diagr., bibl., index. Price £3

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Previous publications of Dr. Clark have prepared the way for this handsome volume. It collects, and analyses, an unsuspected richness of information about the utilization of the habitat by prehistoric peoples in a wealth of detail that will give it an established place in archaeological literature. At the same time it points to the gaps in our knowledge and so prepares the way for further advances. Taking the continent as its base, the geographic landscape and the economy are described more fully than ever before. The author clearly recognizes the dangers of attempting to derive the forms of the societies which successively occupied various parts of the continent from the data which are available. Although occasionally the wider cultural factors which might permit such social reconstruction are mentioned, as, for example, in the chapter on houses and settlements and in the reference to the appearance of warriors with various types of weapons in the late Neolithic, on the whole the treatment stops short of that point.

Following a clear, though necessarily brief, introduction about the geography and the vegetation zones in Europe during late glacial and post-glacial times, there follow chapters on catching and gathering, on farming, on houses, on technology in stone, flint, bronze, iron and other materials, and on trade and transport. Each chapter takes one theme and follows it from one end of Europe to the other and throughout the vast span of time between the Palaeolithic and the rise of the Roman Empire. The sources used are archaeological reports; if there is a preponderance of information from Scandinavia, Denmark and Germany, that is only to be expected, for the quality of the excavation techniques, the meticulous use of pollen-analysis for dating, and the skill in handling the more

fragile remains of prehistoric man which are found in those countries contrasts vividly with the record for much of the rest of Europe. Scandinavia and the countries mentioned, offered, it is true, excellent opportunities for the preservation of the more perishable items of material culture, such as skins, bone, wood and, in later periods, textiles, but many of the gaps in the record of prehistoric life in other countries could be closed by better excavation techniques. In this respect Dr. Clark's book is a challenge to the archaeologists of several countries.

Although factual, and extensively footnoted, the text runs smoothly. Dr. Clark is at his best on catching and gathering, on primitive means of locomotion, and on the sequence of occupation in Northern Europe, but the rest of the continent is not neglected and the evidence is skilfully woven into a continuous narrative. Comparative data from modern preliterate peoples, and from historical accounts of European communities, are used sparingly; the author evidently feels that the difficulties of argument by analogy which this approach requires are too great. In this, as in his refusal to build an elaborate reconstruction of primitive social structure on his archaeological data, he shows great restraint. In all sections there is constantly before the reader the fact that 'the surviving evidence is seriously incomplete': none the less the fullness and detail of the economic history that is here presented will surprise many archaeologists and historians. It represents a triumph of many years of research. Students, both of archaeology and of anthropology, are under a debt of gratitude to Dr. Clark. The non-specialist, too, will find the book full of interesting and rewarding material about the demands and uses which prehistoric man made of his habitat at different epochs during the settlement of the European continent.

J. M. MOGEY

CORRESPONDENCE

Kinship Structure in an English Village. Cf. MAN, 1952, 100. With a text figure

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SIR,—I was most interested to read Mr. Curle's analysis of the kinship structure of a Yorkshire village. May I be allowed to outline the results of a similar investigation made in a parish in West Cumberland?

The maximum extent to which most of the inhabitants 'claim their kin' is shown in fig. 1. It will be seen that the total kindred that the average person recognizes are divided into four main groups, one of which is not given a collective name in the local terminology.

While a sharp distinction is recognized between 'the father's side' and 'the mother's side' in 'claiming kin,' there is no overt

difference in the ties which unite the respective parents' kindred to the individual. Generally, relationships as far as second cousin are traced in detail, but among younger villagers the exact relationship of more remote kindred is a matter requiring reference to older members of the family. The term 'forty-second cousin' is used to describe any relative considered too distantly placed to be identified exactly, but the degree to which relationships are traced makes the use of this term relatively rare. Some indication of the ramifications of the kinship structure may be gained from the fact that in the cases of four individuals who named other parishioners as their 'forty-second cousins,' the relationships had to be traced over five generations, and in one case over six.

Just under half the occupiers and their wives have 'family' relationships with at least one other household in the parish, and many 'families' extend over six or more households. Over 80 per cent. of the occupiers or their wives are 'closely related' to at least one other household in the parish, and nearly 65 per cent. are 'closely related' to two or more households. In several cases the network of 'close relatives' extends over 10 or more households.



FIG. 1. KINSHIP STRUCTURE IN A WEST CUMBERLAND PARISH

An attempt has been made to give a generalized diagrammatic representation of the relative closeness of the ties between one man and his kindred. Only the 'mother's side' of the kin group is shown.

Relationship by marriage is also recognized, but most people distinguish clearly between kindred and 'in laws.' Informants almost invariably omitted 'in-laws' when listing their 'relatives.' Nevertheless, ties by marriage are the basis for social relationships, and in some cases these ties are closer than those existing between individuals and their more remote kindred. Analysis showed that out of a total of 226 families (households), 197 were cross-related by blood or marriage.

Kinship terminology emphasizes the close bonds that are felt to exist between the present members of a kin group and those of the past. People talk of a 'father's brother' rather than of an 'uncle,' and of a 'father's mother's sister' rather than of a 'great-aunt.' The terms 'once removed' and 'twice removed' are not used, and clearly there is no difficulty in determining the relationship of ego to the older or younger generation.

The members of each kin group tend to associate more among themselves than with non-members, despite the fact that kindred are not grouped territorially. Co-operation between kindred in major and minor affairs of everyday life is continuous, and is emphasized in crisis situations. The internal solidarity of the kin group is particularly evident at baptisms, funerals, and the like, where as many as 80 to 100 relatives may be present. Moreover, blood ties are normally stronger than considerations inspired by class distinction, in spite of the fact that the social class system is well developed in the community. In fact, the social relationships characteristic of the kin group in this area appear to correspond fairly closely with those described by Mr. Curle as confined to the 'core family,' with diminishing participation by the more remote kindred.

The historical evidence offers an interesting commentary on the present kinship structure. The open-field economy was almost unknown in this part of West Cumberland, but this was not—as in Scotland—accompanied by a clan system. Correspondingly, partible and impartible inheritance have co-existed from mediaeval times, and joint succession has occurred quite frequently during this century. This and other evidence too detailed to quote here suggest that this area has for several centuries occupied a position intermediate between the two extremes of Celtic Scotland and the 'champion' country.

Preliminary studies which I have made suggest very strongly that the type of kinship structure described above is typical of much of rural Cumberland and Westmorland, and possibly of other parts

of Northern England as well. I notice that Mr. Curle seems unaware of this, although the village he selected is in Yorkshire. Would I be far wrong in assuming from this that his village is situated nearer Sheffield than, say, Wensleydale?

Thornhill, Cumberland

W. M. WILLIAMS

Death Masks in Ancient China. Cf. MAN, 1952, 20

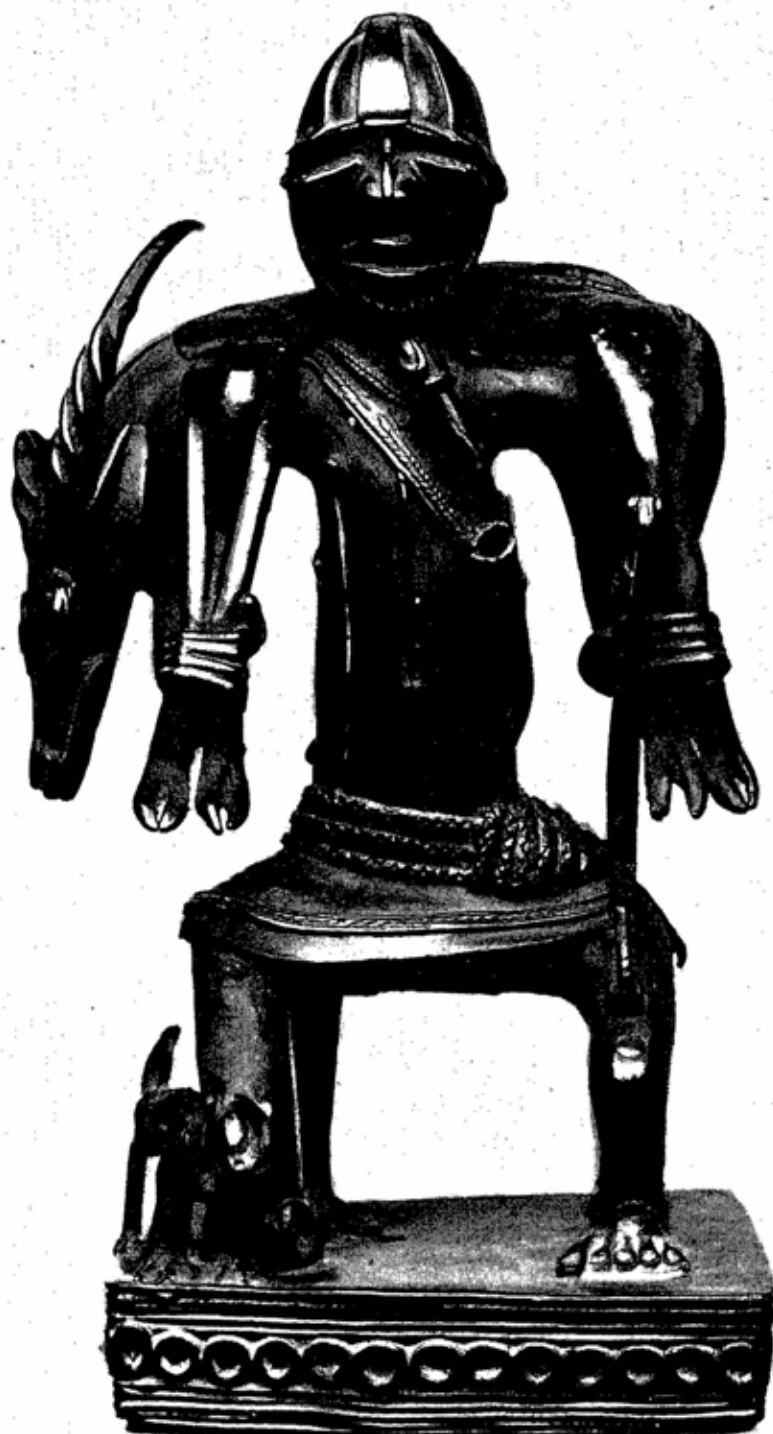
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SIR.—With the bronze and silver masks discussed by Mrs. B. Z. Seligman, we may consider the peculiar mosaic, or rather composite, 'tomb masks' which Bishop White describes from Hsün Hsien and Anyang in northern Honan ('Bone Culture of Ancient China,' *Museum Studies*, No. 4, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1945, Plates XCIX to CIII and pp. 41, 209). Specimens are now in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The Hsün Hsien finds were unearthed during the excavation of tombs in 1932-3. Fortunately, the date could be ascertained from inscriptions found on some weapons. It is 'the period of K'ang Hou, the younger brother of Wu Wang, and would thus be immediately following the overthrow of the Shang dynasty' (White, p. 41). 'The most interesting objects were giant animal masks (*fang hsiang*), built up in sections, and similar to various bronze mask sections occasionally appearing in material from Anyang. In tomb 8 excavated at Hsün Hsien there were no less than seven of these built-up masks, and the parallel to the mother-of-pearl masks illustrated in this record is very striking. These masks are likenesses of hideous monsters placed in the tomb to dispel evil influences. Modern shaman exorcists are called *fang hsiang shih*.' The shell specimen illustrated on Plate XCIX of Bishop White's book is 29 cm. high (not including the horns) and 27 cm. wide. 'Most of the fragments were stained with red ochre' (*loc. cit.*, p. 210). Although these composite masks are in every respect much more primitive than the majority of *Tao Tieh* masks, it is probable that both are genetically and functionally related. But the most interesting fact is the absolute identity of the technical idea of the *fang hsiang* of Honan with the composite masks of ivory pieces excavated at Ipiutak in the extreme north-western corner of Alaska by Helge Larsen and Froelich Rainey, 1939-41 ('Ipiutak and the Arctic Whale-Hunting Culture,' *Anthrop. Papers*, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. XLII, New York, 1948, Plates 54 and 55, pp. 123f.). Only two sets of these ivory carvings were found, and the smaller was found with the skeleton of a child (Plate 98, fig. 4). Larsen and Rainey found evidence that the sets of ivory pieces were probably originally embedded in wooden bases. But there are two important differences from the Chinese counterparts: the Ipiutak 'masks' are smaller, but on the other hand they are much more elaborate. Ipiutak is dated by its excavators—only tentatively and with the necessary reserve—about the first or second century A.D., but this suggestion refers only to the appearance of the Ipiutak culture in Alaska. Larsen and Rainey have made it probable that the ancestors of the Ipiutak people came from 'the region around the lower Ob and Yenisei' and that the earliest possible date of the Ipiutak culture is 'the middle of the first millennium B.C., when iron objects were widely used on the open steppes of Eurasia' (Larsen and Rainey, p. 160; cf. Birket-Smith, 'Recent Achievements in Eskimo Research,' *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXVII, p. 152).

Larsen and Rainey themselves recognize 'an undeniable resemblance between the mask-like set of carvings and ancient Chinese art,' and I suggest that the pieces from Honan (c. twelfth century B.C.) represent the definite Chinese parallel. Finally, the Chinese miniature masks of bronze must be mentioned (illustrated, for example, in the exhibition catalogue of Dr. Herbert Mueller's 'Sunglin Collection of Chinese Art and Archaeology, Peking' (New York, 1930, Herbert J. Devine Galleries), Plate XVIII). These masks (some 'tragic,' others 'comic,' according to Herbert Mueller) also have a striking parallel in Ipiutak where miniature human masks and heads carved from ivory and antler were found (Larsen and Rainey, Plate 52). Herbert Mueller wrote a paper on the history of the mask in China (funeral and on the stage), as announced on p. 25 of his catalogue. It was intended to publish it in the first issue of *The Sunglin Papers*, but whether it appeared I do not know.

Ethnographical Collection,

LEONHARD ADAM

Department of History, University of Melbourne



A NIGERIAN BRONZE FIGURE FROM BENIN

Height 14½ inches. Photograph (and figs. 1 and 2) by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

A NIGERIAN BRONZE FIGURE FROM THE BENIN EXPEDITION*

by

WILLIAM FAGG, M.A.

Department of Ethnography, British Museum

210 The remarkable bronze casting illustrated in Plate J was recently acquired by the British Museum following its appearance in Sotheby's Auction Rooms, and must be accounted among the most important single pieces ever added to the ethnographical collections. It was collected, presumably in Benin itself, by the late Admiral Stuart Nicholson, a lieutenant in the Benin Expedition of 1897, and has not been published before.

The figure represents a huntsman kneeling on his right knee and carrying an antelope across his shoulders, while his bow is held in his left hand. He is shown wearing a hat or helmet, which may possibly be of straw with leather tongues applied to form a radial pattern on the crown. By his right knee, on the corner of the square base, is a small dog which has presumably assisted in the hunt (like the very similar dog which accompanies a Portuguese arque-busier seen out hunting on a well-known Benin plaque in the British Museum). A most puzzling feature of the composition is the treatment of the hunter's right leg, which disappears into the base just below the knee, and does not reappear, although the whole right foot is visible, supporting the hunter's right buttock on its heel (fig. 1). It is hard to know whether to attribute this peculiarity to some last-minute makeshift introduced by the artist for technical

reasons, perhaps to give a greater stability to the figure, shortly before the wax model was invested in the fireclay, or rather to a bold and original stroke of the artist's imagination, having some mystical or perhaps purely aesthetic



FIG. 2. BRONZE HEAD FROM BENIN

Perhaps Igbirra work; height 6½ inches; Plass Collection



FIG. 1. REAR VIEW OF FIGURE

* With Plate J and two text figures

significance. The second hypothesis seems to me in keeping with the extraordinary prominence given to the iliac crests. I cannot conceive that these strange distortions are to be attributed to incompetence in the artist who could achieve the superb lines of the upper portion of the work; it may be, on the contrary, that they are essential to the artist's conception and that this is only obscured for us by the uniqueness and stylistic unfamiliarity of the piece.

In general, this casting notably transcends the rather pedestrian convention of even the best works of the Benin tradition, and various details, such as the bulging eyes, also set it stylistically apart. At the same time, some connexion with the Benin style is suggested, for example, by the form (though not the precise decoration) of the square base. It seems reasonable to suggest that it originated at some centre within the limits of the Benin empire. This might have been one of the Yoruba towns to the west or north of Benin, but on the whole I incline to a suggestion made to me by my friend Mr. J. D. Akereolu, of Owo, that it may be Igbirra or Igala work, that is, from the region of Idah on the Niger some 90 miles to the north-east of Benin—a region which, with that of the lower Benue may prove crucial in Nigerian art history.

Fig. 2 is offered for comparison, and reference may also be made to Plate 9, No. 25, in the Royal Anthropological Institute exhibition catalogue *Traditional Art of the British Colonies* (1949), and to General Pitt Rivers's *Antique Works of Art from Benin* (1900), figs. 134, 137-8, 265-6 and 299-300, for other somewhat similar objects.

BEMBE TREATMENT OF POLLUTION DURING PREGNANCY

by

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211 The Babembe¹ believe that a loss of ritual status during pregnancy may spring from different kinds of contagion. It is commonly believed that it is extremely ominous for a mother to be pregnant at the same time as her daughter, and it is generally asserted that it would result in the death of one or both of them. Moreover a mother has always to preserve herself against sexual contagion which might affect her because of her daughter. Before entering the village where her daughter lives, a mother has to take every precaution for fear that, at the very moment, her daughter might have intercourse with her husband. In the same way, a father may be contaminated by his daughter-in-law. Although it should rather be conceived as an idealized pattern of behaviour, many Babembe say that a man must not have premarital intercourse with his future wife, the sanction being that his father might die when eating from the manioc paste prepared by that woman.

Pollution during pregnancy may have two primary sources, the nature and method of removal of which are described here. It is universally accepted that parturition will become laborious if a husband has intercourse with other women during his wife's pregnancy, or if the wife mates with other men during that period.

In the first case, the wife might die from *lusiko*, deposition of sperm in another woman. Special reference must be made here to the polygynous family, and a distinction drawn between the attitudes claimed in relation to a senior wife or a junior co-wife. When his senior wife is with child, a Babembe abstains from sex relations with her from the third or fourth month on. A junior wife, however, must not be left alone and intercourse only ceases from the ninth month on. Even though a senior wife be pregnant, it does not matter whether or not a man has sexual relations with her junior co-wife. But if a junior co-wife is with child a man has to take all necessary precautions when desiring to continue intercourse with his senior wife. He therefore calls the *mbu'i wa mahano*, a medicineman specializing in these matters. The procedure is simple: the *mbu'i* takes a chicken and invites the two wives to take hold of the upper and lower part of its beak and the husband to clasp its legs. Thereupon the medicine-man ritually kills the chicken by cutting horizontally through its beak. He now mixes the blood with 'elembo powder and with water that the wives went to fetch with his gourd ('*achuba*') in each house of the village. The husband and his wives then drink the mixture in turn, while the medicineman gives the following precepts: 'When your junior wife brings forth, none of your other wives may be pregnant; when your child is born, neither you nor your other spouses may take the child up, lest it should die; only when it

begins to crawl about are you allowed to do so.' No further treatment is necessary and the *mbu'i* leaves with his payment of two chickens and a bundle of salt.

More intricate is the case of a woman who has mated with other men during pregnancy, which is regarded as *usambya chemi*, 'to mix up the foetus.' The old women (*babukuma*) teach the young girls in this way: 'If you had intercourse with other men, you must confess it; if you fail to make the appropriate revelation before or on the day of delivery, parturition will be abnormal and dangerous; on seeing your child for the first time, you might die or want to tear it to pieces.' With regard to the treatment, a distinction must be made according to whether a woman confesses some time before the day of delivery or on the day itself. Furthermore the methods of healing vary according to the personal experiences of the medicinemen and the tradition to which he belongs. If the woman confesses to the old women of the village some time before the day of delivery, they immediately call her husband, who has to search for a *mbu'i*. When he arrives, the first thing the medicineman is supposed to ask is 'Did you mix with other males?' If the woman answers '*nasambya*,' (I mixed), she is asked to mention all the names of the adulterers. Babembe do not believe very much of what their women say, and the *mbu'i* brings along as his first medicine '*abulabula* (*ubula*: to open), which will favour a rapid and complete confession. '*Abulabula* is a concoction of *tekuchi* herbs and *m'manga* roots, which are cooked with river water; its vapour is inhaled and causes profuse perspiration. After everything has been revealed, the adulterers are sent for; in the meantime, the *mbu'i* prepares the *mte wa pende*, the medicine against pollution (*pende* from the verb *u'ihenda*, to take one's self, to mix the foetus). For this purpose he always carries his special gourd (*ngumbu*) with him, which contains several powders.

I know two different preparations of this '*elembo* mixture of dried, burned and pulverized herbs, roots and other ingredients. When he is short of pharmacopocia, 'Emengele sets out alone in the bush; when he is out of sight, he undresses and carries only his sickle ('*ahelu*') with him. He first of all draws water at the confluence of two rivers; he then halts before the '*esanda*' tree, making several *mitumba* (beating with the flat hand on the hollow fist) and explaining the purpose for which he came. He now puts four pieces of charcoal in the four directions of the tree together with two banana leaves, and begins to scrape off the bark of the '*esanda*'. When he judges the amount of scrapings to be sufficient, he leaves the spot without looking any more at the tree. After having dressed again he slowly returns to the village. At the first crossroads (*m'ma'ano*) he gathers some earth, holding his hands behind his back. Afterwards

he picks herbs and grasses on three different village paths (*ilembo*) in three different ways: first, with his hands behind his back; secondly, with his hands crossed (*ihendulanya mabo'o*); thirdly, with his arms passing under his legs (*ichinganya*). He particularly looks for 'esasi and msebaseba grasses and for *m'mota'ema* tubers. He thus regains the village, where the medicine must be prepared. After he has dried the herbs and grasses, he pounds them and mixes them together with the earth and the bark scrapings. He then washes the beak and legs of a chicken, adds this water to his hotchpotch and kills the chicken ritually by cutting it horizontally through the beak. While the blood drips on his medicine, he says: '*Nabu'a pende, ana'anda alala na balumyana babele, na'yaka mchilo wa pende*' (I treat pollution, although she sleeps with two men, I lift up the sanction of pollution).

When the *mbu'i* is asked to administer his medicine, he mingles a part of it with the water drawn at the confluence of two rivers and makes the woman drink it; part of the other half is given as an enema by the old women, whose treatment takes place in the bush. In the remaining part of the concoction, the woman must look at herself and afterwards at the sky, while the old women say: '*twabu'a pende*' (we treat pollution). After the woman has eased nature, she is carried back to her hut, where the third stage of the treatment begins.

This consists of the cooking and eating of *isaba*. The medicineman bruises '*akoba'ase'e*' tubers together with '*amwaka*' and '*asokasaba*' grasses and gives it to the old women. It is their task to cook it in the woman's house and to add some meat or fish or pounded groundnuts to it. Meanwhile the adulterers have arrived and a second rehearsal of the woman's confessions takes place. The woman mentions the name of each man with whom she slept, cutting at each name a piece of a stick and throwing it into the *isaba* cooking pot. In turn, the *mbu'i* repeats: 'If it be this one with whom you slept, you will bear.' Finally, the adulterers also have to explain how they happened to sleep with that woman. Before leaving the hut, the medicineman repeats once more the names of all the adulterers, beating at each name with the flat hand on the hollow fist above the woman's head.

After the delivery has been completed, the *mbu'i* applies his fourth and final treatment. He pounds *mte'ya* and *ichimya'aya* herbs, kneads them together to a ball (*i'emo*) and puts them in a *mtoto*, a leaf used as a funnel. The old women express the juice into the eyes, mouth, anus and vulva of the *mbyele*, the young mother.

I have mentioned already that the treatments are not all uniform and that almost every medicineman has his own specialities. It may be useful therefore to refer briefly to another manner in which the *pende* medicine is prepared.

A great *mbu'i* of the Sibachwa area told me that he prepared his *pende* as follows. His first ingredients are not only the dried sexual organs of male and female wild animals, but also the placenta of dogs and, particularly, the organs of a *mbuchi ya ndjukwa*, a goat which was born in the village and not imported from Burundi. He put his comments in

this way: 'That she-goat that slept with its own children; that he-goat that committed incest with its own mother.' All these ingredients are then dried, burnt and bruised together with the bark of the '*echubu*', '*amnaka*', '*mchibe*' trees, the leaves of the '*amnaka*', '*lulunga*', '*abenda*', '*e'ukuwa*', '*e'ochi*', '*echimya'aya*', '*luholoholo*', '*asibu*' trees and shrubs, the roots of '*mwenesopo*' and '*asukulukyi*' trees, the young shoots of the banana tree, thorns of the '*mwenelulenge*' shrub, and roots of trees that remained after a caving-in of the flank of a hill.

It may also happen, the Babembe say, that a woman has failed to confess her trespasses and that, after having given birth to a child, she wants to kill it. The old women, who render assistance, then quickly snatch the child away from the mother and cover her with the skin of a sheep, while they send for a *mbu'i wa msoshi*, a great medicineman. In order to canalize the resentment of the mother and to make the sight of her child bearable to her, the *mbu'i* acts as follows. He takes earth from around the cavity of the closet, mingles it with water and puts it on a stool (an object that plays a dominant part in all Bembe rites d'aggrégation). Adding to it '*e'akya'akya*', '*ubya*', '*m'manguchi*', '*minanga*' and '*bi-bunge*' herbs, he prepares the '*ambi*' medicine. The woman has now to drink from the water which did not soak into the earth and remained on the stool. The mixture itself is administered with a funnel and instilled into her eyes.

During the procedure first described the medicineman, as an additional treatment, makes two incisions ('*embe*') on each thigh or arm of the woman and rubs '*elembo*' powder mixed with the blood of a chicken into them.

If the treatment has been successful, i.e. if the mother—not necessarily the child—lives, the *mbu'i* will be rewarded. If he treated the wife of a close kinsman, e.g. a member of his extended family group or of his minimal lineage, he gets two chickens and a bundle of salt from her husband's kin and two chickens and a bundle of salt from her maternal uncles. If the husband of the wife is a more remote kinsman, the payment is heavier and may include a goat. Each of the adulterers has to pay '*eseko*', a retribution, in this case, of two units (a goat and a bundle of salt). If the woman dies, they have to repay the whole marriage payment to her husband and his kin. With regard to this *mbu'i wa mahano*, it may be noted that his function and techniques are hereditary within his own agnatic lineage or within his mother's lineage. A man's knowledge is, of course, not necessarily passed on to his eldest son, but much depends upon individual dispositions or predilections. A boy slowly acquires the necessary principles while acting as '*apenga*', a companion and assistant of his father, or grandfather, or elder brother or maternal uncle.

Finally, almost every area of Bubembe has its own *mbu'i wa mahano*, whose activities are thus restricted within his own area and very often directed to his close agnatic and affinal kinsmen.

Note

* The Babembe are a patrilineal people living in the Fizi-Mwenga Territories, Kivu Province, Belgian Congo. My fieldwork among the Babembe was undertaken on behalf of the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale (I.R.S.A.C.); Centre de Recherches Scientifiques du Tanganyika à Uvira, Congo Belge.

SHORTER NOTES

Recent Ethnographical Studies in Bosnia: The Work of Milenko Filipović. Notes by Sir John Myres, O.B.E., F.B.A., and others

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From Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have come in the past much valuable material for descriptive ethnography; and this tradition is admirably maintained in recent volumes by Dr. Milenko Filipović, copies of which have been presented to the Library of the Royal Anthropological Institute (where a number of similar publications of the Serbian Academy of Science may be consulted). Their lay-out adheres fairly closely to that of earlier contributions to the same series. They consist almost entirely of lucid information, from which comment and analysis are clearly separated. Abstract classification and tabulation by categories have been avoided, so that they are the nearest possible approach to field work.

The Life and Customs of the Peoples of Visočka Nalijđ (Serbian National Academy, Vol. LXI, Belgrade, 1949, pp. 336). This is a detailed survey of this region of central Bosnia, based on the author's researches between 1922 and 1930. After topography and the composition of the population come economic conditions, communications, dwellings, domestic management and equipment, food, costume, social life and many branches of folklore.

Glasinač (same series, Vol. LXI, 1952, pp. 463). This is based on studies, in the early thirties, on the population, customs, and traditions of this part of Bosnia, which is of particular interest to pre-historians, and has been extensively excavated; the early iron age remains being of especial importance. The mediæval remains, however, have been neglected, and Filipović traces interesting associations between mediæval and surviving customs. While the population has been completely changed and renewed at various times, there has been little change in the economic life.

The Zadruga (*Nesrodnička in Predvojena Zadruga*, Belgrade, 1945, pp. 61). This is a valuable addition to the literature of the 'joint family,' based on field work and research in the twenties. The Balkan *zadruga* is not necessarily a family of blood relations. In some cases poor individual peasants united to form a common household for mutual aid, either permanently or for an agreed term; this might be based either on contract pure and simple, or the formality of adoption (father and son) or pact of brotherhood (adoption of brothers). In some areas non-related joint households (*zadruga*) or households related through the female line were particularly common. Others were formed by relatives-in-law.

Dr. Filipović has collected, probably for the first time, references to such households in earlier literary and ethnographical sources. He thus shows that this basis was common necessity among poor and isolated families, especially those who had migrated individually into sparsely populated regions. In this way they strengthened their economic position, enlarged their labour force, and secured better protection against robbers and public enemies. Sometimes a *zadruga* consists of households living separately, even miles apart, but centrally directed. Dr. Filipović believes that this process occurred mostly among incoming colonists, and that in general the *zadruga* was least developed where tribal or clan organization survived. Here too, however, weaker clans joined for mutual support. He suggests further that this collective economy mainly developed in periods of economic poverty and foreign occupation. But if it is implied that *zadruga* economy arose from the breaking-off of families from a tribe or village community, more evidence will be required.

In view of recent revival of interest in basic problems of kin-

ship organization, and the history of tribal society, these observations raise most interesting points of general interest. Here is a wholesome reaction from 'functionalism' and emphasis on historical approach. Social anthropology, moreover, has not yet wholly been emancipated from the 'classical' concepts of Maine and his successors.

Dr. Filipović defines the *zadruga* as 'an institution of the life of the people, which rests upon a community of work (according to the principle of co-operation and the division of labour) and upon a community of interest for the sake of supporting existence more easily.' But the history of the *zadruga* is more complex than this, and further analysis is needed of its economic and social role, and its different types.

Primitive Ceramics made by Women among the Balkan Peoples (Ethnographical Institute, section 2, 1951, pp. 186, 46 illustrations, English summary). In all Balkan countries except Montenegro (where there are no native potters) the women make hand-wrought pots, while the men use the wheel professionally. Forms and methods closely resemble those of prehistoric sites, and are associated with customs, magical actions and beliefs of great antiquity. These fabrics are rapidly disappearing, and Dr. Filipović has rendered a great service by recording these survivals. He gives a very detailed map of the sites where these pots are made, from Belgrade to the Sea of Marmara and Montenegro. They do not occur, however, in Bosnia or Herzegovina. He notes other districts adjacent to these, in Albania, North Greece and European Turkey.

Principal forms are pans, baking covers, and other pots; massive discs, pyramids and cones, whorls and statuettes, and ovens and stoves. The pans are for baking flat loaves, and are the mainstay of this fabric; sometimes these alone are made. They are made at set seasons, from special clay, kneaded with the feet, and shaped in a hole in the ground or a hollow board. They are dressed with dung, soot, vitriol or salt water, and dried before baking. Parching-pans are of larger size, baking covers convex, and sweetmeat discs quite flat. Pyramids, cones and cylinders are used as props for cooking pots and for spindles for yarn, and as loom weights; but have been much displaced by iron firedogs and trivets. They are frequent on prehistoric sites. Whorls serve to weight spindles and near Skoplje and Strumica the women use prehistoric whorls, found accidentally. Ovens are often made on a frame of osiers or a pile of chaff. Statuettes magically protect the pans. Handmade pots also were made until living memory in a few districts.

With the use of the wheel, the men intrude into what was exclusively women's work. But there are still many restrictions. Pans may not be made in a house where anyone has died within a year or more, or by a woman whose children die, or who has touched a corpse. There are prescribed days for digging the clay—St. Jeremy (1 May o.s.), St. Athanasius—and seasons, and phases of the moon; these days vary locally. There is a ritual for clay-digging, singing, dancing, offering of bread, and for pot-making, and many taboos. Magic to preserve the pans includes naming them, touching them when finished with iron or a hen's feather, or basil or garlic, or marking with a cross, or setting a figurine to protect the new batch. The pans themselves have magical virtue, they heal people and cattle and must not be taken over water. Earthen cones, among the Mijaks, are called 'old men' and are given supper on Christmas Eve; so too the iron andirons in Albania.

These manifold observances in the Balkans are a challenge to students in other lands where primitive arts and crafts persist.

Horniman Museum Lectures, October–December, 1952**213**

Among lectures arranged for Saturday afternoons at 3.30 p.m. at the Horniman Museum in the present quarter are the following which are of special interest to anthropologists: 'Canoes, Cannibals and Cat's Cradles,' by Mrs. K. Rishbeth (18 October); 'Ancient and Modern Art in

Central Nigeria,' by Mr. Bernard Fagg (25 October, with film); 'Courts of the Shan Princes,' by Mr. Maurice Collis (22 November); 'Life in Tibet,' by Lt.-Col. Bailey, C.I.E. (29 November); 'The Mildenhall Treasure,' by Mr. J. W. Brailsford (6 December); and 'Chinese Shadow Plays,' by Mr. H. F. Simon (13 December).

REVIEWS**GENERAL**

The Exact Sciences in Antiquity. By O. Neugebauer. Copenhagen (Munksgaard) (U.K. Agents: O.U.P.), 1951. Pp. viii, 190, 14 plates, 30 text figs. Price Danish crowns 42

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This is a handy and valuable book on a difficult subject. It only deals with mathematics and astronomy, and only comes down to the end of the Hellenistic Age, but it begins with a historical retrospect, and account of numbers and the simplest mathematical processes. The 'September' plate from the Duc de Berry's *Book of Hours* (1416) illustrates the continuity between ancient astronomy and late mediæval calendars, and the great break which comes with the introduction of mechanics into astronomical matters by Newton and his contemporaries; even Copernicus and Kepler constantly refer to Ptolemy, and modify Hellenistic tradition. Early numerals are explained in ascending order, with an explanation of the sexagesimal system in Babylonian computations, and the use of special signs for commodities such as silver. Each chapter has a convenient bibliography, and footnotes for special points.

Babylonian mathematical texts, divided into 'table texts' and 'problem texts' have their own peculiarities and rules for their use, of which samples are discussed. 'Pythagorean numbers' illustrate problems concerning relations between numbers, never sharply separated from 'algebraic' methods. Interest in procedures is shown by collections of formulae. Geometrical components are less significant. Tables of 'coefficients' were compiled for many substances and relations such as 'diagonal' and 'inheritance.' Fresh discoveries are still being made, as the very numerous collections of tables are deciphered, and fresh advances in theory from tablets from Susa. But 'Babylonian mathematics never transgressed the threshold of pre-scientific thought.' Further details must be sought in the author's *Vorgriechische Mathematik* (Berlin, 1934).

Chapter III, on the Sources, deals with the history of Mesopotamian excavation, supplementing the critical examination of manuscripts and papyri for Greek mathematicians, including the vexed question of traditional figures. Even now no reliable edition exists of the *Geography* of Ptolemy. The modern catalogue of astrological writings, now nearly completed, contains many mathematical and astronomical passages; and a Renaissance manuscript has part of a star catalogue of the time of Hipparchus. A rather sad picture is given of the disorganization and hazards of the search for papyri and for cuneiform tablets, and especially of the incompetence of official supervision of sites in those countries. It should not be necessary for even the date of excavation of objects to be gleaned from that of the newspapers in which they are wrapped, and so of the site from which they come. And not all museums enjoy as good a climate for preserving tablets as their home land. Editing and publication are sadly in arrears; and these arrears seem to be accumulating; and methods of reproduction are often defective. This is a section of the book which deserves careful attention by museum and library authorities and the administrators of university and research trust funds.

Egyptian Mathematics and Astronomy, in Chapter IV, present a rather different scene from Babylonian. The role of these subjects was much smaller in Egyptian life, for sundials and mathematical geography. Egyptian procedure is essentially additive, but has deeper insight into uses of fractions. Except in regard to the calendar, it had very little influence on Greek mathematics; but in this matter it was supreme and unsurpassed, by its very simplicity. Egypt experienced several changes of astronomical method, separated by long periods of stagnation and re-copying, so that a new edition of the whole material is needed. Under the Ptolemaic dynasty the

Græco-Babylonian zodiac appears on the monuments, and also astrological papyri in Greek or Demotic, and texts correlating the planets with the signs of the zodiac; but they are based on computations, not on observations. Lunar festivals are correlated with the civil calendar (twelve months of thirty days with five supernumerary) in a Roman Demotic text, convenient and durable, but not scientific. A ruthless note on p. 91 deals in one sentence with the Greek Pyramid and all its 'mystery,' and refers for details to N. F. Wheeler in *Antiquity*, Vol. IX (1935), pp. 5–21, 161–89, 292–304.

Babylonian Astronomy is surveyed separately in Chapter V, but necessarily incompletely. Our knowledge has been revolutionized by Epping and Kugler, replacing traditional Hellenic estimates. Of Sumerian astronomy nothing is known. The earliest text (Hilprecht Collection at Jena) is a Cassite copy of an old Babylonian type. The earliest observations are of Venus, dated in the contemporary lunar calendar in the Hammurabi period. Astronomical summaries (*mul apin*) begin about 700 B.C. based on older material, but clouds and halos rank with eclipses as omens, and Ptolemy had records of eclipses back to 747 B.C. The 19-year cycle of lunar months and solar years seems to appear much later but before Seleucid times, when more accurate methods were known. It appears in Greece after about 450 B.C. and the zodiac in a text of 419 B.C. Its constellations are much older.

Astronomical tablets were first deciphered by Epping and Strassmaier in 1887 from still unpublished texts in the British Museum—a remarkable lacuna—and are one of Neugebauer's special interests, discussed much more fully than the rest of his book (pp. 101–31).

There is an instructive warning on p. 132 against the 'pan-babylonian' theories of Jeremias, though his school 'no longer has any followers,' thanks mainly to the meticulous scholarship of Kugler. On divination and astrology more at large reference is made to C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* (Schweich Lectures, 1948). The Babylonian 'Saros' is explained in a note on pp. 134–36; and the 'secrecy' of ancient oriental sciences disproved (p. 137).

Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest* represent Hellenistic science better as mathematics than as astronomy (Chapter VI). Parts of Heron's geometry were a Hellenistic form of a general oriented tradition, algebraic or arithmetical, and survived in the *Algebra* of al-Khwarismi (c. A.D. 800–850). But the traditional discoveries of Thales and Pythagoras may be unhistorical, and the problems of their contemporaries different. They dealt with axiomatic procedure and Greek geometrical algebra. The Greeks themselves had theories about the origin of mathematics, especially referring to land-measurement and architecture. Plato's role has been exaggerated, even on Theætetus or Eudoxus, and his doctrines have had more influence on the modern interpretation of Greek science. In principle, ancient astronomers pretended only to 'describe' the appearances, not to 'explain' them. For this, oriental influences were not indispensable: the Babylonian lunar theory, however, had influence, and Berossos, a Babylonian, taught in Cos about 270 B.C.; but we know little more.

In Chapter VI interesting examples are given of the origins and transmission of Hellenistic science, of the survival of Babylonian methods, of the relation between Babylonian, Hellenistic and Indian traditions, and of the influence of astrology, for which the evidence is more copious; with a final caution against the reckless use of 'Greek mathematics' in general, when we only know three mathematicians and a single astronomer. JOHN L. MYRES

Beginning in Archaeology. By Kathleen M. Kenyon. London (Phoenix House), 1952. Pp. 203. Price 12s. 6d.

215 Miss Kenyon is a well-known archaeologist who has had considerable experience in certain kinds of archaeological exploration. As might be expected, therefore, there is much useful information to be found in this book. Equally, as must be inevitable in so small a work, much is omitted or merely mentioned. The earlier chapters introduce the subject to the reader. Perhaps more tables and references to standard textbooks would have enabled the author to devote more space to the latter part of the book, which deals with the techniques of excavation and exploration generally. Here much useful matter will be found in certain fields—such as earthworks, masonry buildings, tells, hut circles, etc.—but the prehistorian interested in caves or gravel pits will not find much help. Some idea, too, as to how small finds, such as flint or bone tools or pottery sherds, should be described would have been useful and could well be included should a second edition be called for. All would-be archaeologists will gain by reading the Conclusion, especially paragraphs 1 and 2 where Miss Kenyon stresses the fact that no book is a substitute for practical experience, and that all excavation is destruction. Again, in paragraph 3 it is stated that excavation, however well executed, without adequate publication is wanton destruction, a fact which is too often forgotten even by experienced workers. The bibliography is surely much too short and works included should have been graded into 'elementary,' 'more detailed,' etc. Appendix II gives a list of the British Universities where the subject can be seriously studied and examinations taken. Appendix III mentions the British Schools of Archaeology; Appendix IV the posts for archaeologists which at present exist; while Appendix V lists the more important archaeological societies. Within its limits there is much good material in the work. One only wishes that these limits could have been wider, as within so small a compass it is probably impossible to include and give equal stress to all the different archaeological periods and types of excavation. Nevertheless the archaeological beginner and the student who wants to know where his or her budding interests may lead will find the book most helpful.

M. C. BURKITT

Man and the Chemical Elements: From Stone Age Hearth to Cyclotron. By J. Newton Friend. London (Griffin), 1951. Pp. ix, 354, 4 plates. Price £1 7s. 6d.

216 The frontispiece to this book, showing the trial explosion of the first atomic bomb, is a somewhat depressing choice at the present time; however, the radio-elements only occupy one short chapter and we may at once say that the whole book is most readable and useful. To the anthropologist or archaeologist Dr. Friend's discussion of man's discovery and use of the chemical elements is naturally of most interest; to this subject a large part of the work is given. After consideration of the permanent and inert gases, the Halogens, etc., adequate chapters are devoted to the sulphur, phosphorus and zinc groups. The so-called coinage metals—copper, silver and gold—are fully and admirably reviewed. From the author of *Iron in Antiquity* one would have wished for a more expanded discussion of the iron group, but, although 47 pages are devoted to this subject, no doubt Dr. Friend suffered under the unfortunate space limitations to which we have become so accustomed.

Not all metallurgists or archaeologists will agree that the metallurgical discovery of metals, as products of ores, was made in the domestic hearths of Stone Age man (pp. 9 and 90). At least in the case of copper, there are decidedly serious practical difficulties to the full acceptance of a theory which may well be an over-simplification of what actually happened. Concerning the statement (p. 259) 'whilst still in the stone age, man used both native copper and iron,' it would have been of much interest had Dr. Friend given an up-to-date list of the known finds of objects made from meteoric iron. So far the material published is very scanty, and much of it dates to long after the end of the Neolithic age. In general, the research worker who is interested in the origin and history of the metals will find in this book much material of high standard and value. In a future edition it would be of advantage if space could be

found to list the recent analytical research and contributions to metallurgical matters of Dr. Oldeberg, Professors Forbes and Pittioni, the late Dr. Witter and others. One of the great difficulties of research upon prehistoric metals is to know when, and where, analyses of ancient metals have been made. H. H. COGHLAN

Flint Implements: An Account of Stone Age Techniques and Cultures. By W. Watson. London (British Museum), 1950. Pp. 80. Price 4s.

217 This new British Museum guide to Stone Age man's tools succeeds the late Mr. Reginald Smith's booklet, in the same series, which was published in 1926. It is not a revision of the earlier handbook, but a new account necessitated by the vast strides that have been made in prehistory in the past 25 years. The author has unfortunately not been able to make up his mind, in a number of cases, whether to follow the earlier school of thought, or to accept the new ideas arising out of recent work; in consequence he tends to fall between two stools in certain respects.

Thus we are told that 'during the Lower Palaeolithic there are two distinct traditions of stone-working . . . one concentrating on the production of handaxes, and the other . . . on flakes.' This of course is the old idea. Later, however, we are told that recent evidence, both in Europe and Africa, shows that the Chelles-Acheul handaxe culture made extensive use also of flake tools and the Levalloisian culture, at certain stages, of handaxes. Similarly we find that the old definition of the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic as being synonymous respectively with the 'flake-point' cultures and 'blade-and-burin' cultures is presented, while we have also put to us the idea that the terms Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic have a chronological significance.

It is quite clear today that the terms cannot have both these meanings, and it would seem better to say straight out that the extension of the study of prehistory outside the narrow limits of South-West Europe makes it necessary to treat the terms Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic simply as chronological divisions of the Palaeolithic, and without any reference to the type or types of culture existing during those divisions, which must be considered simply on a cultural basis.

In spite of these criticisms and a number of others that could be detailed (such as the statement that 'in Africa the terms Early, Middle and Late Stone Age are used,' whereas in fact this is only true of South Africa—less than a quarter of the Continent—), this little guide is in most respects good, and well worth the modest price charged for it.

L. S. B. LEAKEY

A Study of Writing: The Foundations of Grammatology. By I. J. Gelb. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1952. Pp. xv, 295. Price £1 5s.

218 From early signs and symbolic pictures, the author traces the development of writing through various stages to the modern alphabet. After the ground-laying Chapter I, in which—with immense industry and a clear outline of the voluminous material—he discusses Writing as a System of Signs (emphasizing incidentally the oft forgotten early unity of writing and drawing), Professor Gelb deals with the Forerunners of Writing (Primitive Drawings, Descriptive-Representational Devices, Identifying-Mnemonic Devices, and Limited Systems). He then takes up in turn the main systems of writing which he calls Word-Syllabic Systems (Sumerian, Egyptian, Hittite, Chinese, Proto-Elamite, Proto-Indic, and Cretan), and Syllabic Writings, amongst which he includes not only the cuneiform, the Cypriote, the Byblos, and the Japanese writings, but also the north-west Semitic scripts, generally considered alphabetic, and even some scripts which have not yet been deciphered (although, as mentioned before, certain other scripts as yet undeciphered—such as Cretan and Proto-Indic—he considers 'word-syllabic'). Finally, he examines the various problems concerning the Alphabet.

In a succeeding chapter, the author 'attempts to establish general principles governing the use and evolution of writing on a comparative-typological basis.' Finally, Modern Writings among Primitives are examined, the question of Monogenesis or Polygenesis of Writing is considered, and the author expresses his

opinion on various problems in the field of Writing and Civilization (Importance of Writing, Writing and Speech, Writing and Art, Writing and Religion), and particularly on the Future of Writing. A peculiar Terminology of Writing, an excellent bibliography and rich bibliographical notes, as well as an analytical index, conclude this comprehensive volume.

The author, well known for his partial decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic script, is Professor of Assyriology at the University of Chicago. In the present volume, he attempts 'to lay a foundation for a new science of writing,' which he calls grammatology. I cannot accept either his method or his conclusions. Elsewhere I have discussed his conclusion concerning the general evolution of writing and the north-west Semitic alphabets, which he considers syllabic. Here it may be mentioned that his conclusion in 'placing the so-called "Maya and Aztec writings" not under writings proper but under forerunners of writing' (notwithstanding the fact that the Mayas, for instance, produced beautiful MSS.), or 'that the mysterious "Easter Island inscriptions" do not represent writing but formal designs for magical purposes,' will not find general agreement among scholars.

Nevertheless the author has done a useful service in reasserting certain first principles often neglected by scholars, and the present criticism cannot detract from the solid merit of a general survey in so vast a field. Anthropologists and other scholars will recognize this book as an outstanding personal achievement.

DAVID DIRINGER

Geheimkulte. By Will-Erich Peuckert. Heidelberg (Pfeffer), 1951. Pp. 664.

219 Professor Peuckert has collected a considerable amount of material on secret cults which he first presented to the students at the University of Göttingen in form of lectures and 'Seminar-Übungen.' While some readers might prefer a more concise composition of a longish book, others will certainly enjoy the author's personal and inspiring approach to a problem which can be found all over the world and which dates from the time of the cave paintings and the stone-age knife for circumcision until the fairly recently established cult of the Freemasons.

Secret cults presuppose, of course, the existence of secret societies and we can readily accept the author's arguments that founders and members had 'to go underground' because their aims were in conflict with the accepted political, social, legal or religious order. Less convincing are the author's attempts to explain mankind's inherent social instincts. This special problem had been dealt with in a masterly way by Professor Gustav Mensching, in his important work *Soziologie der Religion* (Bonn, 1947).

Professor Peuckert has made many original comments upon initiation rites, the various Mysteries, mask-bearers, Berserkers, werewolves and witches, though we cannot help missing references to Dr. M. A. Murray's profound studies on witchcraft and secret societies. His major contribution, however, lies in his differentiation between the ancient cults of female planters and the younger cults of men who till the land. Comparing the outstanding part played by women in the worship of Astarte or Demeter and by the men in Mycenae he comes to the conclusion that northern male notions and southern female notions met and clashed somewhere in the Mediterranean area. In the German-speaking Alpine borderland between the north and south some traces of this conflict, which

caused male organizations to succeed to the female, still survive in the complex character of the 'Perchten.' ELLEN ETTLINGER

Psychoanalysis and Culture: Essays in Honour of Géza Roheim. Edited by George B. Wilber and Warner Muensterberger. New York (Internat. Universities Press), 1951. Pp. xii, 462. Price \$10.

220 This book honouring Géza Roheim on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday is a collection of essays contributed by a wide variety of Roheim's friends, pupils and colleagues. The variety of contributors reflects the extent and diversity of Roheim's interests and influence in the field of culture and personality. However, as with most collections of essays, the book lacks a dominant theme or a central idea, and this prevents a genuine systematic organization of the contributions.

The 28 essays are organized into six parts in the following order: Culture and Personality, Sociology, Epistemology, Mythology, Linguistics, and Art and Literature. In support of Roheim's position, the two related ideas which receive the most vigorous support or are frequently assumed as given are (1) that the only adequate psychology for anthropology must have cross-cultural validity and must be based on pan-human universals, and (2) the 'oedipal' situation must be accepted as a universal. With respect to the first, Weston La Barre most explicitly disposes of the 'relativists' and 'culturologists' and doubts how lasting the significance of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown will be. With respect to the second, Malinowski's observations on the lack of an oedipal situation among the Trobrianders come in for explicit attack in several of the essays.

Essays of most direct interest to anthropologists are the Berndts' 'The Concept of Abnormality in an Australian Aboriginal Society,' Devereux's 'The Primal Scene and Juvenile Heterosexuality in Mohave Society,' Dyk's 'Notes and Illustrations of Navaho Sex Behaviour,' Kluckhohn's and Morgan's 'Some Notes on Navaho Dreams,' and Goldfrank's 'Old Man and the Father Image in Blackfoot Society.'

In the group of sociology essays Robert Waelder on 'Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism' and R. Money-Kyrle on 'Some Aspects of State and Character in Germany' offer psychological interpretations of political problems within a framework which does not do injustice to the political events of the recent past. Marie Bonaparte in 'Some Psycho-analytic and Anthropological Insights Applied to Sociology' relates the Oedipus complex to the problem of revolution and counter-revolution and in the process does away with Marx and Engels.

The section on Art and Literature is excellent and is a singular tribute to Roheim's influence in this area. The essays range from 'Roots of Primitive Art' by Warner Muensterberger to 'About the Representation of Death in the Art of Antiquity and in the Unconscious of Modern Man' by Martin Grotjahn. Mark Kanzer's interpretation of the work of Robert Louis Stevenson as self-analysis and Geraldine Pederson-Krag's analysis of the motives which lay beneath Keats's poetic work are ingeniously contrived and satisfying interpretations.

Adolf Zeckel, who does a psycho-analytic piece on 'The Totemistic Significance of the Unicorn,' could have had a field day with the Lion and Unicorn at the Festival of Britain.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

AFRICA

Kharga Oasis in Prehistory. By G. Caton-Thompson, with a Physiographic Introduction by E. W. Gardner. London (Athlone Press), 1952. Pp. xx, 213, 128 plates, 38 text figs. Price £3 10s.

221 This well printed and lavishly illustrated volume is a pleasure to handle in these lean post-war years. The critic might even be allowed the suggestion that the ample margins of the printed page could have been reduced, with a saving in bulk, weight and cost.

Kharga Oasis lies about 100 miles south-west of the Nile at Abydos, in a depression some 350 metres below the level of the Libyan Plateau. Between 1930 and 1933 Miss Caton-Thompson and a small party carried out three seasons of archaeological field recon-

naissance with some test excavation in the area, and this is the definitive report. It is divided into six parts: The Physiographic Setting, General Introduction to the Stone and Later Ages in Kharga, the Palaeolithic Prehistory of the Oasis Floor, the Palaeolithic Prehistory of the Scarp, the Later Stone Age Industries in Kharga, and the Peasant Neolithic Period. Not the least interesting section is the Preface, with its details of the planning and execution of the field work. 'Camels are unobtainable in Kharga owing to a deadly seasonal disease.' Particularly in archaeological work abroad, local problems of administration and environment, to say nothing of accidental tricks of fate, play a large part and usually deserve a much fuller account than they receive. Early explorers were not so reticent

and we have reason to be grateful to them. The present volume wisely records such practical and circumstantial details.

The text describes consecutive sites grouped regionally, while the corpus of plates at the end follows a chronological sequence. This arrangement has worked well. The great majority of the line drawings of implements were made by Mrs. L. S. B. Leakey, while others are the work of Mr. C. O. Waterhouse. They reach a high standard of clarity and presentation, though more might well have been reduced below a 1:1 scale without any significant loss. There are some excellent photographs of the terrain and setting of the sites, but those of the test excavations are insufficient and disappointing. There is one example of the air photographs specially taken by the Hon. Lady Bailey, who flew solo from England in her 'Puss-Moth' aircraft (which she serviced herself throughout her visit). Others have been published in *Antiquity*, Vol. V, etc. This air photography and air reconnaissance was an important and original development both in the archaeology of Egypt and in palaeolithic studies. Miss Caton-Thompson is to be congratulated for stressing its value. These observation flights 'gave a broad physiographic comprehension of the land.' 'They eliminated, for one reason or another, large tracts of our concession as useless for our purposes, thereby saving weeks of futile ground work.' There is perhaps little that air observation can do for the European Palaeolithic, but outside Europe it can be employed (in suitable conditions of terrain) to great advantage in the location of areas suited by topography and surface geology to Stone Age pre-peasant sites. Williams-Hunt has recently outlined its application to the discovery of certain coastal camp sites of the Australian Stone Age.

A decision of policy directed the attention of the expedition primarily to securing the palaeolithic sequence. 'At an early stage of our work in the oasis it became plain that the quantity of prehistoric material to be investigated and reduced to some sort of chronological order was so great that severely self-imposed limits to the scope of the work would be essential. Concentration, for instance, on the Neolithic remains—by which word I mean, very broadly, the Libyan equivalent of the Predynastic—could well have occupied our entire time.' Certainly, the post-Palaeolithic material was of great interest and deserves following up. The groups of stone alignments, long narrow parallels sometimes internally divided, seen at Bulak Pass (p. 43), particularly excite comment.

As is well known, the Expedition took the field with the help and under the auspices of a Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute (with Professor Sir John Myres as Chairman), and received further generous support from the British Association, the Percy Sladen Trustees, and many other bodies and individuals.

Preliminary accounts had already given ample indications of the major importance of the results, in the description and classification of the immense mass of palaeolithic implements, and their correlation with geological phases. This final report will fully confirm the expectations already aroused and the lasting value of the Expeditions initiated by the Royal Anthropological Institute.

J. S. P. BRADFORD

The Old Stone Age in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. By A. J. Arkell. *Sudan Antiq. Serv. Occ. Pap., No. 1.* Cambridge (Deighton, Bell), 1949. Pp. 52. Price 5s.

This account of the palaeolithic discoveries made in the Sudan by the author provides the first good evidence of the potential wealth of that area as a field of palaeolithic study. It also provides a first stage in the filling of a big gap in our knowledge of the Stone Age of the African Continent.

The paper deals mainly with surface finds, and the first part deals with a very important site at Khor Abu Anga, where some *in situ* material was also found. The author tends to fall into the pitfall of using typology too much for dividing up both surface and *in situ* finds, forgetting that in any stage of culture it is a commonplace to find a high proportion of tools which—taken by themselves and out of their context—might be regarded typologically as representing an older stage. While the surface and *in situ* material from Khor Abu Anga includes pebble tools, Chellian forms, Acheulian forms and Sangoan (formerly Tumbian) types, the assemblage, as a whole, from layer 4 and the base of layer 5 is quite characteristic of

the Sangoan proper, in which culture there is always a predominance of early forms. There is also some evidence, perhaps, of a later Sangoan in the higher levels. Mrs. Leakey and I have both seen the whole assemblage recently in Khartoum, and have little doubt that there is no evidence at that site of any genuine Pre-Chellian, Chellian, and Acheulian culture, since the specimens from which this inference is made are all such as would occur normally in a Sangoan assemblage associated with the more typical lance-head types. A number of other sites yielding handaxes are then discussed, after which we are given an account of the fossil-bearing beds in the Singa area where the famous Singa skull was found.

The author's views on the evidence of climatic changes are not easy to follow, especially when he states 'the absence of fossils at all Acheulian sites suggests that there was a comparatively dry period.' There are vast Pluvial deposits in other parts of Africa where also no fossils are found; although an occasional patch where conditions for fossilization were good—in contemporary deposits—sometimes turns up after years of search and provides evidence of the fauna of the period.

The publication of this report should stimulate an extensive study of the Palaeolithic of the Sudan area, where clearly a great deal of new evidence awaits excavation.

L. S. B. LEAKEY

The Fung Kingdom of Sennar (with a Geographical Account of the Middle Nile Region). By O. G. S. Crawford.

223 Gloucester (Bellows, for the author), 1951. Pp. xxi, 359, 38 plates, 25 text figs. Price £2 15s.

Mr. Crawford's research has produced a work of great interest, though one which is (as he admits) not easy to read. The difficulty is largely inherent in the very fragmentary and intractable sources which he has had to use to compile the history of this African kingdom of the south Sudan that spanned the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As one would expect from the author, the account is full of original (and often controversial) ideas and pungent comment, and is invigorated by a sharp eye for topography and the potentialities of terrain. But in spite of great efforts, many of the most essential features of the Fung state remain baffling at present. Much ground has, however, been cleared for any future work.

One of the chief difficulties is to decide 'Who were the Fung?'; and several experts, particularly Mr. A. J. Arkell, have discussed this point. Explanations of their origins and ethnic composition variously involve the tribal Shilluk, adventurers from the Abyssinian borders or Muslims from Bornu. In chapters X and XI, Mr. Crawford debates the evidence at length, but is forced to the following conclusion: 'When first writing this section, I said that the Fung problem could only be solved by excavation. On second thoughts I expect it will never be solved, and will remain as a perennial subject of friendly argument, like our own invasions of the Dark Ages. The next move is with the archaeologists.' Indeed, the obscure details of the topography of the Roman frontier, and the vexed battles and shadowy kinglets of our Dark Ages, which have always interested the author, have a good deal in common with the sort of problems of Fung history with which the reader has to grapple.

But that such a task was worth carrying out there should be no doubt from the viewpoint of archaeology, of history or of anthropology, even if the record finally appears one of 'three centuries of barbaric squalor.' This kind of combination of all three approaches is, beyond doubt, the best way to re-establish the historical outline of Tribal Africa, and great discoveries await its extended use. It is to be hoped that those in a position to do so will use the same method to give us soon a reconstruction of the past of the Gold Coast and of Nigeria, crucial areas by any estimation. Mr. G. E. Harvey's monumental *History of Burma* (1925) continues to represent the kind of model to be aimed at, when making order from chaos.

Mr. Crawford prefaces his account of the Fung with a long and useful description of the region in terms of ecology, and sketches the proto-historic background from Meroë onwards (which includes the elusive but persistently interesting Christian culture of Nubia with its famous early Medieval town of Soba, at present the scene of Mr. Peter Shinnie's excavations).

In any future edition the printing of the maps on folders would be a desirable improvement, thus helping the reader to locate more

easily the great quantity of place names, unfamiliar to all but few. The plates reach a high standard. Some are of much ethnographical interest, and others diverting (e.g. Plate 34, 'Krump exorcizing evil spirits').

In view, presumably, of his recent book on the excavation of a cemetery of the Fung period at Abu Geili, Mr. Crawford has omitted all but a brief mention in the present volume of the pottery, etc., found there and attributed to this culture. Some examples may be seen in the comparative series of ancient, recent and modern African pottery now exhibited in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. It is interesting to make a general comparison of the variant forms of burnished pottery with impressed patterns of basketry derivation found in this region of Africa from earliest times, and still traceable today among the Zande, in Nyasaland, and elsewhere.

The volume ends with an apparatus of no less than 30 appendices, including king lists, early travellers' itineraries, etc. But, most surprisingly, there is no index. This is a serious impediment, of the kind which the author himself has often inveighed against from the editorial chair of *Antiquity*. Mr. Crawford has tried 'to atone,' as he says in the foreword, with synopses and cross-references, but these could never succeed in rounding up adequately the host of unfamiliar personal and place names to which the interested reader will wish to turn again. It would be ungenerous to labour the point, but the more troublesome an index is to prepare the more it is needed.

The whole cost of printing this stimulating book was generously paid by the Trustees of the Wellcome Trust, created by the will of the late Sir Henry S. Wellcome. J. S. P. BRADFORD

Studi Etiopici: IV, La Lingua Caffina. By Enrico Cerulli. Rome (Istituto per l'Oriente), 1951. Pp. vi, 561. Price 5,000 lire

224 The few works dealing with Kaficho, the language of the Kafa of western Abyssinia, available hitherto are difficult of access, and Dr. Cerulli's addition to his *Studi Etiopici* is welcome, not only because it provides another book, but because he can approach the subject with a breadth of scholarship and linguistic knowledge that is lacking in other studies of Kafa except that of Reinisch—and since Reinisch's day there has been a great advance in the study of African languages. The plan of this book follows that of the earlier volumes in the series. It begins with a short summary of Kafa history (taken largely from his own *Etiopia Occidentale*, 1930), and a vocabulary of the Mangio hunters (pp. 1-21). The grammar, which begins with a study of the phonetics (pp. 22-52) occupies pp. 53-319. A number of texts, including those on which the grammar is based, are given on pp. 320-88; and the book ends with a Kafa-Italian comparative vocabulary (pp. 389-522), and a short Italian-Kafa vocabulary (pp. 533-51).

As a source book for studying Kafa in relation to other languages of North-East Africa, Dr. Cerulli's contribution is naturally much in advance of the work of his predecessors Reinisch (1888), Bieber (1908) and Masera (1936); the last-named contains the shortest possible outline of the grammar, but has a vocabulary of reasonable length. This advance is due to the extended knowledge of the languages of Abyssinia—an extension in which Dr. Cerulli himself has had no small share. Nevertheless, his material must inevitably be compared with the work of his predecessors. In vocabulary there is a large measure of agreement. Cerulli does not use *s*, but replaces it with the prepalatal which he writes *š*, so that Masera's *kiso*, 'arm,' appears as *kīšō*; *sigo*, 'name,' becomes *šigō*. In only about 7 per cent. of the words is there any disagreement more serious than that of orthography. Masera, for example, has *sero* = 'work'; Cerulli gives *šunō* for 'work,' and assigns the meaning of 'taboo' to *šerō*. Cerulli has two conjugations, a long and a short, while Masera has only one. But there are differences both in form and meaning: Masera's Future has a suffix *-emm-* which Cerulli applies to what he calls the Imperfect of his long conjugation; Masera's Present has the suffixes S.1. -o, S.2. -en, S.3. masc. -e, fem. -an; P.1. -on, P.2. -ote, P.3. -ete, whereas Cerulli has an Imperfect (short conjugation) with the suffixes S.1. -e, S.2. -i, P.1. -ona, P.2. -ote, which seems to correspond to Masera's present, though he does not give the complete tense. For the Imperative, Masera had S.2. -b, P.2. -bot, and Cerulli, S.2. -e, P.2. -ote.

This comparison emphasizes a serious defect in method. So far as I can judge, the grammar is based entirely on texts, and when a part e.g. of a tense does not occur in the texts, it does not appear in the grammar. This seems clear from the incomplete tenses, etc., and also from such statements as '*nei materiali da me raccolti non si trovano sicuri esempi della seconda persona singolare del gerundio*' (p. 144), and '*non trovo esempi di plurale del modo relativo*' (p. 134).

Much of the phonetic section is mere book-making. Of what use is it to state that certain consonants or vowels are in 'reciprocal opposition' (*opposizione reciproca*)? Thus, we are told (p. 29) that '*l, r si caratterizzano per opposizione reciproca*,' and among the examples given are *ilō*, 'backbone,' and *irō*, 'cloud'; *gal*, 'open,' and *gar*, 'clean (butter)'. So in English we have *ale* and *are*, *pal* and *par*, with as much semantic connexion as the Kafa words have with each other. Examples are also given of the 'opposition' of *p, b; t, d; ċ, ġ; k, g; q, ġ; f, m; w, y*; and the vowels *a, i; a, u; a, e; a, o; i, o; i, e; u, e; u, o*. '*Le vocali di timbro scarsamente differenziate, si distinguono fonologicamente per opposizione. La vocale a, infatti, è distinta per opposizione dalla i e dalla u.*' One is tempted to ask, in the vulgar phrase, 'so what?'; for the examples are simply words which differ both in vowel and meaning: *abō*, 'sun,' *ibō*, 'dung'; *gattō*, 'ox,' *guttō*, 'two,' etc. One might as well begin an English grammar by saying that words are distinguished by difference in vowel and consonant, e.g. *bat, bet, bit, but; bat, cat, fat, mat, rat*, etc. Such statements shed no light on the word-formation of Kafa, on its phonetics or on its relations with other languages. The section on phonetic changes between Kafa and other languages (pp. 35-50), on the other hand, is of much interest and value, and, with the Kafa-Italian vocabulary, forms one of the most useful parts of the book.

The short study of the Mangio language (pp. 11-21) contains much of interest. Many of the words are shown to be Hamitic (Sidama), if not actually Kafa. Some interesting forms occur:

Elephant: *dokamo*. There are two morphological groups of this word, a northern, comprising Gala, Somali, Afar and Agau; and a southern, comprising the Sidama languages. The northern form from \sqrt{dken} is e.g. *dakamo* in Afar, while the southern has become *dang-*, e.g. Kafa *dang-iyō*. The Mangio form (together with Janjero *zakno*) belongs morphologically to the northern group.

Spear: *širō* seems allied to Bilin *shura*, though this need not invalidate the factual connexion with the 'Nilotic' Mekan.

Honey: *dammō*. Cf. not only Gala *dama*, but also Gelaba *dhamit* and Gorowa *danu*.

Foot: *qommiyō* is surely related to Awiya *kammi*, Amharic *camma*, rather than to Mekan *kubič*, Suk (and Nandi) *kupes*, 'thigh.'

Colobus: *qeriyō*. The Nilo-Hamitic stem is *koroi-* (Masae), *koroi-it-yo* (Nandi).

By this book Dr. Cerulli has undoubtedly made a notable contribution to the study of Kafa and the Sidama languages. But it is by no means exhaustive, and a full grammar and vocabulary of the languages are still needed. For the present, however, we are grateful for it, and especially for the vocabulary of about 1,580 words.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

The Basuto. By Hugh Ashton. O.U.P. for Internat. Afr. Inst., 1952. Pp. xi, 355, map, photographs. Price £1 15s.

225 Basutoland has been strangely neglected by anthropologists. Tribal and political history has been adequately, and language superlatively, treated; there have been admirable physiographic surveys; and numerous articles containing ethnographical material have appeared, chiefly in missionary periodicals; but apart from one or two slight sketches there has been no attempt at a comprehensive account of the Basuto since that written by Eugène Casalis 90 years ago. Now Hugh Ashton has filled the gap. Born and bred in the country, he has synthesized the published material in addition to recording the results of his fieldwork in 1934-36 and 1949. The book has been modified and amplified since it was accepted as a Ph.D. thesis by the University of Cape Town. The author acknowledges that without Dr. Schapera's help it could never have been written. Having the general reader (and particularly South Africans) in view,

he reserves theoretical discussion, apologizes for 'eschewing jargon' and for retaining old-established verbal usage such as spelling Basuto for BaSotho. But he has not produced a superficial 'popular' book; it is a serious study of the people as they are at present, in a crucial stage of their development. The Sotho culture is far from homogeneous. As integrated by Moshesh the nation comprised many tribes or fragments of tribes, including Nguni elements. The nature of the terrain has hindered complete assimilation and it would seem that some sections have proved more resistant than others to European influence. The BaTlokwa living in the mountains still observe old customs, the initiation of boys, for example. In the lowlands most of the people live 'by a hotchpotch of old and new customs.' In addition to describing the manner of life under such rubrics as Social Background, Education, Social Routine and Activities, Mr. Ashton makes a gallant and largely successful attempt to assess the worth of economic and political institutions in the actual unstable state of affairs. I would single out for special commendation the chapters on land tenure and political and judicial organization. One fact that stands out is the uneven distribution of wealth. No doubt there have always been 'poor' and 'rich,' but the gap between them has widened. A chief may die worth over £20,000 and there are some wealthy commoners; but on the other hand a considerable number have neither stock nor land—and this among a people whose traditional system theoretically ensures every tribesman an adequate share of the soil. Extensive erosion, the grabbing of much of the best arable land by Europeans during last century, the favouritism of the chiefs and other factors have produced this result and caused a decrease in the population through emigration. Apart from this permanent loss, well over one half of the adult males are at any one time absent in search of wages, with unfortunate social consequences. There is no balanced economy independent of this labour migration. From the beginning the British administration has aimed at ruling Basutoland through the traditional institutions. But the chieftainship developed along lines that Moshesh never contemplated. In the old days the power of the chiefs rested upon the people: it was axiomatic that *Morena ke*

morena ka batho, 'a chief is a chief by (virtue of) the people.' But in the course of years the chiefs have tended to become autocratic and oppressive. The change is signalized by the discontinuance of the *pitsi*, tribal assembly. The Administration, by a series of reforms of which many were stoutly resisted by the chiefs, has in recent years sought to democratize the institutions. The reforms, as may be read in Mr. Ashton's pages, lessened the powers of chiefs and headmen and undoubtedly gave occasion for the spate of mis-called ritual murders which came as a shock to those of us who looked upon the BaSotho as an enlightened and progressive people. Mr. Ashton's book was in print before the report was published of the official inquiry by Mr. G. I. Jones. This is mentioned in the bibliography (where *directlo* is a misprint for *diretlo*). In view of the inquiry Mr. Ashton thought that 'it would be inappropriate to discuss the question any further,' but he gives the results of his analysis of 34 cases (Mr. Jones gives particulars of 93 cases between 1938 and 1949; 19 convictions). In all but three of the 34 the leaders (proven or suspected) were chiefs or headmen, and some of them exceptionally intelligent and 'advanced.' As a rule the victim was a member of a different clan; why any particular person was selected for killing remains a mystery. It is clear that the practice was not a new importation. The murders were the logical outcome of a belief in *bongaka* (neither Mr. Jones nor Mr. Ashton uses the term), the potency inherent in 'medicines.' They belong to the same order of illusion as leads a MoSotho to get 'medicine' to enable him to pass an examination or secure the goodwill of an employer. Flesh taken from the living body being supremely efficacious, the chiefs sought it for the enhancement of their power which the reforms had diminished. Moreover, as Mr. Ashton sees clearly, the murders were a symptom of social maladjustment and the sense of insecurity that possesses the BaSotho in consequence of the drastic and profound changes caused by European influence. 'The recent development of racialism in South Africa may also have had an effect in encouraging the Basuto to turn away from European thoughts and attitudes, back to their traditional beliefs.'

EDWIN W. SMITH

ASIA

South Arabian Poetry: I, Prose and Poetry from Hadramawt.

226 Edited by R. B. Serjeant. London (Taylor's Foreign Press), 1951. Pp. xiv, 271. Price £1 15s.

This book is the arrangement and presentation of material collected in south Arabia during 1947-8 by a Colonial Research Fellow. The itinerary was from the Aden Protectorate coast at Mukalla via the upper Wadi Masila, Wahidi territory, and the Wadi Daw'an country, all of which are settled, cultivated and urban parts of the Hadramawt. Tarim was used as base. The present work is a careful study mostly in terms of colloquial verse; a second volume, in preparation, will provide a commentary.

Apart from some shorter pieces, the included material was collected from written copies made by native Hadramis. The author intentionally neglected political verse, a type which is superabundant in these lands, and concentrated on obtaining poems which contain information about Hadrami life, mentality and manners, and on poems which develop different types of traditional theme; in Hadramawt, poetry is a major art, practised and appreciated by all classes.

Partly because of the great range of difference of pronunciation from social class to class and from settlement to settlement, no attempt is made to offer a transcribed Romanized version of the material. But the Arabic script is pointed in as close conformity with the pronunciation, as heard by the author, as the Arabic script will allow. Much Hadrami poetry is composed to music, and it is the author's regret that he was unable to make a recording of each sung poem. The text in English covers fewer than one third of the pages of the book, but includes valuable accounts of contemporary poetry in southern Arabia, of the Hadrami poem and of the Hadrami song. The Arabic section of the book, boldly and clearly printed, and thus readily legible by persons whose mother tongue is other than Arabic, includes five prose passages, and 38 poems.

A scholarly and valuable work, the present volume is of literary

and linguistic interest mainly. Even so, an accompanying map to indicate locations of the little-known settlements where the included material was collected would have been helpful.

WALTER FOGG

Marriage and the Family in Caucasia: A Contribution to the Study of North Caucasian Ethnology and Customary Law.

227 By Louis J. Luzbetak, S.V.D. *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, Vol. III. Vienna-Mödling (St. Gabriel's Mission Press), 1951. Pp. xvi, 272, 4 maps.

After a general introduction ranging over physical anthropology, linguistics and prehistory, Father Luzbetak undertakes a comparative study of the customary law of the tribes of the main chain of the Caucasus with special reference to the family and to marriage.

Trained in Vienna, and now resident in America, the author came to work in the London Library on the rare collection of Caucasia bequeathed by the late John Baddeley, and he pays a handsome tribute to Baddeley's *Index Caucasica*, which is deposited in type-script in the Library. Unfortunately, Father Luzbetak did not see the Caucasia at the Bodleian, where the Morfill and Wardrop collections supplement the Baddeley Bequest.

After Stalin's massive intervention against the Marr School, it is satisfactory to see that the author joins Prince Cyril Toumanov, the leading Georgian scholar in America (*Traditio*, Vol. I, 1943), in paying a qualified tribute to the researches of the late Professor N. Y. Marr. On the other hand, the author's passing stricture on Bashmakov's work is hardly justified and he has evidently not seen the remarkable *Synthese des Periples Pontiques*, published posthumously in 1948, in which Bashmakov explores the 'Caucasian' features of the racial background of northern Anatolia and the Crimea. The author has also overlooked Aytek Namitok's *Origines des Circassiens*—notable as the first attempt by a Circassian to interpret the history of his own people in terms of modern science.

Incidentally, Namitok's thesis that the Circassians may be descended from the Cimmerians (*contra*, Vernadski in his recent volume *Ancient Russia*) supports Luzbetak's view that the Circassian culture has been strongly influenced by a 'pastoral-nomadic' background (pp. 199ff.).

In his extensive bibliography, Father Luzbetak lacks judgment in selection. He includes antiquated and unreliable works (Klaproth and Abercrombie) and cites in his text the egregious nonsense of Essad Bey (p. 77). He refers often to the Marr School, yet he ignores titles which bear directly on his subject. The studies of Marr and Janashia on the Abkhaz are available in English in the journal *Georgica*. For early Indo-European influences on the Caucasian tribes, Marr's 'Ossetica-Yafetica' (*Izvestiya of the Russian Academy of Science from 1918 onward*) is important; reference may also be made to his 'Sukhum and Tuapse: Cimmerian and Scythian Contributions to the Toponymy of the Black Sea Coast' (in *Izvestiya of the Russian Academy of Material Culture*, Vol. IV). There are numerous papers on the same theme in *Yafeticheski Sbornik*. Immediately touching Father Luzbetak's subject are Marr's articles 'The Abkhazian Origin of the Georgian Term *Bida* (Uncle)' (for the 'avunculate') in *Izvestiya R.A.S.*, 1914; and 'The Gothic Word *Guta* (Man): On Gothic Connexions with the Peoples of Caucasia' in *Izvestiya R.A.S.*, 1930.

In view of Father Luzbetak's familiarity with the works of M.-F. Brosset and his citation of Georgian titles in the bibliography, it is surprising to find that he has overlooked Brosset's edition, with Georgian text and French translation, of Prince Wakhush'ts *Geographical Description of Georgia*. This classic of the eighteenth century contains precious information on the social history of the Georgians and the Ossetians. Father Luzbetak further ignores the splendid work of Professor I. Javakhishvili: *Kartveli Eris Istoria* ('History of the Georgian People'); *Kartulis Samartlis Istoria* ('History of Georgian Justice'); *Sakartvelos Ekonomiiuri Istoria* ('Economic History of Georgia'). These volumes are now essential to any serious study of Caucasian sociology.

Equally surprising is Father Luzbetak's neglect of Evliya Chelebi's *Seyahatnamesi* ('Record of Travels'). The full text of this Turkish Peypis is only available in the 10 volumes of the Turkish printed edition, but over a century ago von Hammer made an English edition of the first four books. Evliya's work is replete with Caucasian lore, but Luzbetak only refers to the brief article by Bleichsteiner in *Caucasia*. Again, the 12 volumes of the nineteenth-century *History of Jevdet Pasha* contain many passages on the Circassians and on the tribes of Daghestan. These form the basis of recent articles by an Azeri scholar, Mirza Bala, in the Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. On the Turkish tribes of northern Caucasia, an important omission is I. L. Shcheglov's *Turkmen and Nogays of the Stravropol Government*. In this field, indeed, it may be said that Zeki Velidi Togan's *Türkistan Tarihi* ('History of Turkistan') and his *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş* ('Introduction to General Turkish History') have now become essential to the study of the sociology of the Turkish nomad peoples. In fact, until the works of native scholars like Javakhishvili and Togan are translated into a European language, western students of the Caucasus will continue to work under a grave handicap.

In recording the omission of important sources, I do not wish to over-emphasize the defects of Father Luzbetak's book. The author renders a real service in drawing attention to a number of recent central European and Soviet researches, including the notable work of Professor Wölfl in *Archiv für Anthropologie* (1942). He has sorted and coordinated a great mass of facts and his index and bibliography are likely to be of permanent value. W. E. D. ALLEN

Anthropometric Measurements of Maharashtra. By I. Karve and V. M. Dandekar. Deccan Coll. Monog. Ser. No. 8. Poona, 1951. Pp. 134. Price Rs. 12/-

228 Maharashtra, the culturally defined region of Marathi language in western India, was the scene of two earlier investigations by Dr. Karve; its major endogamous groups provide the data for the present intensive study.

The general description of the region and short ethnological notes on the 58 tribes and castes concerned are followed by metrical

details. Graphical examination of these distinguishes five major caste clusters, within which are discernible subgroupings 'from the point of view of ethnology . . . meaningful.' Generalized Distance analysis within one of the major clusters, the Marathas, also distinguishes subgroupings, but it is found difficult 'to put in physical terms the nature of these distinctions.'

The ABO blood groups, although indicating significant differences between castes, fail to suggest any groupings comparable with those distinguished by general inspection of measurement means, and the conclusion, somewhat hasty perhaps since the majority of samples include fewer than 50 individuals, is drawn 'that blood-group data are of little value in discovering caste configurations within Maharashtra.'

In content, the paper is readable, stimulating in its discussions, interesting in its suggestions of a penetration into India from the north-west by an unnamed mesocephalic Europoid stock, valuable for the amount of information contained. In practical production, the work leaves a certain amount to be desired; the blood-group tabulation tends to confuse, a stray seriation of nasal indices appears on p. 78 with no relation to anything in particular, occasional textual misprints induce a cautious approach to the tables of figures, and lack of consistency in the spelling of names is irritating. The enthusiasm which could tackle without the aid of a calculating machine the formidable computations involved, including those of correlation coefficients among 17 characters, deserves a better fate at the proof-reader's hands. D. F. ROBERTS

Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan: Socio-Political Structure

in Indonesia. By P. E. de Josselin de Jong. Leiden (Ijdo), 1951. Pp. viii, 208, 1 plate, 4 sketch maps, bibl. Price 18s. 6d.

229 This is a doctoral thesis submitted to Leiden University. Though the author appears to lack first-hand field experience he clearly possesses an extensive knowledge of the languages and literature of the whole Indonesian area. For English readers the book has a double importance. In the first place it includes a summary of nearly everything that has been published about the social structure of the two classic matrilineal Malay societies of Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan. The resulting analysis makes much better sense than any previous English-language effort in the same field and for this reason alone the book may be considered a most useful contribution. It does not, however, replace Loeb (*Sumatra*, 1935) as a general ethnographic account, or Kennedy (*Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures*, 1945) as a source of reference.

But the author is concerned with theoretical analysis as well as descriptive fact. In this he is both ingenious and interesting, though not always convincing. In 1935 Van Wouden (*Sociale Structuurtypen in de Grote Oost*) elaborated an extremely complex theoretical schema which purported to show that the social systems of Eastern Indonesia might have been derived from a system of 16 marriage classes coupled with a principle of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage and 'circulating connubium.' Although Dr. de Josselin de Jong clearly recognizes the excessive artificiality of this construct, I think it is not unfair to say that his book may be regarded as a version of Van Wouden modified to take into account the more recent theoretical propositions of Lévi-Strauss (*cf.* MAN, 1952, 13). He seems to say in effect: 'We grant that the recorded facts concerning Minangkabau are complicated and confusing. Let us suppose nevertheless that in the recent past the system of marriage regulation was sufficiently systematic for the society to have come within Lévi-Strauss's category of "structures élémentaires." On that hypothesis, and supposing further that many modern customs represent survivals from this earlier state, what was the "elementary structure" in question?' The author's conclusion seems to be that in former times Minangkabau social organization must have been based on a system of double unilateral descent coupled with matrilineal cross-cousin marriage and 'circulating connubium.'

The reader's reactions must depend a good deal upon his preconceptions concerning the objectives and methods of anthropological enquiry. Theory is necessarily abstract and the structure to which any particular theory may apply is at best only a model of what the fieldworker can actually observe. Clearly there must be some sort of correspondence between the theoretical model and the

empirical fact, yet even the most eminent authorities are by no means agreed as to what sort of correspondence should be expected. For my part, I feel that I have to reject Dr. de Josselin de Jong's interpretation for the following crucial reasons: (a) No rule of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage can be said to exist unless there is a total (or almost total) ban on marriage with a man's father's sister's daughter. On Dr. de Josselin de Jong's own showing there is no such ban today (pp. 61f.), nor does he convince me that there was any such ban in the past. (b) As evidence for the former existence of a system of 'circulating connubium,' he claims to demonstrate that there is a formal status difference between 'bride-givers' and 'bride-takers,' the former ranking the higher. This is a phenomenon which is also reported for a number of Indonesian societies, such as Batak and Tanimbar, which have been interpreted as having 'circulating connubium.' Yet if the author had thought the matter out a little more carefully he would have seen that it is precisely this formal difference of status which demonstrates that 'circulating connubium' cannot be the expected pattern for any of the societies in question.

Yet although I feel that much of Dr. de Josselin de Jong's argument must be regarded as speculation rather than empirically based hypothesis, I do not suggest that it should be rejected out of hand. What matters is not so much the plausibility of a theory as the use to which it is put. I feel myself that the inferences about a former system of double unilateral descent are far-fetched, but they would certainly justify a careful re-examination, in the field, of the Negri Sembilan succession rule of *adat geliran*. And the same holds true of other seemingly improbable theoretical propositions; they are useful so long as they provide a stimulus to empirical research. And certainly Dr. de Josselin de Jong's book is full of stimulating ideas; it deserves careful study by all who are interested in the theoretical aspects of the social anthropology of South-East Asia.

E. R. LEACH

Religion auf Ostflores, Adonare und Solar. By Paul Arndt, S.V.D. *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, Vol. I. Pp. xii, 248, map. **Het Hoogste Wezen bij de Manggaraiers.** By J. A. J. Verheijen, S.V.D. *Studia Instituti Anthropos*, Vol. IV. Pp. xvi, 240, map, English abstract. Wien-Mödling (Missions-druckerei St. Gabriel), 1951. Price Swiss Frs. 25 each.

The orientation and bias of these careful ethnographic studies are frankly stated by Fr. Verheijen when he writes 'the purpose of this study is to supply as much material as possible about the ideas of the Supreme Being prevalent among the Manggarai. . .'. The two volumes are complementary. Part I of the first volume concerns the eastern part of the main island of Flores, Part 2 concerns two adjacent small islands, Adonare and Solar; the second volume concerns the Manggarai people, who form a substantial part of the population of West Flores.

In East Flores, despite local variations, ideas of divinity are focused in notions of a cosmos consisting of heaven, earth and underworld populated respectively by gods, men and spirits. The main god, Lera (Rera) Wulan (Sun-Moon), is in some villages regarded as the only existing god. In other villages this deity is the Lord of Heaven, while the earth is ruled by his wife, Tana Ekan. The general pattern is common to this part of Indonesia.

The author carefully describes the native categories relating to spirits and also the native ideas on the human soul, the eschatology and the role played by the ancestors. The role of the medicine man (*molang*) in relation to magic, sorcery and witchcraft is also discussed.

In the account of agricultural, housebuilding, hunting and war ritual the close interrelationship between sacrifice, prayer divination and magic is demonstrated. As in other parts of Eastern Indonesia the deity Tuan Tana (Lord of the Land) is of considerable significance in the organization of land tenure.

In West Flores, among the Manggarai, the 'High God' is commonly known as Morin Keraeng (Lord of Princes). He is known also by numerous other titles such as Lord and Maker, Father above—Mother below, Husband above—Wife below, Sky above—Earth below, Sun and Moon, East and West, North and South. Fr. Verheijen regards such names as a figure of speech denoting respect for superiors, and rejects arguments that would treat such usages as survivals from some ancient dualistic cult.

The three-tiered cosmology of heaven, earth and underworld resembles that of East Flores. Discussion of incest regulations (pp. 78f.) leads the author to make a very brief analysis of Manggarai kinship organization, important features of which are patrilineal descent, patrilocal marriage and a special form of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. For the most part, however, the author confines himself strictly to the religious aspects of Manggarai culture. The degree of Catholic bias involved in this account is difficult to estimate.

The chief value of Fr. Verheijen's book lies in his extensive use of native texts. This should provide linguists and specialists in Indonesian mythology with very useful material. H. H. FRESE

Les Négritos de l'île de Luzon. By E. Genet-Varcin. Paris (Masson), 1951. Pp. 259.

231 The subject of Dr. Genet-Varcin's study is the collection in the Musée de l'Homme of skeletal remains of Negritos from Luzon. Detailed metrical description of the crania, referring to 15 adult male, 14 adult female and nine others, and of the bones of the postcranial skeleton, representing fewer individuals, is followed by their comparison with data relating to a number of other groups.

The author finds a close resemblance between the Aeta and Andamanese, but thinks that the pygmyoid Semang differ sufficiently to justify their separation from the true Asiatic pygmy Negritos; amongst whom neither the pygmies of New Guinea nor the Tasmanians may be grouped. Although the Negritos differ from the African Negrillos, especially in the degree of protrusion of the upper jaw and the width of the face, their many similarities allow a definition of the pygmy type—small stature, delicacy of bony contour, high vertical forehead, rather high orbits, broad nose, mesognathous or prognathous face, shallow pelvis, tendency for the distal limb segments to be elongated. The proportions and form of the skeleton lead to the conclusion that the Negritos are a pygmy brachycephalic variant of the Melanesian type.

It is doubtful whether the inclusion of means comprising both male and female figures serves any useful purpose. Stature estimates are obtained by the misapplication of Manouvrier's formula to this very different population, which probably accounts for the discrepancy between the estimate of 1496 mm. for males, and Deniker's figure for living males of 1465 mm. It is, however, interesting that the conclusions of basic identity of the Aeta and Melanesians support the views of Poutrin and Vallois on the relationship of the African pygmies to the neighbouring Negroes. D. F. ROBERTS

The Hall of Light: A Study of Early Chinese Kingship. By William Edward Soothill, edited by Lady Hosie and G. F. Hudson. London (Lutterworth Press), 1951. Pp. xxii, 289. Price £1 5s.

232 It might be supposed that in China, with her long unbroken history and her vast literature, it would be simple to trace the history of an institution. However, the very richness of the literary sources, the changes in the meaning of words with time, the interest shown by Chinese scholars in their own classics, with their various editing and interpolations, add to the difficulty of the task rather than simplify it.

Professor Soothill has made some suppositions as to the origin of kinship in China by comparison with the customs of primitive peoples and of the less cultured tribes still extant in China, but mainly it is from a study of the classics and existent practices and beliefs that he has put forward a picture of the dominant features of kingship in China, from the earliest times to the present day.

The emperor, 'Son of Heaven,' obtains his divine right not by direct descent but by virtue. Virtue, *Tê*, is maintained by the performance of ritual; the ritual that Professor Soothill investigated centres in the Ming Tang, translated as the 'Hall of Light.'

According to tradition, the five mythological rulers of the Golden Age, before the Hsia Dynasty (still considered legendary), performed the sacrifices at the Ming Tang, but it was in the Chou Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) that they were regularly carried out and, in the latter part of that period, were committed to writing. The monthly observances prescribe the exact ritual performances, the clothes, colours, emblems, food, food vessels, sacrifices, etc., necessary for the

emperor, so that the harmony of man and the forces of nature could be maintained. Thus was formed an agricultural calendar fixing the dates for all farming activities, silk-worm culture, hunting, fishing, markets, weights and measures, festivities, music and pageantry. It was only the emperor who could initiate these activities, for it was he who traditionally had the necessary astronomical knowledge. The centre of the Ming Tang was an observatory tower, where the emperor inspected the heavens; in the sacred field the emperor ploughed the first furrow, and the imperial ladies tended the mulberry trees and initiated the seasonal work on the silk worms. Grouped around the main structure were the schools for the instruction of princes, nobles and ministers. The barons had their local halls where they observed the clouds and the weather. The acceptance of the imperial calendar became a proof of loyalty, and thus the unifying principle of the empire. The erection of the imperial type of Ming Tang by an interloper was a declaration of independence. The foundation of a new dynasty was justified by the demonstration that a dissolute emperor no longer possessed the *Té* necessary to rule his country harmoniously.

The earliest observatory was said to be thatched and to have no

walls. This, the author deduces, was the simple hut of the medicine man who ruled by his knowledge of magic, hence the elaborate symbolism of Chinese lore derived from mimetic magic. With each change of capital, a new Ming Tang was built to the south of the palace, but with the breakdown of the feudal system the Ming Tang declined in importance and fell into desuetude. There were several revivals, notably in the Tang Dynasty. In the Ming Dynasty, the magnificent Altar of Heaven was built on a new but modified plan, outside Peking, where the emperor carried out seasonal sacrifices.

The Kuomintang did not discard the idea of the association of moral principles and the laws of the firmament, and it is significant that in October, 1950, the Central People's Republic issued a warning against the superstitious use of the calendar, and declared that the Government would issue a calendar for the people and incorporate suitable scientific information and instruction for farmers.

Professor Soothill remarks on the similarity of the Chinese and the Babylonian calendars, in the division of the month into three ten-day periods, in the zodiacal system and in other details. The book will be of value to anthropologists and all who are interested in folklore and symbolism.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

EUROPE

Volkskunde. By W. E. Peuckert and Otto Lauffer. Bern (Francke), 1951. Pp. 343

233 This volume belongs to a series which claims to bridge the gap torn by the war and its aftermath by informing the reader—students and professors alike—about the progress which has been made during the nineteen-forties in the various branches of learning. The authors have aimed higher, for the subtitle of their book *Folklore* says 'sources and studies since 1930,' and, in fact, they have often gone back to the beginnings of this century. Professor Peuckert and the late Professor Lauffer did not hide the difficulties which they had to become acquainted with German books, not to mention those from foreign countries. But bearing certain inadequacies in mind, British readers will be greatly enlightened on recent diverse methods and will delight in the clear arrangement and the good index.

From the survey of the various methods there emerge three outstanding folklorists: the German Professor Adolf Spamer, the Swiss Professor Richard Weiss and the Swedish Professor Sigurd Erixon. The first and the last have stressed that the ultimate subject of our science is not the study of popular traditions but 'the folk' itself. Professor Spamer has defined folklore as the living science of the living, contemporary man. He has withstood a German suggestion to divide the people into an upper and a lower stratum, because there is an eternal transition between the two strata. He has replaced the term 'primitive,' which he found too derogatory, by the term 'primary' if one wishes to denote a truly original phase. The term 'primary' has the advantage that it can be applied to remote villages as well as to a permanent rising from the depth of the folk which can be found anywhere.

Professor Weiss is the exponent of the functionalists, who are not content with the study of rudiments or a certain status, but study the actual process of development. Professor Weiss maintains that the folk can be divided into the two strata mentioned above, but points out that such a classification is not a division, because everybody belongs at the same time to both spiritual layers, to the popular as well as to the individual. 'Folk' no longer indicates a social grouping, but a kind of attitude which everybody shares—more or less. He defines folklore as the study of folklife and emphasizes the importance of a simultaneous enquiry into the folk and the folk culture; the material culture should be investigated according to its functions in folklife and its meaning for man—and vice versa—the common man's relations towards the material culture.

Professor Erixon's 'ethnology' or '*folklivsforskning*' combines the sociological, functionalistic and psychological methods of approach. For the investigation of culture, with which folklorists are concerned, life itself is the focus. The social structure forms the skeleton; the vital parts, however, are the functions of life, which should be investigated according to their kind, origin and historical development. Professor Erixon stresses the usefulness of historical and geographical analogies and regards the comparative method as

the most important aid for his *folklivsforskning*. The first part of this chapter concludes with a reference to the American anthropologist Ralph Linton, who stated that folklorists and psychologists have many highly important problems in common. Even if folklorists cannot explain impulses or processes in psychological terms, they can collect necessary data and suggest solutions of the problems.

It is a fine achievement to have presented these recent trends in a nutshell; but the authors have done more: they have themselves made valuable contributions by their positive criticism. They put their finger on a sore discord: while the term 'folk' implies the whole of a people, folklorists have mainly concentrated upon the *vulgaris in populo*. The authors remind us that a division between the educated and the common man is relatively young; it goes back only to the rise of the individual ideal in the Renaissance. Besides, it is not true to fact: primitive rudiments survive also among highly cultured people.

The authors ask whether it is true that folklore deals either with the 'primary' or with the 'primitive.' If the first were the case, folklore would be purely romantic; if the latter, it would be 'the lore of the primitives' and not 'folklore.' They come to the conclusion that folklore deals with the primary as well as with the primitive.

Furthermore, they point out that in the continental folklore of the last 20 years monographs about communities, e.g. fishermen, proletarians, secret societies, etc., have prevailed over regional monographs. In their opinion the old peasantry and the modern town dwellers are not strictly comparable, because 'the old peasantry' is a sociological, cultural notion whereas 'town dwellers' refers to a geographic settlement. They suggest another approach: an investigation of factory workers who form a definite community, such as steel or textile workers. In his '*Folklore of the Proletariat*' Professor Peuckert has followed up the development of the home-craft weaver, who was still a peasant, into a factory worker and the traditional values which he has lost on his way and the new values which he has gained.

The other chapters deal equally efficiently with books and papers published during the last 20 years on 'folk belief' (this term is nowadays preferred to 'superstitions'), customs and traditions, folk stories, legends, folksongs and material culture. E. ETTLINGER

Spanish Costume: Extremadura. By Ruth Matilda Anderson. New York (Hispanic Soc. of America), 1951. Pp. vii, 334.

234 Price \$11

The shape of this book was not conditioned by its subject matter so much as by the limitations imposed upon the author by her method. Her method has not been to classify the local costumes of Extremadura—giving a reasonable proportion of rules to exceptions—but to lead the reader on, as a travel diarist might lead him on, from place to place and from incident to incident. Her style is both impressionistic and matter-of-fact, her mind trained upon the particular rather than upon the general. We arrive with her at some town in Extremadura—Montehermoso, for instance—

and are not allowed to forget the landscape, the climate and the character of the place or its surroundings. Then we are involved in seemingly haphazard encounters with elderly people who remember this or that example of a traditional garment being worn in their youth, or who know somebody else who has a gala dress packed away. The origins of the names of these local costumes are discussed with peasants, café proprietors, schoolmasters and other worthies; and the long chain of fascinating particularities is illustrated by 392 small (but excellent) photographs. These include illustrations of costumes in many cases still worn, and of jewellery, about the making of which interesting details are given.

The book is therefore a valuable source book. Miss Anderson's concentration on the particular has prevented her from struggling to illustrate preconceived ideas or theories. Probably her method was the best one to adopt in the present state of our knowledge of Spanish costume, a state of ignorance partly due to neglect of the subject by those who might have found out most—the Spaniards themselves. And the sad thing is that it *should* be (and soon may no longer be) easier to produce a scientific history of the development of costume in Spain than anywhere else; for in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Spaniards seem to have been the only people to publish tailors' pattern books with the names and designs of garments. Miss Anderson appears to be unaware of these books; otherwise she would not have resisted the temptation to align her researches with them. Here was an opportunity to show, side by side, some of the typical post-mediaeval garment patterns used by the upper classes in old Spain, and the later modifications of their forms and embellishments through provincialization.

The questions remain: how far such words as *jubon*, *esclavina*, *saya*, *sayo* and others have ceased to be widely accepted for types of garments, or names for precisely the same types of garments as in the past; how far the forms of costumes in Extremadura are really indigenous or merely vestigial of garments once worn more generally; and how far the sometimes vague information on such matters given by peasants to Miss Anderson is misleading.

Regarded as an informal introduction to a comparatively quiet part of Spain, accompanied by innumerable odds and ends of information on local industries, customs, domestic life, clothes and styles of address, the book is excellent, and timely. Much of what Miss Anderson has described may well have disappeared in the space of another generation.

BRIAN READE

235 The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate. By Richard Broxton Onians. C.U.P., 1951. Pp. xviii, 548. Price £2 5s.

Ancient thought, especially Greek and Roman, has had so profound an influence on our own that we accept as obvious many of the metaphors and symbols with which ancient thinkers strove to express their beliefs. Only when we are confronted with this crude imagery apart from its traditional context is its vivid realism and amazing variety appreciated, and therewith the immense efforts of thought by which this whole system of interpretation was built up, for nature and human nature alike.

To reconstruct this system is the object of Professor Onians's learned and comprehensive book. It has occupied many years, and has been more or less in print for long, as the numerous appendices show. It is, as he says, a 'publication of research' and contains his own thoughts and conclusions. By copious footnotes, the main story is kept admirably clear, and there is very little cross-reference. The title has been amended so as not to exclude, in principle, the debt of European thought to Hebrew, Babylonian and even ancient Indian beliefs; and one of the most important sections deals with the vocabulary and philosophy of early Christians 'about the body and the spirit, about the spirit of God in man, and about the nature of life itself.'

The Introduction presents the main features of Greek thought, and stresses the value of the Homeric poems with their constant allusions to nature and humanity, especially under the tension of war and violent emotions. 'Some processes of consciousness' include 'knowing' and emotions like pleasure and desire. The 'Organs of Consciousness,' *phrenes*, *prapides*, *præcordia*, present many problems of anatomy and physiology, more familiar to warrior

folk and sacrificing folk than to ourselves. The 'Stuff of Consciousness' was something vaporous (*thymos*), obscurely connected with blood and breath (*pneuma*) and with *psyche* which could be visible, as the dead Patroclus to Achilles. In Latin *sapere* connects 'taste' and 'intelligence.' The 'Five Senses' inherent in the limbs and heart and the *nous* which already appears in Homer are less material; but anger (*cholos*) is referred directly with the liver and its secretions (*chole*). So much, in outline, for the morphology of consciousness.

A fresh start (Part II) reveals the immortal soul, in its relation with the Body; *psyche* in relation to *thymos*, and to the head, which is in some sense the person, with other peoples as well as Greeks, and was the object of many attentions in life and in death; especially as the spinal cord seemed to connect the brain with the genitals, the thighs and the knees, all receptacles of the life force, as the birth of Athena illustrates, and the ears of corn plants. The significance of Alcmaeon of Croton is here evident, for it was he who assigned importance to the brain, and opened a long and tangled controversy as to the seat of the *psyche*. In Roman psychology the counterpart is the *numen* or *genius*, and the brain (*cerebrum*) has to do with procreation (*creo*) and receives cult and significance. To distinguish *animus* and *anima* is as hard as between their Greek equivalents. Special problems are presented by the 'knees' and the strength which resides in them; the 'Stuff of Life' (*aion*) with 'tears,' the spinal 'marrow,' and the virtues of fats, oils, wine, and foods in general; the cult of rivers and other forms of life substance; and the nature of hair, beard, teeth and horns. The 'Life fluid' has its counterpart in the elemental 'Water' from which all nature proceeds—so Thales taught; and in the effects of organic dryness, in corpses. More might be said here of funerary archaeology since Schliemann. This leads on to 'Offerings to the Dead and to the Gods,' among which thigh-bones and fat recur; and Semitic parallels are instructive. A pendant topic introduces 'nectar' and 'ambrosia' which maintained the Gods.

In Part III, larger notions are examined: 'Fate and Time,' the obscure Homeric *peirata* and the mechanism of 'fate,' in a culture where spinning, weaving and basketry meant so much; the Homeric *kairos* which connects weaving with missile-throwing; and many cognate notions of 'fate' and 'magic' in the structure of the world; together with *Moirai*, *Moros* and the relation of the Gods to Fate. As the world is bound together out of 'parts' or 'lots,' so 'time' is a succession of 'seasons,' and these make up a natural order, to which are related the 'phases of body and mind' such as sleep and death; and finally the obscure notion of *telos*, which is ubiquitous. We miss here discussion of the correlative *arkhe*, so untranslatable even by Cicero's *initium* and its eventual synonyms *principium* and *elementum*.

Among the valuable 'Addenda,' that on Jewish conceptions of the mind is of exceptional interest for its bearings on early Christian beliefs and their background.

JOHN L. MYRES

236 Monastic Sites from the Air. By David Knowles and J. K. St. Joseph. C.U.P., 1952. Pp. xxviii, 283, 138 illus. Price £2 15s.

The 138 excellent photographs by Dr. St. Joseph help one to realize the number, size, wealth and importance of the mediaeval monasteries and show the variety of fates which befell them after the Dissolution. Some were adapted with little alteration to the requirements of an Anglican diocese; some were utilized in part for parish churches, mansions or farms; some survive as picturesque ruins and of some everything above ground has disappeared. It is especially in the last case that the help given to archaeology by air photography can be seen.

Professor Knowles contributes an introduction in which he describes the different, though not very different, lay-out of the monasteries of the various orders, and also contributes to each photograph a note on the history of the monastery and a description of the site as shown in the photograph. Admirably clear as these descriptions are, they are not easy to follow where the traces are very faint, or where the remains are much obscured by trees or later buildings, and in these cases plans would have been helpful.

It should be said that the photographs are not merely archaeologically interesting but are of great beauty, and the book is very handsomely produced.

RAGLAN

OCEANIA

A Pacific Bibliography. By C. R. H. Taylor. Wellington (Polynesian Soc.), 1951. Pp. xxix, 492, 1 map. Price £2 2s.

237 A bibliography covering the native peoples of all the islands of the Pacific except the Asiatic islands and Australia was a considerable undertaking, and the author is to be congratulated on having produced a clear, comprehensive and apparently almost complete one. Its scope may be illustrated by the fact that the Maori have 65 pages, the New Hebrides 15, and even the Tuamotu group 41. No one who reads the preface and the explanatory notes and appendix should have any difficulty in using it, and it will be essential for all libraries dealing with the anthropology of the Pacific.

My only criticisms concern New Guinea, which is covered by two sections, 'Massim and Adjacent Areas' and 'New Guinea (Eastern or Melanesian Portions)'. The latter includes many works on Papuan tribes for comparison with Melanesian culture. It must have been difficult to draw a line here; but it seems surprising to find, for example, Rawling's and Wollaston's books on the Utkwa-Mimika River expedition which first met the Tapiro pygmies, far to the west in Netherlands New Guinea, and not Monckton's *Last Days in New Guinea* or Fortune's paper in MAN (1947, 115) on warfare among a tribe of the mountains on the Papuan-Trust Territory border. It is to be hoped that in a future edition the author will be able to cover all of New Guinea. The Massim section seems unduly wide: it includes the Torres Straits islands and some of those of the Bismarck Archipelago. In particular there seems to be some confusion about Matty or Maty Island, now officially called Wuvulu. As Matty it appears in the list of places covered in the Massim section. On the same page (464, Appendix I) it appears as Wuvulu under the Bismarck Archipelago, where of course it belongs. Works referring to it are listed under Massim.

Apart from a few in the New Guinea section, which the author has not attempted to make complete, I could detect no omissions, though inevitably there must be some in the first edition of a work of this scope. Mr. Taylor deserves the gratitude of all students of Oceania.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan: Personality Studies.

By Alice Joseph and Veronica F. Murray. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard U. P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1951. Pp. xi, 381. Price £1 12s. 6d.

238 *Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan* is a 'personality study' modelled in outline and methodology on procedures used in the Indian Education Research sponsored by the United States Office of Indian Affairs and the University of Chicago. It is the second book-form publication of the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology and is a companion piece to the mimeographed CIMA reports distributed by the Viking Fund. Since the CIMA studies are not being published in a series, but are rather appearing

in scattered places, it is worth mentioning that two have already been reviewed in MAN, 1950, 266 and 270.

The research reported in this study was 'planned experimentally as a deliberate attempt to find out how much information concerning personality structure in a cultural group can be obtained by a relatively short, standardized method in cases where there is not enough time for detailed personal and individual studies or systematic research on social and cultural backgrounds.' In line with this stated aim, the book is primarily a massive catalogue of test-score results. A full report on 200 children and 30 adults, exclusive of nine psychiatric cases, is given on the following types of tests: physical conditions, mental abilities as measured by intelligence tests, personality components as measured by the Rorschach test, and the quality and organization of visual-spatial perceptions as revealed by the Bender Gestalt test. The data were secured in a period of six months on the Island of Saipan with the assistance of U.S. Naval authority, native officials and police, and native interpreters. The 200 children were recruited from the Navy-sponsored native schools. The 30 tested adults are characterized by the authors as '... socially acculturated to present conditions, that is, they are adopting and utilizing ways of life encouraged by the Americans' (p. 205).

The book is apparently not intended to stand as a systematic, internally logical study, but rather must be regarded as another case in the 'personality study' series, a contribution to a growing body of such studies intended for later overall analysis. The first two chapters deal with the geographical and historical background of Saipan and its population and, as such, present the best synopsis of 400 years of Saipan's history yet available. Chapters 3 to 9 present sampling procedures and test results and occasionally indicate the relationship between the latter and various psychological concepts—normality, adjustment, mental health, etc. The last chapter (10) is a summary of test results and makes suggestions to the administrator on the basis of the personality findings.

The personality findings suggest that observed behaviour as witnessed by the American administrative staff 'corresponds closely to that which might be predicted by the test results' (p. 294). Hence, the 'Chamorros and Carolinians were on the whole extremely cooperative and on the whole docile... quickly responsive to administrative suggestions, but had little persistence and required constant prodding... lacking in enterprise and a sense of community enterprise.' The authors go on to make a well styled and strong case for anxiety and suppressed aggression as the basis of the underlying psychological pattern of the Chamorros and Carolinians. It is this psychological pattern, the authors suggest, which best explains the character of the interaction between the natives and the administration. The weakest point in the argument is a failure to attribute any rational or calculating motives to the colonial population in their relations with the administrators. Instead, passivity, disinterest in colonial programmes, uncooperativeness, etc., are attributed to unconscious processes.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

CORRESPONDENCE

Caste in India. Cf. MAN, 1952, 72, 155

239 SIR,—After reading Professor Hutton's letter, I reread his *Caste in India*. From this it appears that though caste is linked with occupation, the link is not a very close one; many castes follow more than one occupation and most occupations are followed by more than one caste. The status of an occupation depends not on economic but ritual considerations. Oil-pressing is ritually polluting, so oil-pressers belong to a very low caste, but Brahmans perform such menial tasks as dishing out water at railway stations. The distinction between castes is based not on occupation but on commensality. Professor Hutton describes at length the ritual of cooking and eating, and says that 'it seems possible that caste endogamy is more or less incidental to the taboo on taking food cooked by a person of at any rate a lower, if not of any other, caste,

and in the view of the writer this taboo is probably the keystone of the whole system.' A strange keystone for an economic system!

Many castes have committees which punish breaches of caste rules. Some of these are concerned with trade, but the great majority are of a ritual character. A man was outcasted after he had been eaten by a tiger.

He tells us that 'with many Hindus the highest form of religious observance is the complete fulfilment of the claims of caste,' that 'the social habits of caste are inextricably mixed up with religion,' and that 'the first injunction of religion is to obey caste rules.' Since he wrote this he seems to have changed his mind. In his letter he cites with approval Nesfield's theory of the purely economic basis of caste, but in the book he says that 'this theory will hardly stand critical examination.'

RAGLAN

'Good Company.' Cf. MAN, 1952, 127

240 SIR,—In a review of *Good Company* Dr. Colson, listing omissions, writes: 'It would be helpful to have some information on the average size of villages.' May I direct attention to page 33 where I stated: 'Villages vary considerably in size. Boys' villages . . . begin with a dozen members or less, and the villages of old men are often very small also; we know one with only 10 households, another with 11. The villages of young and middle-aged men commonly vary between 20 and 50 households, with 30 as a fair average in the hills. In Mwaipopo's county there were 540 taxpayers on the roll and we recorded 19 established villages and 6 boys' villages. Some members of the boys' villages, and some elderly men, were not on the tax-roll, so the average was over 20 boys or men in each village. Villages in the plain are somewhat larger, averaging around 40 households.'

In the first of the 'select documents' the membership of five villages is given. MONICA WILSON
School of African Studies, University of Cape Town

African Psychology. Cf. MAN, 1952, 84, 156, 157

241 SIR,—My review of Dr. Parrinder's *West African Psychology* has drawn lively rejoinders from Dr. Lucy Mair and Mr. Maurice Freedman, rejoinders which in a way forecast the clarifications which some anthropologists will be called upon to make when large numbers of Africans begin to interest themselves in anthropological studies of their people. Mr. Freedman castigates me for identifying Dr. Mair directly with the pre-logical 'heresy.' My review of course did no such thing. Dr. Mair herself explains the 'misrepresented' passage which Dr. Parrinder quoted from her *An African People in the Twentieth Century* thus: 'So far from expressing a "belief in African inability to think logically or in abstract terms," my argument was that Africans are like all other human beings in not always thinking logically, and that it is therefore not necessary to explain their religious beliefs by ascribing to them unexpressed ideas which would make these beliefs coherent.' This is a far less dogmatic statement than that quoted by Parrinder, but must ideas which are not expressed to a fieldworker be necessarily regarded as absent?

Dr. Mair further explains that 'an African theologian's interpretation of religion would be more logical than an Irish peasant's . . . and that theologians 'who are highly trained in abstract speculation . . . are aware of the need to make their systems of belief logically coherent, and it is precisely in that way they differ from the untrained.' If by 'an African theologian' Dr. Mair means a pagan African priest who is trained in the intricacies of African religion, then there is no case to answer, but it is difficult to reconcile these statements with her adverse conclusions regarding Baganda religious thought. Presumably Dr. Mair's investigations in this last respect were confined mainly to ordinary Baganda believers, who, unlike Baganda priests, are untrained to the speculative aspects of their own religion. It may of course be that the Baganda have no priestly class; nevertheless I see little improper in Parrinder's use of Mair's findings as a contrasting theme to his own experience of 'individual African thinkers who have thought and taught far beyond the popular beliefs of the layman' (my italics). To me it is significant that such a statement should come from a non-African who is versed in the 'logically coherent system' of western theology.

Mr. Freedman took much trouble to show that 'Dr. Mair is quite clearly concerned . . . with the application of logic in theology and not with questions of logical ability in general mental life.' I made my reference to Dr. Mair's point of view within that context, but I am still at a loss to understand why Dr. Mair equates the inability of Baganda beliefs to account 'for what happens by an analogy with physical processes' with 'minds untrained to abstract speculations.' To what extent, for example, is it possible to account for the major miracles of the New Testament by an analogy with physical processes? At any rate, if the African has been duly accorded 'logical mental ability in general mental life,' how does it come about that the fully trained pagan priest fails to apply this faculty to his specialized field? Both Mr. Freedman and Dr. Mair seem to assume that only Europeans and Africans educated in the speculative tradition of Europe can transform African religious beliefs

into a logically coherent system if they so wish. I could not disagree more.

Finally, Mr. Freedman accuses me of having initiated 'an ironically perverse myth' and fears that 'your more casual readers . . . may be misled.' I am myself a casual reader, not a trained anthropologist, and it is no deliberate wish of mine to let my side down. But since indigenous Africans who really understand their own culture are largely persons who can neither read nor write, your casual readers have no direct means of verifying anthropological studies of African life. It is therefore more than important that social anthropology should remain cautious and unequivocal in its assertions. Inexact or dogmatic pronouncements can, by implication and inference, become the starting point of myths.

London

S. D. CUDJOE

Kinship Structure in an English Village. Cf. MAN, 1952, 100, 208

242 SIR,—I was most interested by Mr. Williams's account of his findings and hope that they will soon be published fully. The accuracy of his analysis is borne out by the fact that he identified correctly the site of my work which was, in fact, within 10 miles of Sheffield. He was also correct in assuming that my knowledge of northern England is limited. My brief excursion into Yorkshire sociology was carried out in order to see whether certain patterns of kinship behaviour which I had observed in more detailed research in the West Country were more or less local than I imagined. I chose my village in Yorkshire for the simple (and no doubt inadequate) reason that it was the only rural community outside south-west England of which I had any real knowledge. Actually, from what Mr. Williams says of Cumberland, the kinship structure there appears to be more similar to that of Devon than to that of the West Riding area which I studied.

Mr. Williams's letter emphasizes the fact that we know very much less about our own social structure than we do about that of many small and obscure tribes in remote and inaccessible parts of the world. There are subtle regional differences which are virtually unexplored, yet which may be extremely important when it is a matter of social provision and legislation administered in the same way throughout the country. For this reason, I repeat my hope that Mr. Williams and others who have done similar work will publish it as soon and as widely as possible.

ADAM CURLE

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The 'Surname Technique.' Cf. MAN, 1952, 122

243 SIR,—It is indeed satisfying that anthropological research is being directed to the component elements of the British Isles (see Dr. Morgan Watkin's article on 'Blood Groups in Wales and the Marches') but one must ascertain the validity of the methods employed in such investigations. The so-called 'surname technique' is open to serious criticism on the grounds that none of the different elements involved have, at least during the past three centuries, been racially endogamous. As far as we know exogamy has never been taboo and in fact every student of genealogy can show innumerable examples of intermarriage. Thus a surname can at most indicate the racial group of the individual's patrilineal ancestor, who may in fact, as with all his descendants, have married into other groupings.

Whilst therefore the ultimate division of the population into different gene frequencies cannot be questioned, Dr. Watkin's summary classification into English and Welsh cannot remain unchallenged.

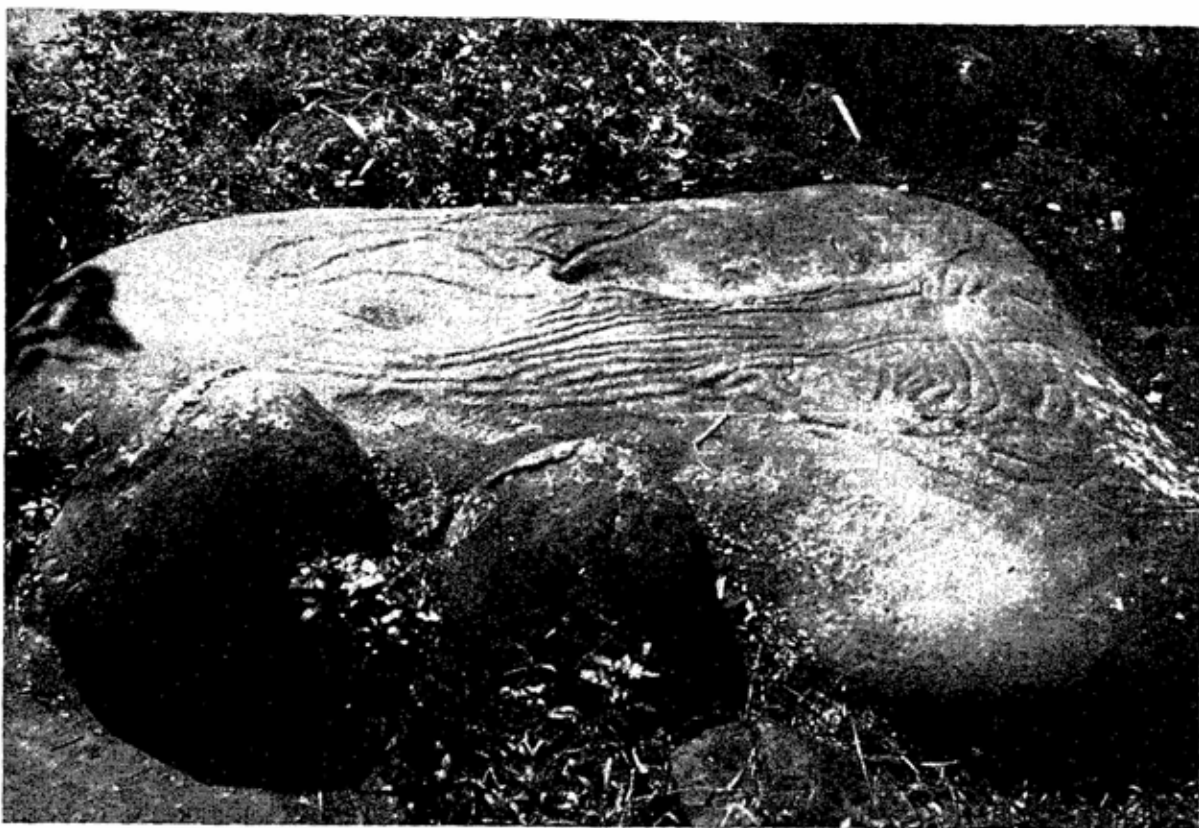
It is however to be hoped that such inquiries will be extended also to the Irish and 'Scotchmen,' among whom one presumes are included the Scots and not merely the devotees of whisky as Dr. Watkin's terminology suggests.¹

IAN R. WHITAKER

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Note

¹ It may be noted, however, that so eminent an anthropologist, man of letters and Scotchman as Andrew Lang commonly used 'Scotch' in preference to 'Scots' or 'Scottish.'—ED.



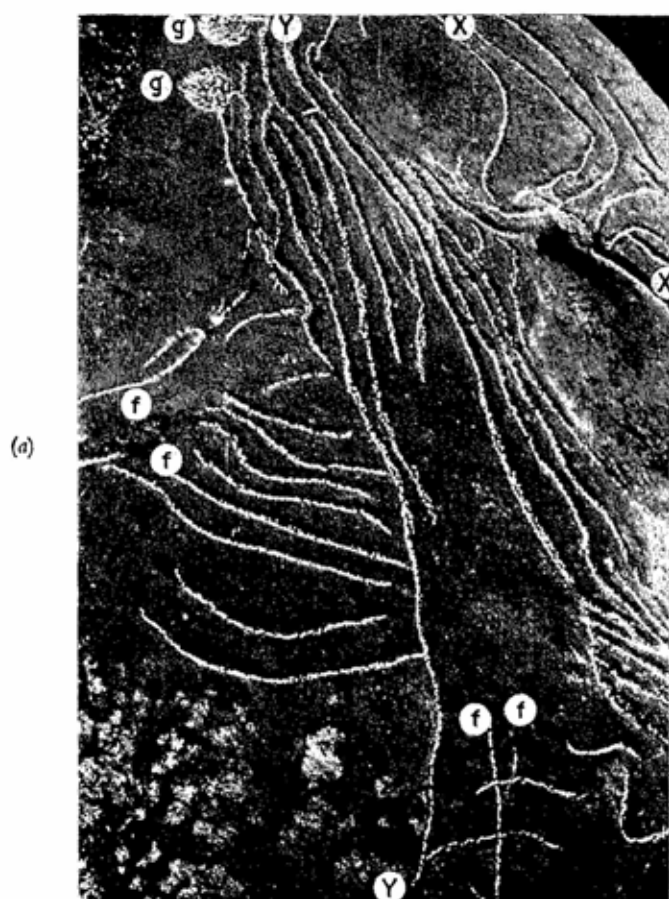
(a) STONE A (THE STONE OF LONGORO) (NOT DAMPENED OR CHALKED)



(b) GENERAL VIEW OF STONE D, AT KILAREMO

THE ENGRAVED ROCKS OF KILIMANJARO

Photographs by H. A. Fosbrooke



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

THE ENGRAVED ROCKS OF KILIMANJARO

(a) Stone A, chalked, from the south, showing lines XX and YY, pock marks (f), and 'markets' (g); (b) Stone A, dampened, from the same position; (c) Stone C, from the west, photographed from a height, showing lines (chalked) and deep pits; (d) Stone D.
 Photographs by H. A. Fosbrooke

THE ENGRAVED ROCKS OF KILIMANJARO: PART I*

by

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and

PETRO I. MAREALLE, B.E.M.

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INTRODUCTION

by H. A. Fosbrooke

244 From time to time the archaeologist, and more particularly the proto-historian, is puzzled by engravings on rocks. By this I do not mean the naturalistic engravings of animals which are one of the glories of Southern African prehistoric art, but the schematic lines, designs and cups which are reported from time to time from various parts of the sub-continent.

In Tanganyika we have the so called 'inscriptions' in the ruined city of Engaruka at the base of the Rift Wall, of which Leakey (1936, p. 59) writes:

It was reported to me before I went to Engaruka that there were many 'inscriptions' to be found in the ruins. These were supposed to be on blocks of stone in the houses. I found absolutely no trace of any such inscriptions but the origin of the rumour probably lies in a small number of blocks of stone upon which there are engravings. These engravings cannot by any stretch of imagination be correctly called inscriptions. For the most part they consist of irregular lines and round 'cup marks' and they recall to some extent the 'cup and ring' engravings of European archaeology. Their significance at Engaruka is not clear . . .

Then there is the cup-marked stone in the Sonjo village of Samunge, again in the Rift Valley, illustrated by me (1938, p. 59). The irregularity of the markings at once rules out the explanation that they might have been made for playing the common African game of *bau*, to which Gillman (1944, p. 52) refers. In Northern Rhodesia, the engravings are of the same type as the schematic style of paintings described by Clark (1950, p. 118) as circles, ladders, strokes, capital letters U and I, crescents, designs and combinations of lines, dots and circles, whilst in Southern Rhodesia there occur carvings of human and animal spoor on vertical rock faces, illustrated by Jones (1947, p. 67). From South Africa, Battiss (1948, p. 128) reproduces some of the 'thousands of enigmatical engraved signs and symbols on the black glaciated rocks of the lower Riet River,' and from other sites also.

These engravings, scattered throughout the sub-continent, exhibit great diversity of style, from the 'cup and ring' type to what is possibly debased Arabic script; but they are all alike unexplained. They are to the naturalistic rock engraving what the 'Modern White' (Fosbrooke *et al.*, 1950) is to the true prehistoric painting, an enigma of fairly recent origin in which the archaeologist is disinterested, but to which the ethnologist is unable to offer any satisfactory explanation.

It is therefore of considerable interest that there have recently come to light certain engraved stones on Kilimanjaro to which an explanation can be given. Although both

* With Plates K and L. Part II will be published in the December issue, with fig. 1, corresponding to Plate La.

Dundas (1924 and 1932) and Raum (1940) worked in the area, they do not mention them, and it remained to Chief Petro I. Marealle to bring these interesting relics of the past to light, by publishing a description of the ceremonies attached to these stones in his recent book (P. I. Marealle, 1951). As this work is in Swahili and may not be published in English for some time I have obtained the Chief's co-operation in producing this joint article, containing my description and illustrations of the stones, together with his description of the ceremonies translated into English. Although the Chief is fluent in English, I have made myself responsible for the translation, which he agrees adequately conveys his meaning.

DESCRIPTION

by H. A. Fosbrooke

The engraved stones here described and illustrated occur on the lower slopes of Kilimanjaro, at about 4,000 feet above sea level, at a point approximately 37° 30' East, 3° 20' South. They occur in the thickly populated and cultivated country of the Chagga tribe, Stone A (Plate Ka) being at the side of a path running through the banana groves, with Stones B and C adjacent, whilst Stone D (Plate Kb) is in a patch of sugar cane, within a very few yards of a house and coffee plot, seen to the left and in the background. There is no prohibition against the stones being approached, touched or stepped on, nor is agricultural activity forbidden in their vicinity.

The first stone, A, is at Longoro in the parish of Sembete, now amalgamated with Lyamrakana, about a mile to the south-east of the Chief's headquarters. It is reached by a car track which branches to the left from the road between the Kibo Hotel and the Marangu Court House, less than a mile by car from the former. A walk of 300 yards along a native path through the banana groves then brings one to the stone directly over which the path used to pass till Chief Petro diverted it. It can equally well be reached from the Marangu Hotel by a 300-yard walk down to the river Una and then a further 300 yards along a path in a westerly direction.

This stone is a large volcanic rock deeply embedded in the earth. It presents a horizontal surface of roughly triangular shape, about 9 feet long and 3 feet 9 inches broad one-third of the way down, broadening to 6 feet 9 inches at the base. It is some 6 inches above ground level, with the long axis running approximately north-west to south-east and with the two neighbouring boulders on the west.

The surface is naturally uneven and presents two major depressions. It is covered with long meandering lines obviously engraved by a pecking technique, and two small kidney-shaped depressions, seen in Plate La, b (top left), which are obviously of human origin. The numerous

'pock marks' might be taken as natural formations, but, as will be explained in Part II, they are in fact hand-made and possess special ritual significance.

To ensure adequate reproduction the stone was photographed first dry (Plate Ka), then dry with the engraved lines chalked in (Plate La), and finally wet (Plate Lb). In his book Chief P. I. Marcellé gives a diagram, to be reproduced in Part II, with certain points of significance lettered. Most of these can be discerned with photographs; for instance the two engraved kidney-shaped depressions appearing in all photos are the points marked *g* in the upper left-hand corner of the diagram, and the numerous 'pits' marked *f* can be clearly seen towards the bottom of Plate La, *b*. The lines *xx* and *yy* are also conspicuous, whilst the points *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* and *e* can be clearly located by comparing the diagram with the photographs.

The second and third stones B and C are closely associated with A, the former being 17 yards distant on a bearing of 185° and the latter a further 9 yards away on the same bearing. Owing to the dense shade I failed to get a photograph of stone B suitable for publication, but it is the least interesting of the group. It protrudes from the ground, which is sloping, in the form of a step, about 2 feet 9 inches high and about 8 feet in length. It displays the characteristic lines of all the stones, though they are fewer in number, and also the pock marks also seen on stones A and C, but not on D.

Stone C is very similar to A, though somewhat smaller, being about 7 feet 6 inches long by 4 feet 6 inches broad with the long axis running north-east—south-west. As in the case of A it is closely covered with incised lines, but lacks the two kidney-like depressions of A. On the other hand the holes are much deeper, extending 5 or 6 inches into the rock. There is no evidence to show whether they are natural or man-made, but in the case of A one can assume the latter by virtue of the description to be given in Part II.

The last engraved rock, here referred to as stone D, is situated in the same Chiefdom of Marangu, about a mile to the north-west of the Chief's headquarters, at Kilarema in the parish of Kyala. It can be approached by driving from the Kibo Hotel along the upper Moshi Road for exactly one mile, when the Marangu West Co-operative Society building is reached. Here one turns right (*i.e.* north) for a quarter of a mile up a side road and on reaching a fork either leaves the car and walks 70 yards past the stone and thatch house, the roof of which can be seen in

the upper left-hand corner of Plate Kb, or drives up the left fork (a steep climb) to the yard of the Kilarema R.C. School, and thence walks about 50 yards to the stone.

The engravings on the stone are 7 feet long and 5 feet 3 inches broad, with an unengraved margin at each side (Plate Ld). In contrast to the other stone, the engraved surface is at an angle of about 30 degrees. The top of the stone is 4 feet above ground level when approached from the back, but owing to the slope of the ground its top is 5 feet 5 inches high when looked at from the front. It faces south. In the centre of the top there is a depression, seemingly natural, said to be used as a receptacle for libations, while at the base there is a small stone conveniently placed as a seat or stance for the officiating elder. Plates Kb and Ld illustrate the stone and its setting much more clearly than any description. The photographs also show that the whole engraving presents a much more symmetrical appearance than those on stones A, B and C, whilst the depressions and pock marks of the latter are entirely lacking. No description of the rites here practised is yet available.

As explained above, all these stones can be approached to within about 100 yards by car; that is, in dry weather. In the rains the village roads leading to them become impassable, but with either the Government Rest Camp or one of the two local hotels as a base, all these stones can be reached in under half an hour's walk.

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CASTING MOULDS MADE IN METAL*

by

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245 The six-piece bronze mould for casting arrow-heads, now in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum, is perhaps not so well known to students of prehistoric metallurgy

*With two text figures

as its importance warrants, and has received only somewhat slight publication many years ago.* Through the kindness of the Keeper of the Department, and with the valued collaboration of Mr. Maryon of the British Museum Research Laboratory, I am now enabled to

describe the mould in greater detail. I am also indebted to Mr. Maryon for the scale drawing reproduced as fig. 1. In fig. 2 are shown arrowheads cast in plaster from the mould in the Laboratory. Concerning the age of the mould, the keeper informs me that there is no external evidence for its date since it was bought from a private owner, but its origin is given as Mosul, and it may be regarded as Assyrian, probably of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C.

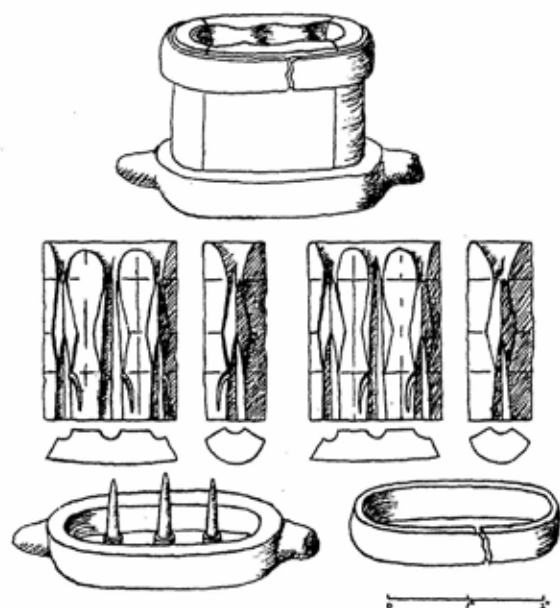


FIG. 1. BRONZE CASTING MOULD FROM MOSUL

The mould is shown assembled (above) and in six parts (below); drawn by Mr. Herbert Maryon. Scale: $\frac{3}{4}$

In construction, the mould consists of six pieces for casting three arrowheads at a time. As may be seen from the drawing, the base block is an elliptical casting, hollowed, and fitted with three tapering points of bronze which formed the cores for the hollow sockets of the arrows. The main body of the mould is formed by four moveable bronze blocks or dies in which the external contours of the arrows have been cut. These dies are very accurately fitted into the base block, and are also very carefully mated to each other. The four moveable sections are also held closely together at the top by means of a bronze ring which slips over the four dies when they are assembled in position in the base block. Mr. Maryon's drawing shows the various parts separately, and also as a complete assembly. Two lugs will be noticed, one at each end of the base block. Their purpose is unknown; it would seem unnecessary to provide means for holding down a small and relatively heavy mould of this nature while the metal was being poured, especially as the mould has a flat base and is therefore quite stable. As an example of tool-making the mould attains a very high standard and is quite the equal of similar work of today. Indeed, when we consider that the geometrical layout of the tool is far from simple, and that of course there were no machine tools which could be set automatically to generate the desired

angles in the work as we should do today, the craftsman's skill of over two thousand years ago is amazing. The four main blocks or dies were finished to size and fitted with extreme accuracy. The accuracy of the work is such that we suspect the mating surfaces must have been scraped, and possibly also ground, so that the fit of the various sections appears to be true within a limit of about four thousandths of an inch. After the assembly of the dies, vertical and horizontal setting-out lines (seen in fig. 1) were scribed on adjacent faces; from the lines the contours of the three arrowheads were set out. The arrowhead cavities were next chiselled out using the lines as a guide. The recesses would then be scraped smooth and ground to produce a good finish. The taper socket cores were made separately and fitted into holes drilled in the base block. The fit of these core pins was assured by punching round the shoulder of the pins with a chasing tool.

It will be noted that the mould is not vented, but as the length of the arrowheads is small, and the passageways through the mould are direct, no difficulty need be expected in the production of sound castings of tin bronze. Spectrographic analysis of the mould in the British Museum Research Laboratory showed the metal to be a tin bronze containing small amounts of lead, iron, cobalt,

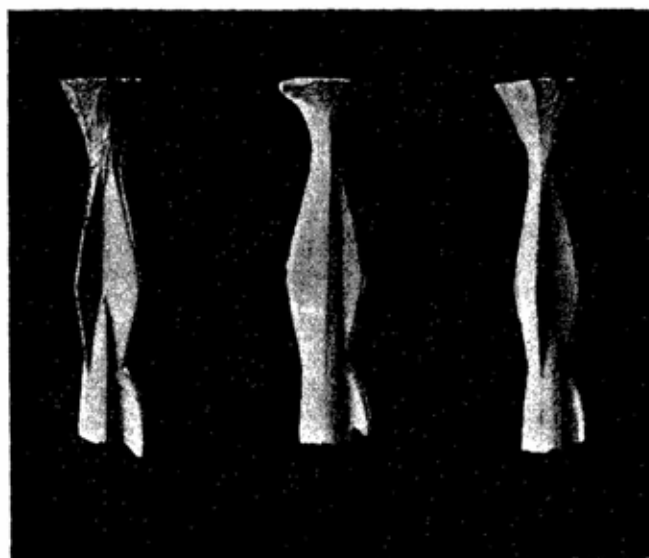


FIG. 2. CASTS FROM THE MOULD

These casts are of plaster and were made in the British Museum Research Laboratory. The flaring upper ends represent the casting jets and would be carved away in finishing the arrowheads.

and nickel, and a trace of silver. The tin content is about ten per cent. From this analysis it will be observed that no apparent attempt was made to give the metal used for the mould a higher melting point than that of the average tin bronze to be cast. It has recently been shown by practical experiment² that satisfactory castings of bronze may be made in a bronze mould without any damage occurring to the mould itself. Absence of burning or other damage

to the mould may be ascribed to the rapid cooling ensured by the fact that the mass of metal comprising the mould is considerably greater than that of the casting. In the palstave mould used for the above mentioned experiments the mould weighed four pounds six ounces, while the casting made in the mould weighed one pound seven ounces. In the case of our Assyrian arrow mould the relative weight of the mould to that of the castings is even greater. A metal mould would therefore serve for a long period, and for the production of a large number of castings. Such is its role today when repetition castings of high quality are required. No doubt arrows would have been wanted in large quantity and therefore the difficult work of making a metal arrow mould would have been well repaid. It is interesting and remarkable to find a modern foundry technique anticipated in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The British Museum mould shows no visible evidence of use. However, this cannot be taken as proof that the mould has not been used, for it is quite possible that a mould dressing was applied before castings were made, and if the number of castings made were not large, cleaning would soon remove any visible sign of use.

It is interesting to find another metal mould for casting arrowheads in the British Museum collections. This is a bronze mould from Carchemish,³ Museum No. 116254 *a* and *b*. The mould was in three segments, each with a long handle behind; these segments, when fitted together, would have been fixed by insertion in a circular base ring, which would have carried a spike to form a core for the hollow socket of the arrow to be cast. One segment and the base ring are missing. As in the Mosul mould, the molten metal was poured in through a hole at the top. The mould is dated to before 604 B.C., so that the Carchemish and Mosul moulds are well within the period during which iron tools would have been available. Indeed, it is not impossible that chisels, carburised to a semi-steel which would take a fair temper, were already known.

The Carchemish mould is clearly of the same family as the Mosul one. The type of arrow, socketed and with a side barb, is also similar; the mould, however, is of more simple design and casts but a single arrow at a time. The handles were provided for convenience in working and

they would greatly facilitate handling the segments when hot. Also, they would serve to lever open the segments after a casting had been made. Experiments with a bronze palstave mould showed that some force was needed to separate the mould so as to release the solidified cast. The Carchemish mould is now somewhat corroded, but evidence remains to show that the fitting and general finish must have been of the same high order as that of the Mosul one.

Metal moulds, while not of common occurrence, are not rare. Evans in his classic work *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1881), pp. 439ff., has recorded some 40 examples, the most popular types being for casting palstaves and socketed celts. Of the moulds listed by Evans, 15 were for casting palstaves (three from Ireland, four from Britain, four from France, and a total of four from Germany and Switzerland) and 16 for socketed celts (12 from Britain, two from Germany, one from Sweden, and one from France). Metal moulds for other artifacts are much less frequent, Evans only mentioning one mould for a sword hilt, two for casting gouges, and two for spearheads. No doubt archaeologists can cite more recent examples: for instance, Przeworski⁴ illustrates a two-piece metal mould for casting a shaft-hole axe from Tagiloni, Georgia, U.S.S.R.; from Trans-Caucasia at least three examples have been recorded, which would point to the shaft-hole axe having been cast in metal moulds in this region at least by around 1000 B.C.

As the metal moulds which have been discovered can be but a small proportion of the total number made, it is clear that these interesting devices must have been by no means unimportant in the foundry industry of the Late Bronze Age.

Notes

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.*, 1884, pp. 109-10 and plate. It is also mentioned, quoting the 1884 description, in Garland and Bannister, *Ancient Egyptian Metallurgy*, 1927, pp. 55-7.

² Pitt Rivers Museum, Occ. Pap. on Technology, No. 4 (1951), pp. 112-15.

³ Woolley, *Carchemish*, Vol. II (1921), p. 130 and Plate 23b (excavations at Jerablus, House D).

⁴ Przeworski, *Metallindustrie Anatoliens* (1939), Plate XXII, 4, and p. 115.

OBITUARIES

George Davis Hornblower: 1864-1951. *With a portrait*

246 George Davis Hornblower, O.B.E., who was born on 19 September, 1864, came only late—in 1923—to the Fellowship of the Royal Anthropological Institute, yet there remained before him a period of service to the Institute which was as remarkable for duration as for unswerving devotion to its interests.

His career was, at least in its later stages, in the service of the Egyptian Government, where shortly before his retirement he was Director-General of Public Security in the Ministry of the Interior. He was awarded the O.B.E., as well as an Egyptian decoration.

After retirement (apparently about the time of his joining the Institute), he came to live at Golders Green, London, where I am informed that he had a considerable collection of art and

antiquities. (I am much indebted to his friend Mr. Eric Davies, of the law firm of Bristows, Cooke and Carmichael, for information about his life apart from his association with the Institute.)

Five years after becoming a Fellow, he accepted the onerous charge of the Honorary Treasurership and held it from 1928 until 1935, except for one year (1930-1) in which he stepped into the breach as Honorary Secretary. He was thus an Officer at one of the most important periods of the Institute's history, as anyone will understand who reads Sir John Myres's three Presidential Addresses. He was then elected a Vice-President, and at the end of his three-year term, in 1938, a member of the Council. But almost on the eve of the Second World War Mr. Coote Lake, the Honorary Treasurer, died, and Hornblower was once more called upon at the age of 75 to manage the finances, this time at a crisis more cruel, for a treasurer, than any in the Institute's past; it had

recently much extended its commitments by the move to 21, Bedford Square, and now the coming of war truncated the membership almost at a blow, through the loss of overseas members and from various repercussions of national service, so that even the severest of retrenchment could not avert large deficits. After some cautious doubts, he concurred in the decision not to close the Institute for the duration, a decision which provided the necessary base for the great expansion of membership and activity that began before the end of the war. He reverted to ordinary membership of the Council for a year when a successor was found in 1940.



GEORGE DAVIS HORNBLOWER, O.B.E.

From the painting by his friend, Sir Gerald Kelly, P.R.A. (given by Mr. Hornblower to the County Museum and Art Gallery, Truro)

His wife had died a short time previously, and he now moved to a hotel at Penzance, where he continued his work in Egyptology and anthropology. But he still travelled often to London in spite of increasing physical disability, and was seen at the Institute's meetings even up to the year of his death. In 1944 he was again elected to a three-year term as a member of the Council, and many another member missed more meetings; so he finally relinquished active responsibility in the management of the Institute only in 1947, when he was 83. His interest in the Institute, however, never flagged, and he contributed an interesting article, presenting a hypothesis on the origin of pictorial art, to the golden jubilee issue of MAN in January, 1951.

Only a few months later he suffered a stroke, from which he never fully regained consciousness, and died, at Penzance, on 15 May, 1951.

Though Egyptology was his chief interest, he also had an intimate knowledge of modern Egyptian and Arab cultures, as well as of Oriental art and archaeology (see for instance his article on 'Early Dragon Forms' in MAN, 1933, 85). He became a Fellow of the London Society of Antiquaries in 1932. He made a number of gifts of specimens to the British and Mediaeval Antiquities Department of the British Museum from 1919 onwards.

His many published articles in MAN and elsewhere are perhaps of restricted importance (though he had been collecting materials for a book for many years); but all of us who were associated with him at various times in the Institute will always remember his kindness and selfless interest. His work for the Institute was

fittingly crowned during his last months by his offer to our Library of a free choice of any books that we might need from his library of Egyptological and other anthropological books, then in store. He was greatly pleased when a large number, of considerable collective value, were found to be needed, and still more when the Council in gratitude directed that his name be added to the Roll of Benefactors of the Institute. **WILLIAM FAGG**

Webster Plass: 1895-1952. *With a portrait*

247 By the untimely death of Webster Plass, the Royal Anthropological Institute has suffered a grievous and incalculable loss, for his association with it, so well begun, was one which seemed to many of us to hold great promise for the future.

He was born on 21 January, 1895, at Philadelphia. He had a brilliant career at the University of Pennsylvania: he took his B.Sc. in 1915 and then taught there for a time before taking a commission in the United States Navy in 1917. From then on, travel in all quarters of the world was to be both his business and his pleasure, first as a consulting engineer, playing an important part in industrial development in many countries, and from 1936 as a director in a group of American-owned companies making and selling centrifuges, a position in which he became before long, to his ultimate misfortune, indispensable. In this, as in all things, he was a perfectionist in the best sense, and an unusually successful one; only his closest friends can know how much of himself, and at what cost, he gave to these commercial enterprises, beyond the call of duty, especially in his last months, after he had been prevailed upon to defer his retirement.



WEBSTER PLASS, AT BANDOENG, DECEMBER, 1941

The photograph shows Mr. Plass holding a fine Balinese kris which had recently been given him by the Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies.

It was indeed among his most remarkable characteristics that while he was carrying on a full-time and highly exacting job superlatively well, he could still seem to be devoting one man's whole energies to other unconnected interests such as are generally reserved for gentlemen of leisure. Those interests it was—or rather some among them—which brought him within the scope of these columns. Though never formally trained in our studies, he was yet what I may call an anthropologist by nature, a trait which combined in him with a highly developed aesthetic sense to produce a true connoisseur of the best that is to be found among the exotic cultures. He and his wife visited during the past 30 years

a great many of the most interesting parts and peoples of the world: in Peru and Brazil, India and Africa, Australia, China and especially the Netherlands East Indies, he found time to know and understand the local ways of life, particularly in their artistic side. Though he could work faster than most men, he was also gifted with great patience, and there was nothing superficial or hasty about his knowledge on these subjects. He communicated his enthusiasms easily in conversation and must have been responsible by this means for awakening new interests in innumerable people of many countries. As a photographer he was magnificent, and knew well how to record the spirit as well as the letter of what he saw; he was an artist in observation, and his great collection of photographs, including many series of great anthropological value, fortunately remains in being. Among them is a series showing one of the great Balinese cremation ceremonies in extraordinary detail, and another which is surely among the finest records ever made of the ruins of Angkor Wat.

It is especially as a collector, however, that he will be remembered. He must have had the collector's instinct from the beginning, but it was always closely controlled by discrimination and purpose, and so never bore any relation to the uncritical acquisitiveness of those philistines who see collecting primarily as an investment or else as a means of converting money into a passport to acceptance among the cultured. Under the stimulus of his travels, he collected at different times T'ang and Wei figures from China, Khmer bronzes from Cambodia, Melanesian carvings and weapons, ancient Peruvian pottery and edged weapons from Asia and Africa. The assembling and constant care of these last gave him continual pleasure; besides outstandingly fine examples of the Japanese kris, always in perfect condition, he had a virtually complete series of the many types of weapon used in the Philippine Islands.

The culmination of his collecting career, and his greatest contribution to anthropology, was his superb collection of African sculpture, certainly the finest comprehensive collection of Negro art in private hands in this country, and one of the best in the world. That a private collection at once so representative in an ethnographical sense and with such a concentration of pieces of the first class should be formed at all is remarkable; that it should have been formed almost entirely during the last seven years, at a time when the market was, and is, flooded with inferior pieces and outright forgeries, and when taste among the growing number of collectors is in consequence often erratic and ill conditioned, was an unexampled feat of keen and purposeful research, always directed by his flair for recognizing the best of its kind. He became, I think, as good a judge both of authenticity and of quality as any student of African art alive; nor do I know any other collector who has so successfully reconciled the demands of aesthetics and of ethnographical balance. No section was allowed to grow out of balance with the whole and, on the other hand, he was always actively seeking fine pieces to fill the main lacunae in what was to be a microcosm, encompassing some 150 pieces, of the best that the genius of African carvers could achieve. Until a few months before his death it was weakest in the Nigerian styles (for his sources had been mainly in France and Belgium), and he was delighted when, following up a clue found in the Bahamas, he was able to obtain an excellent group of rare bronzes and woodcarvings which had been collected by a former Chief Justice of Nigeria early in this century. With this accession, his plan could be said to be in essence complete, although he would certainly have continued to add to the collection if he had lived, for the scope is immense, even if the search for good pieces is difficult. As it is, the collection can be roughly divided into three more or less equal sections—French West Africa, Nigeria, and the French and Belgian Congo.

Although he was never domiciled here, his business kept him so

often in England that he found it convenient to house the collection in London, especially as it was also well placed as a collecting point in relation to the chief centres in which good African carvings are to be obtained. This was fortunate in more ways than one for this country. Real appreciation of tribal art (and still more of the ethnological importance of tribal aesthetics—for the foundations laid by Haddon and Balfour and Stolpe in the nineties had hardly been built upon) was still far from widespread, and Webster Plass conceived it as a part of a collector's mission to assist its growth; he was always ready to place pieces from his collection at the disposal of any promising enterprise devoted to this cause. At the exhibition '40,000 Years of Modern Art' in London (1948-9; cf. MAN, 1949, 3), a selection from the Plass Collection contributed to a signal victory (judging by the art critics' notices) of tribal over modern art. In the summer of 1949 was held the Royal Anthropological Institute's own display 'Traditional Art of the British Colonies,' which owed a great deal not only to the important pieces which he lent but to his active encouragement, advice and practical help from the earliest stages. This led directly to the great exhibition 'Traditional Art from the Colonies' organized by the Colonial Office for the Festival of Britain in 1951; Mr. Plass was the only 'foreigner' appointed to the large and distinguished Advisory Committee which prepared the scheme, and was later unanimously chosen to serve on the sub-committee of four, under the Earl of Listowel, which made the actual selection of pieces. In this crucial task his judgment was invaluable, and no one deserved more credit than he for the very high standard of the pieces displayed, among which many masterpieces from his own collection had a properly conspicuous place. We of the selection sub-committee had the great honour of escorting Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, now the Queen Mother, round the exhibition on Empire Day—it was, as Sir Charles Jeffries has mentioned in a tribute to Mr. Plass in *The Times*, to be the King's last public engagement—and few who saw how easily and happily Mr. Plass rose to the occasion could have guessed that he was in great pain from a back injury, having risen from a traction bed to be there; by a happy chance the only published photograph of the event (in *The Times*) showed him in characteristic mood displaying a Barotse dish from his own collection to Their Majesties. Only a few days before his death he was discussing a favourite project for a greater exhibition, perhaps at the Royal Academy, of the tribal art of all Africa, irrespective of the colonial frontiers.

His association with the British Museum had begun in the autumn of 1946 (though he was no stranger to museum problems, having been long interested in the University of Pennsylvania, of which he was a benefactor). He soon formed close ties with the Department of Ethnography, to which he made many gifts of specimens, as well as giving a substantial sum for fieldwork in Africa. It was not long before he and his wife decided that the collection should be left to the Museum after their deaths, and from then on he took an added interest in planning the collection as a complement to those of the Department. He believed fervently that a collector of fine things should collect for the good of mankind and not only for his own pleasure, and therefore that such collections should eventually find a home in a museum. His widow is of the same mind and has already placed the greater part of it on loan in the Museum, for eventual bequest together with the part which she is retaining; a memorial exhibition of the whole collection (with an illustrated catalogue) will be arranged in the King Edward VII Galleries early in 1953. At the time of Mr. Plass's death a large case in these galleries was occupied by a selection from his collection of Philippine weapons, which he had presented a few weeks before to the Trustees. His collections will certainly be counted among the most important ever acquired by the Department of Ethnography.

He became a Fellow of the Institute in 1948 and a member of the Council in 1949, completing his three-year term seven weeks before he died. In spite of frequent absences from the country he attended as assiduously as most Council members, and we remember many occasions when his experience and judgment were of great value or even saved the situation. Certainly he would not have remained long out of office. The regard in which he was held was well marked by his appointment as Honorary Treasurer of the XXX International Congress of Americanists which by the Institute's invitation met at Cambridge this summer. He threw himself wholeheartedly into this very responsible task and died (on 16 August, of a heart attack in his office) two days before the Congress opened, with an up-to-date financial statement in his briefcase for presentation to the Organising Committee; it is largely due to him that the finances of the Congress, brilliantly organized as it was 'on a shoestring,' are now in a remarkably

sound condition. The annual proceedings of the Institute's Ways and Means Committee provided other occasions for the exercise of his skill in the Institute's interests; and special mention should be made of his extremely effective speech at a dinner held a year ago with the aim, not entirely unsuccessful, of attracting funds from industry to the Institute's support. Men who so well combine the talents of the business world and of learning are rare indeed, and he will be sadly missed among anthropologists.

Himself, he wrote almost nothing, yet much in the writings of others is owed to his inspiration or encouragement. His collection is in any case as great a monument to the man as a book might be which had become the classic in its subject. And to all who had the privilege of his friendship, the strength, sincerity and complete generosity of his character will subsist as an enduring and concrete inspiration.

WILLIAM FAGG

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Dr. H. S. Harrison's Eightieth Birthday

248 Fellows of the Institute and other anthropologists will wish to offer their congratulations and good wishes to our old friend and colleague Dr. H. S. Harrison on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, which fell on 19 October. Those of us who have seen him recently are happy to testify to his continued activity and interest in the work of the Institute, his contributions to which have always been distinguished by a peculiarly personal blend of humour and common sense.

To him, as a Fellow of our Institute for 48 years—only surpassed in this respect, we believe, by Sir Arthur Keith and Sir John Myres—as a member of the Council for more than 40 years, as a former Joint Honorary Secretary, as Honorary Editor of our *Journal* for over 10 years, and as our President from 1935 to 1937, not to mention the great work he carried out as Curator of the Horniman Museum for many years, we offer our sincere homage and heartfelt good wishes for the future.

J. P. MILLS, *President*,
H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ, *Past President*,
WILLIAM FAGG, *Honorary Secretary*

The Role of the Diviner in Konkomba Society. By David

249 *Tait. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 9 October, 1952*

The Konkomba of Northern Togoland have a simple segmentary system. This consists of small clans inhabiting a district and segmented into two or more major lineages of five generations' depth. These major lineages are themselves segmented. Each clan has a land shrine within its district boundaries which is the major shrine of the religious system. Political and ritual authority are wholly vested in the Elders of major lineages.

Diviners form one of several ritual categories of persons in this society; they are persons sent into the world by dead diviners. One cannot become a diviner by act of choice. A diviner undergoes a testing rite when in his early twenties and thereafter may practise. He reaches his greatest fame during his fifties and continues until he is too old to walk the distances involved in this work. No political power attaches to his office: should he survive to become a lineage Elder he will be too aged to continue practice. No diviner works for his own clansmen. He works with an assistant who is not one of a ritual category. Assistant diviners take up the work to increase their prestige or to earn payment. They may work for their own clansmen.

The diviner reads a message from cowrie shells. This message is then tested. The group (or individual) consulting the diviner puts down three sticks on the ground, each stick representing a question to him. He touches one or other stick with his staff to indicate where the truth lies. Any person present may question him and the questions are decided on out of his hearing. But when the sticks are to be touched the diviner holds his staff by one end while his assistant grasps the other; in fact the assistant, who is present when the questions are decided on, could control the touching. Many sets of questions are put to a diviner and in this process his original generalities are sharpened to specific statements which in fact reveal the suspicions, conscious or unconscious, of those who consult the diviner.

While Konkomba affect to despise their diviners they often consult them; diviners regard themselves as men with a mission.

Diviners are consulted about future undertakings and about past events. In situations of personal or group doubt about future activities the diviner commonly suggests some small sacrifice to ancestors or shrine which will ensure success. Especially important is his role in lineage fission, for he then not only obtains the agreement of the ancestors to the separation of kinsmen but discovers shrines for the outgoing kin in a new region. He thus assures them of good relations to ancestors and land.

Among past events the diviner deals largely with misfortune, sickness and death. Situations of misfortune include crop failures and hunting failures. These are generally found to be due to ritual omissions.

The Konkomba concept of the causes of sickness differs with the age of the sufferer. Adult sickness is not conceived as unnatural and is treated with medicines. Sickness in children is generally traced to a failure to give sacrifice of thanks to the ancestor who sent the child into the world.

The causes of death also vary with the age of the dead person. Children die because of failure in the lineage to carry out ritual and moral obligations; because of improper treatment or, simply, because 'God took the child.' People past childhood, other than Elders, die because of failures within the lineage to meet social obligations either by the dead persons or towards them. Or death may be due to witchcraft towards or by the dead person; that is, death may be a punishment. Elders die only by witchcraft but are never themselves witches.

The role of the diviner is to select from among a limited number of possible causes the particular cause of a particular death. On the

widest view diviners are consulted, first, in situations of doubt and, secondly, in situations of unnatural or unfortunate events. As a consequence of their work in situations of doubt the individuals or groups who consult the diviner discover any ritual impediment or impurity which might endanger the success of a proposed undertaking. After carrying out the sacrifices suggested by the diviner they may carry out their proposals with full confidence in a successful outcome.

As a consequence of the diviner's work after unnatural or un-

fortunate events, ritual action can be taken by the groups concerned to remove any ritual impurity or to correct lapses from standards of behaviour which led to those events. By sacrifice or by repentance the group that has suffered loss or misfortune may be assured of better times to come.

The diviner's role is to point out ritual and moral omissions. He recalls his society to religious and moral duty and by his insistence on avoidance or expiation of offences he releases his fellows from the burden of guilt and gives them security.

SHORTER NOTES

The Blood Groups of the People of North-West Pakistan.

250 By I. M. Chaudhri, Elizabeth W. Ikin, A. E. Mourant and Jean A. E. Walby, Medical Research Council Blood Group Reference Laboratory, Lister Institute, London, S.W.1

The A_1A_2BO , MNS and Rh groups of 101 Pakistan subjects resident in and near London have been determined. All of the persons tested are Moslems, natives of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces of Western Pakistan. The results of our tests are given in Tables I, II and III. In the Rh system the cells

TABLE I—THE A_1A_2BO GROUPS OF 101 NATIVES OF NORTH-WEST PAKISTAN

Group	Number	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
O	28	·2772	·2866	28·95
A_1	21	·2079	·1931	19·50
A_2	3	·0297	·0328	3·31
B	40	·3960	·3849	38·88
A_1B	7	·0693	·0856	8·65
A_2B	2	·0198	·0169	1·71
101		·9999	·9999	101·00

Gene frequencies

O	·5354
A_1	·1507
A_2	·0298
B	·2841

1·0000

were tested for the antigens C, C^w , c, D, E and e. Gene frequencies have been calculated by the general methods described by Chalmers, Ikin and Mourant (1949), and to be described more fully by Mourant (1953). The combination of Rh phenotypes in the present sample was so unusual that special methods based on the same principles had to be devised. Tests with the newly discovered Duffy serum (anti-Fy^a) were carried out by Miss Marie Cutbush and Dr. P. L. Mollison (1950) on 47 of the persons tested by us, of whom 43 were found to be positive.

The ABO frequencies are typical of those found throughout most of Pakistan and India. The B gene frequency of 28·4 per cent. falls among the highest values found in these countries. As was found for India by Wiener, Sonn and Belkin (1945) and by Prasad, Ikin and Mourant (1949), the A_2 gene is present. The M frequency is among the highest reported for Asia; and, as in Europe, S is preponderantly attached to M rather than N.

Two very unusual Rh genotypes, cDE/CDE and C^wde/cde were present in the sample. From what we know of other Asiatic and

TABLE II—THE MNS GROUPS OF 101 NATIVES OF NORTH-WEST PAKISTAN

Group	Number	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
MMS	24	·2376	·2748	27·76
MsMs	18	·1782	·1330	13·43
MNS	31	·3069	·2629	26·55
MsNs	14	·1386	·1987	20·07
NNS	5	·0495	·0564	5·69
NsNs	9	·0891	·0742	7·50
101		·9999	1·0000	101·00

Chromosome frequencies

MS	·2739
Ms	·3647
NS	·0890
Ns	·2724

1·0000

TABLE III—THE Rh GROUPS OF 101 NATIVES OF NORTH-WEST PAKISTAN

Genotype	Number	Frequency observed	Frequency expected	Number expected
CDe/CDe	46	·4554	·4448	44·92
CDe/cDE	10	·0990	·1069	10·80
CDe/cde	0	·0000	·0066	0·67
CDe/C^wde	0	·0000	·0085	0·85
CDe/CDE	33	·3267	·3254	32·87
cDE/cDE	0	·0000	·0061	0·61
cDE/C^wde	0	·0000	·0008	0·08
cDE/CDE	1	·0099	·0010	0·10
C^wde/cde	5	·0495	·0380	3·83
C^wde/C^wde	0	·0000	·0000	0·00
C^wde/CDE	0	·0000	·0001	0·01
C^wde/cde	1	·0099	·0024	0·24
CDE/CDE	0	·0000	·0000	0·00
cde/cde	5	·0495	·0595	6·01
101		·9999	1·0001	100·99

Chromosome frequencies

$CDe (R_1)$	·6669
$cDE (R_2)$	·0778
$C^wde (R'^w)$	·0050
$CDE (R_2)$	·0063
$cde (r)$	·2440

1·0000

of European populations it is probable that the presence of these genotypes in this small sample is accidental and greatly exaggerates their true frequency. The chromosome *CDE*, though rare, is however found, usually as *CDe/CDE*, in many European and Asiatic populations and it is rather its combination with *cDe* which is extremely unusual and which certainly represents a sampling accident. On the other hand, the chromosome *C^wde* is itself extremely rare: since its first discovery by Callender and Race (1946) it has only on one other occasion been recorded, by Van der Heide *et al.* (1951) in the course of examining 342 Dutch people. Two further British cases (brothers) have recently been detected by the Blood Group Reference Laboratory. It is probable that these five cases represent the fruits of suitably testing ten to twenty thousand samples of blood.

The presence of these genotypes necessitated, as already stated, certain modifications of the usual chromosome-frequency calculations. The results may give an exaggerated frequency for the two rare chromosomes concerned but such a supposition is based solely on external evidence. Even for this sample, however, the total calculated frequency of the two is only 1.13 per cent. Of much greater anthropological interest are the frequencies of the relatively common chromosomes *CDe*, *CDE* and *cde*.

The presence of the chromosome *cDe* might be expected, but its recognizable genotypes are absent. It may be present as the heterozygotes *CDe/cDe*, *cDe/cDe* and *CDE/cDe*, in which case the calculated frequency of the *cde* chromosome includes that of *cDe*. The frequencies of *CDe*, *cDe* and *cde* closely resemble those found in Sardinia (Morganti, Panella and Cresseri, 1949b), regarded as the purest available sample of a Mediterranean population, from the point of view of *Rh* groups. There is also a fairly close resemblance to previous findings in India (Wiener, Sonn and Belkin, 1945; Prasad, Ikin and Mourant, 1949) and parts of Italy and Sicily (Morganti, Panella and Cresseri, 1949a; Morganti, 1949). How close is the real connexion between India and the Mediterranean area cannot be told until much more work has been done on the intervening populations. The results of *Rh* tests on Egyptians, Jews and Iraq Arabs suggest that they are mixtures containing a large Mediterranean component, but no 'pure' connecting links between the Mediterranean and India have yet been recognized. The variations in *ABO* frequencies do not necessarily rule out a connexion, for in other large areas great variations in the frequencies of the *ABO* groups are superimposed on a field of nearly uniform *Rh* frequencies.

However, though the frequency of the *d* gene in North-West Pakistan is comparable to the lowest values found in the Mediterranean area, still lower *d* frequencies are found in parts of India, as shown by previous results quoted by Prasad, Ikin and Mourant (1949), and by the recent work of Sanghvi and Khanolkar (1949).

The high frequency (71 per cent.) of the *Fy^a* gene is nearer to those of the Chinese (90 per cent.) (Miller, Rosenfield and Vogel, 1951) and of the Norwegian Lapps (82 per cent.) (Allison, Hartmann, Brendemoen and Mourant, 1952) than to that of Europeans (41 per cent.) (Race and Sanger, 1950).

Thus each of the four blood-group systems mentioned presents a separate problem, but in each case what is needed for the solution is the performance of more blood-group tests on Indians and on the peoples of the countries lying between India and the relatively well-known European region.

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Basal Metabolism, Race and Climate. By D. F. Roberts, Anthropology Laboratory, Department of Human Anatomy, University of Oxford. With a text figure

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As part of an extensive survey of the ecological significance of human physical characteristics, a study was made of the influence of climate and race upon basal metabolism; defined as the minimal heat-production of the body when it is at rest (not asleep), is not engaged in heavy digestive processes (i.e. is in a post-absorptive state) and is not undergoing marked mental activity, etc., basal metabolism represents the total energy utilized in maintaining the body states and processes necessary to life, e.g. body temperature and circulation.

All available literature recording the basal metabolic rate of human samples was examined, and data thus collected relating to over 200 groups of varying race, sex, age, habits, etc., living in different parts of the world. Straightforward comparison was impossible on account of differences in presentation of the material, technical discrepancies and incomparability of samples, so that it was necessary to subdivide the assemblage of data into comparable subgroups.

Initially, all records for adults were considered. Mapping of their geographical distribution revealed a distinct pattern related to environmental temperature but at the same time suggested certain differences among continental groups. Subsequently, this relationship was examined statistically, technically incomparable samples being excluded.

The daily basal calorie-production of adult male samples, examined in the regions in which the races to which they belong are indigenous, was found to be related ($r = -0.736$ significant at 0.1 per cent.) with mean annual temperature, while similar female samples gave a confirmatory result. Further, significant

differences appeared among the great varieties (or continental groups) of man, suggesting that levels of mean basal daily calorie-production, for a given mean environmental temperature, decreased in the following order: American Indian, European, East Mongoloid (see fig. 1; the position of the group of Europeans measured in London is shown for comparison). The correlation was not apparently explicable by differences in diet, immediate temperature or technique.

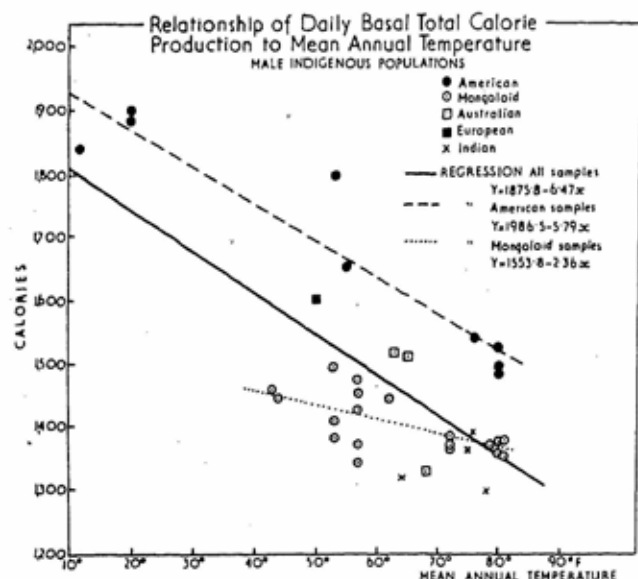


FIG. 1

Examination of heat-production expressed per unit weight apparently confirmed the inter-varietal differences, suggesting that intrinsic differences in basal metabolism exist among the varieties of man, irrespective of the influence of weight and temperature. Although the production of calories per kilogram was also significantly related to temperature, there was reason to believe that variations in weight to a certain extent were coincident with, and possibly represented adjustments to, differences in temperature (a suggestion which has since been made the subject of a further study).

Examination of those results expressed per unit surface area indicated that the supposed relationship of basal metabolism to surface area was not constant, there being a significant association with temperature and, again, marked differences among human varieties. On account of the number of associated factors involved, it appeared necessary to take account of their interrelationships. Analysis by multiple correlation of those 30 male samples in which weight and stature details were furnished as well as the total basal calorie-production produced the total and partial correlation coefficients shown in Table I.

TABLE I

Correlation of daily basal calorie-production with	Mean annual temperature	Stature	Weight
Total correlation coefficient	-.7725 ^{xx}	-.1730 ^o	+.6927 ^{xx}
Partial correlation coefficient	-.679 ^{xx}	-.631 ^{xx}	+.687 ^{xx}

^{xx}=significant at 1 per cent.

^o=not significant.

The partial correlation coefficients indicate the marked relationship of basal metabolism with each of the three factors after account is taken of the association with the other two. The following 'prediction' formula was calculated: $Y=2873-4.29T-13.23S+19.22W$, where Y is mean daily basal calorie-production, T is mean annual temperature in degrees Fahrenheit, S is stature in centimetres, and W is weight in kilograms. The multiple correlation coefficient of basal calorie-production, weight, temperature and stature was found to be .902 (a rise, insignificant however, occurred when relative humidity was included); it was therefore not surprising that comparison of the observed results with those predicted from the formula showed reasonably close agreement, the East Mongoloid series nevertheless showing a predominance of negative discrepancies, the American Indian series a predominance of positive discrepancies, suggesting that differences in basal metabolism previously demonstrated in this study between these two continental groups exist apart from the influence of weight, temperature and stature.

These results, unfortunately only as clearly as the nature of the still inadequate evidence permits, offer a solution to the question of race and basal metabolism, indicating that while there appear to be intervarietal differences in heat-production after allowing for the influence of body size and environment, racial or intra-varietal differences largely reflect variations in habitat. Perhaps more important for the study of the morphology of the human body, there can be deduced from the relationships outlined the tendency for linearity of form to increase with increased temperatures and to decrease with lower temperatures, the relationship of surface area to weight becoming respectively larger and smaller; thus a mechanism is provided by which variations in body form in response to environmental demands may be understood. The hypothesis may be briefly stated as follows: in order to facilitate the balance of human body-heat exchange, under those conditions in which heat-loss is more difficult, less heat is produced (on account of reduction in the amount of body tissue) and the ratio of surface area to weight (i.e. the ratio of potential heat-loss to potential heat-production) is increased. Thus the functional mechanism underlying Bergmann's and Allen's rules, postulated for the relationship of body size and proportions with environment in warm-blooded species, would appear to be confirmed when applied to man.

It would have been of interest to compare with the foregoing the records of non-indigenous groups (i.e. those groups, for example Europeans in America, who have inhabited a particular region for too brief a time to allow selective influences to function). Samples were unfortunately too few for satisfactory statistical investigation, but a difference was tentatively suggested in European groups between those who were immigrants to particular extra-European areas and those who were born and grew up there, the heat-production of the latter tending to approach the conditions observed among indigenous races.

A more comprehensive report of this work will, it is hoped, appear shortly.

The Human Mandibular Lacteon Constant (of Marston).

By Alvan T. Marston, F.D.S.R.C.S.Eng.

252 This note is concerned with a new and useful measurement in differentiating between human and pongid mandibles.

In a recently published paper¹ I showed that vertical sections through the mandible between the second premolar and the first molar disclose a radical distinction between the mandible in man and ape. The line of section is also of interest since in the child the first permanent molar erupts behind the second milk molar

so that the transverse line between the premolar and molar on each side also limits the milk-tooth-bearing region of the jaw—the lacteon region.

The comparison of human and ape jaws by measuring the distance in the sagittal line between the post-lacteon line and the central incisor teeth discloses yet another radical distinction between man and ape. It shows that whereas the protrusion of the incisor teeth or prognathism as measured in the median line from the post-lacteon line increases in apes from the milk to the permanent dentition, and increases in the male more than in the female, so that prognathism in apes is progressive, on the other hand in man this length has remained more or less constant.

It must come as a surprise to find that this distance is practically the same in the prognathous Heidelberg mandible as in the normal mandible of a modern child with its milk teeth, or as in the normal modern adult dentition, and as even in the child of early man—the *Sinanthropus* child mandible (Locus B). The range for man is about 2.5 cms.²

The following figures may speak for themselves:

Man	Anthropoid ape
<i>Sinanthropus</i> child . . . 2.5 cms.	Orang-outan (milk) 3.5 cms.
Modern child . . . 2.5 cms.	Orang adult female . 4.3 cms.
Heidelberg mandible 2.5 cms.	Orang adult male . . 5.5 cms.
Modern adult . . . 2.5 cms.	

The steadfastness of this character in man, associated as it is with others enumerated below, suggests a feature early acquired in phylogeny. One thing clearly emerges: in anthropoid apes with the pronograde habit of posture prognathism measured in terms of this constant is progressive from the infant through the female adult to the male adult, whereas in man with the orthograde bipedal habit of posture it has been static—in Hominids as well as in modern man.

It helps to explain the following associated human conditions:

1. The labial bend of the apices of the roots of the deciduous incisors and canines was described by me in 1937.³ Owen figured the developmental positions of the crypts of the permanent canines and incisors in man and ape in Plates 121 and 120 of *Odontography, Atlas* (1840-5). This is a long standing condition. It occurred in the *Sinanthropus* child mandibles B.1, C.1,⁴ which show the developing permanent canine to be in lingual relationship to the root of the deciduous tooth.
2. The mandible widens inferiorly in the post-lacteon section in man, but narrows inferiorly in apes.⁵
4. The anterior lower milk molar is multi-cuspid in man, but mono-cuspid in apes.

5. The anterior lower premolar is bi-cuspid in man, but subsectorial to mono-cuspid in apes.
6. The upper canine is mesio-distally compressed in man; but is labio-lingually narrow and not compressed in apes. The human canine has a short crown with obtuse-angled point due to the development of mesial and distal cuspules on each side of the primitive point which has remained short; its crown increases in width from the neck for about two-thirds of its length. In apes the central point has remained dominant and forms a long conical crown tapering from the neck to the point.
7. The facial premaxilla is replaced by the maxilla at an early stage of foetal life in man; whereas in apes the facial premaxilla retains its identity throughout life (Wood Jones).
8. Wood Jones has shown (*Hallmarks of Mankind*, 1948) that at the same stage of embryonic development when the human premaxilla is acquiring its specific character, the specific characters of the human foot for orthograde bipedal posture are being acquired.

The human lacteon constant discussed above shows that prognathism in man and prognathism in apes are fundamentally different. Bolk maintained that the first form of hominids and anthropoids had a 'mesogenciotic' jaw from which the human jaw developed in an orthognathous and opisthognathous direction, and that of the anthropoids into a prognathous form—a view supported by the findings of the human mandibular lacteon constant. When these are applied to the Piltdown mandible its lacteon value would be in the neighbourhood of 4.3 cms. (Sir Arthur Smith-Woodward's diagram places the incisor point 4.2 cms. in front of the first molar); and on this ground also the Piltdown mandible falls into the ape group (*cf.* female orang-outan 4.3 cms.) and outside the human group.

Notes

¹ Marston, 'Reasons why the Piltdown Canine Tooth and Mandible could not belong to Piltdown Man,' *Brit. Dent. J.*, Vol. XCIII, No. 1 (1 July, 1952), pp. 1-13, fig. 4.

² The measurement can be taken on models by placing the base of a D-shaped protractor between the second premolar and first molar on either side with the 90-degree line passing between the central incisors. The distance between the edge of the incisors and the base line gives the value now being discussed.

³ Marston, 'The Labial Bend of the Apex of the Root of the Human Deciduous Upper Canine,' *Brit. Dent. J.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 467.

⁴ Weidenreich, 'Mandible of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*,' 1936, Plate VI, figs. 1 and 2, radiographs of the mandibles B.1 and C.1.

⁵ Marston, *op. cit.* (1952).

REVIEWS

GENERAL

La Découverte du Passé: Progrès récents et techniques nouvelles en préhistoire et en archéologie. Edited by A. Laming. Paris, 1952. Pp. 363, 16 plates, 45 text figs. Price 1900 francs

This is a work of international co-operation under the able editorship of Mlle Laming, with contributions from Bailloud, Balfet, Chombart de Lauwe, France-Lanord, Lemée and Leroi-Gourhan as representatives of France, Atkinson, Oakley and Stone from England and Movius from America. After an essay on the growth of archaeology in France from the eighteenth century to the present day, the book is divided into four parts. In the first, *Problèmes de détection*, air photography, resistivity survey and the use of mine-detectors are described; Atkinson's full account of the second technique are the first treatment of the subject to appear in print. The second part, *Le milieu préhistorique*, discusses natural deposits such as silts and gravels and their examination by such methods as heavy mineral analysis (this by a mysteriously anonymous author), and the

study of fauna and flora in archaeological contexts. *Le cadre chronologique* is considered next, with contributions on dendrochronology, fluorine tests, radio-carbon and palaeomagnetism in pottery and allied substances. Finally, *L'étude des vestiges de l'industrie humaine*, comprising petrographical and spectrographic analysis, the detection of micro-organisms in flint, X-ray and other examination of pottery, and the determination of metallurgical techniques. An appendix gives a full bibliography for each of the 14 chapters.

In this technologically minded age, descriptions of methods and techniques are popular for their own sakes, and this book may be expected to have an appeal beyond the purely archaeological public to whom it is presumably primarily addressed. Mlle Laming, in an amusing passage, expresses a hope that it may at least deter *les amateurs clandestins, jeunes ou vieux*, who wreck sites by ignorant digging, by showing them something of the complexity of the subject they are attempting. She also makes clear the limitations of the book as one *de moyens et non de méthodes*. It does not pretend to be a manual of

practical archaeology for the field or museum worker, but an introduction to a set of specialized techniques ancillary to the main task of scientifically conducted excavation over the whole range of pre-history which, with the systematic collection and publication of museum material in accessible corpus form, are the main needs in French archaeology today.

When these problems are at last properly tackled, the technical processes described in this book can play their part, but not before. A good example of a technique nullified by inadequate archaeology is seen on p. 156, where figures are given for pollen counts from the Lac de Chalain (Jura) through archaeological layers labelled blandly *néolithique* and *bronze* without further qualification. No diagram of the normal type is given, nor are the intervals at which samples were taken, nor the type of deposit in which they occurred. In fact the figures as they stand are quite meaningless both to the archaeologist and to the paleobotanist. Surely many of the techniques described in this book become pointless if the material to which they are applied is not the product of field investigation carried out to the exacting standards of the best contemporary work in Europe and America as a whole.

STUART PIGGOTT

Structure and Function in Primitive Society. By A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. London (Cohen & West), 1952. Pp. viii, 219. Price £1 1s.

254 We need no longer send our students to the hard-worked copies of the *Journal* that fly open at, for example, 'The Study of Kinship Systems' and 'On Social Structure,' and we are ourselves saved the search for obscure publications in the quest for what Radcliffe-Brown really said. 'The Mother's Brother in South Africa,' 'The Sociological Theory of Totemism,' and 'Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession,' too long tucked away in difficult places, are now reprinted among the twelve 'Essays and Addresses' which cover a quarter of a century of the patient, devoted and systematic teaching that has left its unmistakable mark in many more centres of learning than are listed in the Foreword as universities where the author has taught (the list lacks Chicago and Manchester; the former a strange omission.)

Our satisfaction at seeing these gem-like classics given a permanent setting must be tempered both by disappointment at the somewhat bleak Foreword, contributed by Professors Evans-Pritchard and Eggan, which does not unbend from its formality to convey much information, and by regret that the Introduction furnished by Radcliffe-Brown himself deals so summarily with the important matters he takes up. The aim of this 14-page Introduction is 'to give definitions of certain concepts of which I make use for purposes of analysis of social phenomena.' This new treatment of a renowned theoretical approach invites our critical attention; the reprinted papers have been used for sermons, battle cries and targets on too many occasions to make it necessary to discuss them here.

We are accustomed to conciseness from Professor Radcliffe-Brown's pen, and brevity might have passed without much comment if the Introduction were simply a restatement of terms and concepts as we are used to seeing them employed in his work. In fact, it is clear, after we have read the first three pages, that some significant changes have taken place in the theory. It seems a great pity that these modifications have been so baldly set out. It is not only to his opponents that the author is offering opportunities to fail to take his meaning.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown asks: 'What is the concrete, observable, phenomenal reality with which the theory [of comparative sociology] is to be concerned?' We may well imagine that we know the answer to this question without reading any further. But if we say 'social structure' in response to a familiar ring we are quite wrong. 'My own view is that the concrete reality with which the social anthropologist is concerned in observation, description, comparison and classification, is not any sort of entity but a process, the process of social life.' Many of us will find this surprising. 'Process' is not a concept that has played a central role in the theory before this time. The term is here applied, apparently, to all that goes on between human beings in the 'unit of investigation,' which is 'the social life of some particular region of the earth during a certain period of time.' (Such entities as 'societies' are, of course, ruled out. In an

earlier context the phrase ran: 'If we take any convenient locality of a suitable size . . .') It seems that a question is still being begged.) Underlying the multiplicity of things that go to make up the social process are 'general features,' an aggregated description of which gives us the 'form of social life.' Anthropology is 'the comparative theoretical study of forms of social life amongst primitive peoples.'

The definitions of 'culture' and 'social structure' are adjusted to the new status of 'process.' Culture is that aspect of process which is concerned with the handing on of tradition. Social structure is the continuing network of social relationships which are determined by the social process and institutionally controlled. (Institutions are the norms of behaviour and not behaviour itself. There is an inconsistency here, for at the beginning of the Introduction the term 'institution' is quite clearly used in a more conventional manner.) Further, a distinction is made between 'social structure' and 'social organization' which seems to resemble that recently proposed by Firth (*Elements of Social Organization*).

In his last paragraph the author says that certain terms used in the various papers in the collection have undergone reformulation in the Introduction, but he nevertheless states the general theory of the work to be in terms of 'the three fundamental and connected concepts of "process", "structure" and "function."' I have not really understood what 'process' means. Although one might suspect that its appearance at the head of the theory reflects a modern predilection for terms with a flavour of dynamism, I cannot think that the explanation is as simple as that. May we hope that we shall read Radcliffe-Brown more fully on this subject in the near future?

MAURICE FREEDMAN

The Social System. By Talcott Parsons. London (Tavistock Publications), 1952. Pp. 575. Price £2 2s.

255 Those acquainted with the writings of Professor Parsons will not expect this to be an easy book. Its importance, however, more than justifies the effort of reading it. The work attempts to formulate and illustrate a conceptual scheme for the analysis of the structure and process of social systems; to provide, with a degree of refinement and specificity not before attempted, a set of pigeon holes for the understanding and manipulation of social data.

Professor Parsons takes as the starting point for his analysis a notion which he calls 'the action frame of reference,' the notion of an acting individual oriented in various ways to a situation which includes as objects for him other similar individuals. Thus 'the most elementary component of any action-system may be reduced to the actor and his situation. With regard to the actor our interest is organized about the cognitive, cathectic and evaluative modes of his orientation; with regard to the situation, to its differentiation into objects and classes of them.'

For a 'collectivity' of actors oriented in these ways to continue to exist in enduring relations with one another it is necessary that the behaviour of members of the collectivity should in general conform with the expectations of their fellows, and it is this 'complementarity of expectations' that provides the cement of the social structure. This desirable state of affairs can only be achieved if social action takes place in terms of generally accepted rules; if, that is, it is 'normatively oriented.'

The normative patterns thereby implied may be considered in two contexts. They can be regarded from the point of view of the individual (ego), which leads to the study of personality structure, or they can be regarded from the point of view of other individuals in the collectivity (alters), which leads to the sociological concepts of status and role, roles being the systems of behaviour expected of the incumbents of the appropriate statuses. It is the organization of status roles about certain sociological 'points of reference,' such as property or kinship relations, that gives us the notion of institutions, 'systems of patterned expectations,' and it is institutions which are, at the highest level, the proper subject matter of social theory.

Now as well as being grouped in fact into institutions, roles, or role expectations, may also be classified analytically in terms of the kinds of orientations they exhibit, and these 'pattern-variables of role definition' provide a schema for the categorization of qualitatively different types of social structure. Professor Parsons describes

and analyses five alternative pairs of such 'pattern-variables,' each expressing the two poles of a possible kind of orientation to his social nexus on the part of an actor. These are: (1) affectivity and affective-neutrality (direction towards immediate gratification and direction towards a remote end implying present renunciation); (2) self-orientation and collectivity-orientation (direction towards the realization of private interests and direction towards the achievement of common ends); (3) universalism and particularism (determination in terms of norms conceived as universally applicable and determination in terms of norms relative to a particular situation or kind of social relationship only); (4) achievement and ascription (emphasis on the success of actors in achieving ends and emphasis on the social status they occupy); and finally (5) specificity and diffuseness (emphasis on the appropriateness of certain kinds of behaviour to certain specific situations, and emphasis on the appropriateness of certain kinds of behaviour in all kinds of situations).

Obviously there are theoretically a large number of possible combinations of these 'pattern-variables,' but the third and fourth pairs are given priority in determining four major types of social value-orientation, and the implications of these, and their exemplification in selected societies, are considered at some length. These characterizations are not intended to be rigid or final; their purpose is to demonstrate the empirical validity of the conceptual scheme they illustrate, a scheme which, Professor Parsons hopes, may provide a starting point for the systematic comparative analysis of social structures, and ultimately for the construction of a typology of societies.

A book of this weight cannot be adequately discussed in a few paragraphs, and the above brief sketch of some of the main features of Professor Parsons' argument does it less than justice. Exigencies of space preclude discussion of the stimulating analyses of other sociological topics contained in other parts of the work. Particularly suggestive are Professor Parsons' discussions of the structural imperatives of social systems (Radcliffe-Brown's 'necessary conditions of existence'), of the types of social deviance and social control (sanctions), and of the relations of these to social change. Of importance, too, are the discussions of belief and value systems, and of expressive symbolism (the realm of 'culture' proper).

The basic question which springs to mind on finishing this book is: is adequate sociological understanding to be reached from the starting point of the individual, or even of a number of individuals regarded as conscious willing agents, and 'oriented' towards one another in various ways? Some anthropologists may hold that it is not, and that the understanding of society, as opposed to the understanding of the individual in society, is rather to be achieved by focusing attention on the norms, the value patterns, themselves, and their implications and relationships, than by the elaboration of the attitudes, 'orientations,' of the individual actors, important though these are. This leads to the consideration of the value of characterizations of societies in terms of the predominant kinds of orientation displayed by their component individuals. It is, it has been suggested, in the norms themselves, rather than in the ways in which these are regarded, that the sociologist, as opposed to the social psychologist, is first and foremost interested. And there must, one feels, always be something a little arbitrary in describing a whole society, especially one so complex as modern America, in terms of the attitudes, however precisely defined, apparently displayed by a majority of its members. The somewhat vague terms in which Professor Parsons correlates the features of the societies so characterized sometimes suggest that his categorizations are perhaps a little more *ad hoc* and a little less systematically derived than he claims.

The above criticisms, necessarily somewhat general, in no way detract from the manifest value of Professor Parsons' work for social anthropologists; its importance for them, as for all students of human society, is immense. But in my opinion it lies in the wide range of

useful concepts which it develops and analyses, and in the stress laid throughout on the significance of normative behaviour and systems of values, rather than in the particular kind of systematization which it advocates.

J. H. M. BEATTIE

Witchcraft. By Pennethorne Hughes. London (Longmans, Green), 1952. Pp. 220, 8 plates. Price £1 15.

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This century has seen the publication of a remarkably large number of books on witchcraft, but none of them has been wholly satisfactory. There is therefore an urgent need for a detailed and critical re-examination of the accumulated mass of data. And at the same time, a real welcome will no doubt be accorded to a sound general survey of the subject, intended for the layman rather than the specialist. Unfortunately Mr. Hughes fails to satisfy either demand. In the first place, it is lamentable that he should have decided to confine himself almost exclusively to a consideration of witchcraft in mediæval Europe; for any limitation of the field of study is to be deplored, if we are to arrive at generally valid conclusions. This in itself does not condemn his work; but his persistence in forcing his evidence into a pre-determined pattern, his apparent ignorance of current trends of thought on the subjects relevant to his thesis, his naïveté and the incoherence of his methodological approach do in fact vitiate his central contention.

The author's thesis is simply that witchcraft is a survival of palæolithic religious practices. This theory is of course far from new; and it has, in the past, been proposed with greater erudition and precision. Equally, the arguments against such a contention have been elaborated at length. It therefore appears pointless to recapitulate the theoretical points which such a thesis at once calls to mind. Suffice it to say that this book adds nothing to what has already been said; indeed the author's arguments have a familiar ring and it is irritating to come upon facile generalizations that one hoped had long since been discarded as belonging to an age of less exacting scholarship than our own.

It is interesting to compare *Witchcraft* with Eisler's *Man into Wolf* (see MAN, 1952, 57), for in both the central theme is similar. But whereas in Eisler's volume the argument was supported by a wealth of scholarship and the greater portion of the book was taken up by a formidable array of detailed notes, the opposite is the case here. But this is not all: not only is no concession made to scholarship, but in certain instances common caution is thrown to the winds. To give only one example, on p. 21 we are told: 'So far then it has been indicated as much as is relevant, how man emerged into religious consciousness.' On p. 21!

This then is not the book on witchcraft for which we have been waiting. And we can only hope that in the near future another book will be written on the same subject, but this time by a scholar worthy of his task, who rather than resuscitating discredited theories and indulging in ill advised generalizations, will carefully correlate the data at his disposal and will concentrate on attempting to unravel the tangled web of conscious and unconscious emotions underlying one of the most important manifestations of the stresses inherent in any social structure. For I am convinced that if we are to gain a fuller understanding of this fascinating phenomenon we must study each example of witchcraft in its social context and, rather than seeking to explain it with reference to some far-fetched diffusionist theory, must look upon the practices involved as an attempt on the part of individuals, or of a group, to express themselves within, or more frequently in opposition to, the socially accepted magico-religious structure of their particular society. Or alternatively, in certain specific instances, it must be recognized that what is loosely referred to as witchcraft is in fact little more than a body of ill defined magico-religious beliefs, with no place within the institutionalized range of personal or group expression. TERENCE MULLALLY

AFRICA

Kinship and Marriage Among the Nuer. By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1951. Pp. 183. Price 15s.

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Professor Evans-Pritchard has published a number of articles setting out in advance the argument of this book, as he had previously done with his studies of *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937) and *The Nuer: A Description of the*

Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People (1940). Therefore we have been able to anticipate to some extent his analysis of kinship and marriage among the Nuer: indeed, a most important part of this analysis appeared as long ago as 1938 ('Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer,' in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, republished by the Rhodes-Livingstone

Institute in 1945). However, as in his previous books, Professor Evans-Pritchard in working his articles together has produced an integrating argument which was only partially present in each of the articles themselves. The book has therefore to be studied even by those who have worked through the articles. Those who come to this section of Professor Evans-Pritchard's studies for the first time in this book, should also refer to the articles. Perhaps because of the demands of austerity printing, the book is cut to the bare argument, and the fuller documentation of the articles is necessary if one is to appreciate it properly.

We have become accustomed to await every book, and almost every article, of Professor Evans-Pritchard's as a notable contribution to social anthropology. This book undoubtedly ranks among the best studies of kinship yet made. It is written with the simplicity and clarity—occasionally deceptive simplicity and clarity—which have made Professor Evans-Pritchard's writings outstanding in our literature.

In criticizing this book, we have to bear in mind that the fieldwork on which it is based began as long ago as 1930, that the writer spent in the field in all only a year, interrupted by illness, and that the conditions of fieldwork, graphically described in *The Nuer*, were extremely difficult. The material in places may appear thin in comparison with a number of other studies of kinship, though it supports the argument adequately, and Professor Evans-Pritchard is always the first to point out its deficiencies. Considering his difficulties, he has shown himself to be outstanding not only in theoretical analysis, but also in the collection of data.

The main argument of the book is concerned with an analysis of the kinship system itself, as a set of categories, and its relations to residential ties and local organization, to domestic life in the family and the establishment of families by various types of marriages, and to the political structure composed of local units whose inter-relationships are stated in terms of ties between lineages. Within a tribe, the ties between local groups, from apparently a district upwards, are of agnatic lineageship; within a district, ties between villages and sometimes hamlets are stated in terms of relationship to the dominant agnatic lineage of the area. Within villages, and between members of different villages as individuals, cognatic kinship is effective.

From the outset, Professor Evans-Pritchard stresses the difference between these two types of kinship ties: inter-personal ties and ties of lineageship. Kinship ties form an ever-changing network of links between persons, which alters with the birth, marriage and death, and also effectively with the changing residences, of individuals. Ties of lineageship at a certain range of local organization become fixed in comparative perpetuity, and indicate both the independence of, and the ties of unity between, local segments of tribes and indeed of the Nuer nation. At this political level, therefore, lineage ties appear directly to reflect topography and ecological and other relations between groups of men. Hence, save for the effects of large-scale migration, the distant genealogy of any lineage, which provides the framework for a tribe, becomes fixed, and the genealogy as a whole is set 'perpetually' at some 12 generations' depth, with four points of critical segmentation. In his new book Professor Evans-Pritchard describes in detail how rich and populous houses of the lineage 'eliminate' weaker collateral branches, many of which go elsewhere to other kin. There they may be grafted into the agnatic lineage by fictions (e.g. treating the woman through whom they are related to the local lineage as a man). These processes maintain the ossification of the genealogy of politico-lineage ties at higher levels, and thus stability in what he calls the social structure. Variable cognatic and domestic ties between the living Nuer are engrafted into this structure. This theme was outlined in *The Nuer* and here is brilliantly expounded.

It appears that many of these living members of Nuer society, though especially Dinka captives, move freely between villages, districts and even tribes, to settle with any cognate, where it pleases or profits them. Though it is stated that eventually most Nuer return to their agnatic homes, the evidence presented seems against this generalization. The village censuses which show that many Nuer villages are inhabited by a mixed bag of cognates seem to me to imply that the members of rich lines of the dominant lineage of an area are more likely than others to do so.

This analysis of how the kinship system, built up by marriages which owing to exogamic rules spread kinship in all directions, feeds the political structure of agnatic lineages is a theme which runs through the book. The rules of exogamy, the various types of marriage dominated by the rule that he or she in whose name cattle are paid for a bride is entitled to be *pater* of the bride's children, and other institutions, are analysed as contributing to this process.

The second main theme of the book is the internal analysis of domestic and personal kinship relations. Here again, as in *The Nuer*, Professor Evans-Pritchard shows how effective interests alter between kinsfolk according to whether they live in a common household, in a village or dry-season camp, in a district or further apart. He brings out anew why the lineage segments at four critical points defined by alterations in ecological, economic and political interests. It is worth noting that similar points of critical segmentation are set within Professor Fortes's far more elaborate terminology for Tallensi lineage segmentation. These critical points of lineage segmentation, as Professor Evans-Pritchard shows, are determined by political processes, which occur in the relations between and within local groups. Where lineage relationship is effective among closely related agnates, as against agnatic lineageship between groups, it serves quite different functions—it influences inheritance, vengeance and other rules. At this level agnatic kinship is not the only effective force, but kinship traced through any line. Therefore the sociological problems of the kinship system itself are of a different kind.

As in his previous publications, Professor Evans-Pritchard makes no comparative references in this study, since he holds that an ethnographic monograph, even if it be analytical, should confine itself to the social system under review. It appears to me, however, that he has not borne in mind the light which other recent studies might throw on his analysis of the Nuer system. I should require a long article to validate this contention in detail. I only mention the position of the eldest child, which here could have been illuminated by conclusions stated by Professor Fortes for the Tallensi. Professor Evans-Pritchard also seems to accept that agnatic lineageship, to which the Nuer give mystical value, indeed has that value in achieving social solidarity. But we know that many other forms of kinship and lineageship of a 'perpetual' kind (to use Mr. Cunison's term), as well as other types of institutions, can serve this purpose; objective factors causing solidarity may be constant under varying social rationalizations. But I must confine my explication of this criticism to one example; and I have chosen his discussion of marriage stability, since I recently made a limited comparative study on this point (in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and C. D. Forde, 1950).

We are told (at p. 73) 'it is only when a man's bride has borne him a child and tends his hearth that she becomes, in the Nuer sense, his wife.' Yet later (at p. 92) we read that 'another contingency which is taken into consideration [in demanding return of bride-wealth] is whether the wife is being sent away by her husband for barrenness or bad habits, which is rare, or whether she is leaving him without his consent and, in this case, whether she has adequate grounds for refusing to live with him.' This surely implies that if a woman is barren she is her husband's wife, even to the Nuer. For instance presumably it is he, and not her kin, who reacts against a man who seduces her. Professor Evans-Pritchard's own discussion of wedding ceremonial and bridewealth payments shows that what may fairly be called 'conjugal rights' in the woman pass to the man long before she has borne him a child. The point at which marriage is completed in African society is sometimes difficult to determine, as Dr. Richards showed in analysing Bemba marriage (in Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 4, 1940); but it is a point which has to be measured in terms of the transfer of rights, and not of attitudes.

Professor Evans-Pritchard in MAN, 1934, 194, denied that the low rate of divorce in certain societies was correlated with payment of bridewealth, and he reiterates this denial here. He stated then that it is morals which censure divorce and law which forbids it, and not 'economic blackmail,' that maintain marriage. The first half of this statement is obvious: it pushes the problem back a small step. In *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer* we are told (at pp. 95f.):

'Indeed, I am prepared to say definitely that the stability of Nuer marriages rests on quite other foundations than payments of bridewealth: affection between the spouses, the good reputation of the husband, mutual goodwill between the families of husband and wife, especially personal friendship between the fathers or between the husband and his wife's brother, and moral and legal norms. . . It is the evocative and inhibitory action of these moral values, sanctioned by approbation and censure, which give stability to marriage and security to the family that derives from it. Divorce is due to failure of one or other of the parties to live up to the code of conduct expected of him or her, and Nuer regard it as a misfortune in which there is also an element of the shameful.'

I suppose we might say of any society that those marriages are likely to be stable where the two spouses love one another, where neither quarrels with in-laws, and where the two sets of in-laws like one another. This presumably is true even in Reno, State of Nevada. Certainly it is true of the Lozi, but there a man who has had several children by a wife may suddenly take it into his head to divorce her—and does so unchecked. The paragraph above is surely a set of those 'naïve truisms' for which Professor Evans-Pritchard castigated his colleagues in his broadcast lectures (*Social Anthropology*, 1951). He has in all his writings avoided any explicit use of the comparative method: but surely such problems as rates of divorce must be seen comparatively, and he should have been aware that while, e.g., Professor Schapera and Dr. Kuper found laws and morals in South Africa similar to those of the Nuer, Dr. Richards and I found contrary ones in Central Africa.

These criticisms of this part of the book are not intended to imply that the discussion of marriage and divorce is weak: indeed, it is extremely good and stimulating. But I am left with the feeling that Professor Evans-Pritchard here, as notably in his broadcast lectures, has not taken full cognisance of the advance of social anthropology as a whole, and of the propositions it has enunciated to cover many social systems. No one would deny that he has contributed—and contributes in this book—greatly to the development of social anthropology; it is questionable whether social anthropology as a discipline has contributed reciprocally to his own development.

MAX GLUCKMAN

The Sobo of the Niger Delta. By John Waddington Hubbard. Zaria (Gaskiya Corp.), 1952. Pp. xxvi, 369, 14 plates, map. Price £1 1s.

258 A book on those peoples of Warri Province, Nigeria, which have usually been called Sobo is an event; for it is the first and very little has been published about them before even in periodicals. It is, therefore, a pity that a book of this importance should not have been better produced. The binding is unattractive and bad and, although the printing is clear and with few misprints, the pages are unpleasant because on so many of them the print is crooked. Further the photographs are poor and too small: it would have been better to have had fewer and larger by omitting those, such as 'the author's bedroom,' that have little to do with the subject of the book. A worse defect is the maps, which are hardly legible even with a magnifying glass. The main one, in particular, drawn by the author from his own survey, has a great deal of detail and has been reduced to less than half its original size. Since part of the author's argument depends on geographical factors it would have been a help to have had some clear maps of the Sobo Division and its surroundings. The book is undated except in the foreword. The years during which the author was in Nigeria can be roughly deduced, but it would have been useful if they had been stated precisely.

The book is irritating on account of its arrangement and repetitions. The author admits to the latter and advises the reader who knows the country to omit Part I, and the non-technical reader to omit most of Part II and all Part III. As it happens Part I would be more appreciated by those with some acquaintance with the country than by those with none. It is 'a description of the Sobo, their land, and their immediate neighbours' and consists of a general description of the physical appearance of the country in which successive villages, that are come to during a journey across it, are named and briefly described. In Part II, 'the facts relevant to Sobo history,' the

author gives his evidence. In Part III he makes 'some deductions from the facts concerning the Sobo given in Part II.' Part IV, 'the history of the Sobo clans and some of their neighbours' is the core of the book. A fifth part has 'some notes on the Isoko language.' In Part II there are 40 pages giving *verbatim* the clan traditions as they were supplied by the author's helpers, together with his comments. These accounts are repeated in a clearer and more connected way in Part IV. They really only show the author at work and cannot be used to check his final history, for when Part IV is examined it is found that additional information has been included which has not been given earlier. On the other hand in one case, on p. 157, facts given in Part IV are used to support earlier deductions.

An example of the results of this method is the various lists of clans and villages. A need is felt for a single, clear list, for there are five or six none of which is complete. This is confusing and does not make clear at once that the author, whose experience was evidently mainly in the Isoko or eastern part of the division, has excluded certain clans in the western part from the history. The reasons for so doing are not logical. For instance the Ujevbe clan is omitted for the reason that this clan is closely allied to the Udu clan in the Jekri-Sobo administrative Division. But the Ujevbe clan is Urhobo (Sobo)-speaking and is in the Sobo Division. There would therefore seem more reason to include it in the history than to include the Abo clan which is primarily Ibo-speaking and is not in the Sobo Division.

The evidence for the history was obtained from clan traditions, language, geography and vital statistics. It is pointed out that the book does not deal with religion or ethnography, but would not these have produced evidence which the skill of the author could have made use of? The argument from vital statistics is ingenious and although it may not be accepted by statisticians does nevertheless produce a series of dates for the founding of the clans that appears reasonable when viewed in relation to their traditions and to the history of Benin. Starting with the government's figures of population for the villages of Sobo Division and accepting, after examination, the government's ratio for the percentages of men, women and children, the author calculates, according to a common factor of increase and allowing for the absorption of aboriginal peoples, the probable date when each clan was founded. Such a form of argument does not seem to have been used before, so it would be useful to have the opinion of statisticians on its validity.

Throughout the book there are interesting comments; such as on Benin history (especially in chapter XXI), on Ijo predominance on the water which led to settlements of other tribes, such as that at Onitsha, being away from the waterside, and on the expansion of the Sobo language owing to the custom of Ijo and Ibo of marrying Sobo wives and not letting their women marry Sobo men, with the result that many of the children grow up Sobo-speakers. The author also brings to light his discovery of an extraordinary accomplishment of the Oproza clan in the second part of the seventeenth century when they altered the course of the Forcados River. In an appendix he makes suggestions for reducing the annual flooding of the Sobo country.

The author has put a great deal of work and original research into this book and apart from the criticisms that have just been made must be heartily congratulated on it, especially for Part IV. From the very slender evidence that was available when he started he has produced a thorough and convincing history of the Sobo clans. His aim was to write 'more particularly for the English-speaking Sobo' and the latter should be grateful for what he has done. No other people in Nigeria have such a clear and full history as the author has written. Most tribal histories are very dull reading indeed, but this can be read with enjoyment.

KENNETH MURRAY

Bibliography of African Anthropology, 1937-1949. Supplement to Source Book of African Anthropology, 1937. By Wilfrid D. Hamby. *Fieldiana: Anthropology*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2. Chicago (Nat. Hist. Mus.), 1952. Pp. 155-292

259 The most remarkable feature of this bibliography is its omissions. Authors and titles which should have been included are absent, and some authors appear who should definitely have been omitted. Though the title defines the period covered as 1937-1949, Mr. Hamby has wisely taken the opportunity of adding a number of

earlier items which did not appear in his original bibliography of 1937; but since he includes some works published in 1950, and even a few belonging to 1951, one wonders why the latter year was not chosen as the terminus. No doubt the author would reply that this is a selected bibliography, as he in fact describes it on p. 155; but the nature and quality of the selection is very much open to question. Among defects in regional representation may be noted the absence (so far as I can see) of any papers in the important *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*; and in the list of periodicals are included some that ceased publication before the initial terminus of the bibliography. There are rather more misprints than one would expect. The odd

designation 'AFRICAN, J.L.' on p. 177 seems to refer to Leo Africanus.

Apart from these defects the bibliography will no doubt be found useful, but its scope is somewhat limited by its selectiveness, and the serious student will not find it a substitute for the quarterly lists published in *Africa*. Many, though not all, of the titles give some indication of the subject; those that do not should have been provided with some clue, and it is hoped that Mr. Hambly will do this in his next edition. What, for instance, is the subject of R. H. W. Shepherd's *The Story of a Century, 1841-1941*? or of Davis, Gardner and Gardner's *Deep South*?
G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

CORRESPONDENCE

Social Anthropology: Past and Present. Cf. especially MAN, 1952, 151

260 SIR,—The study of man has far outstripped the capabilities of any one individual or school. Any definition of the scope, accentuations or limitations of a subject such as social anthropology, ethnology or ethnography, must depend upon the efflorescence of particular 'schools,' and also upon local needs and the opportunities provided by research and teaching institutions. Within certain obvious limits definition becomes a matter of policy.

Here a tradition of social anthropology, much as defined by Professor Evans-Pritchard, was initiated by Professor A. Radcliffe-Brown, and continued under Professors T. T. Barnard, I. Schapera and Monica Wilson. As a result of circumstances ethnology might here be best defined as the study of the determinants of culture, whether material or social, making the two approaches more or less complementary as studies of non-literate peoples, and linking ethnology with prehistory.

This definition will be found to fit adequately with Lowie (*History of Ethnological Theory*, 1938) and more particularly with Kroeber in his recent work (*Cultural and Natural Areas of North America*, 1939) where he has analysed his own final approach in a series of suggestive chapters. Ethnology thus defined includes the analysis of culture in the light of history, environment, culture areas, diffusion, independent invention, the availability of plant, animal or inorganic raw materials, trade and so on, to the extent to which each can be adduced as a determining factor in achieving a particular result or condition. No one determinant should be overstressed. Allowing for an accent on environmental factors, Daryll Forde's work (*Habitat, Economy and Society*) provides perhaps the best example of this general approach. It is clear that in an institution where human geography is treated as a separate subject a more locally appropriate definition might be preferable.

Our tendency here is to use the term ethnography to cover the pure cataloguing of tribes, elements of culture, customs and physical characters, in map, card-index or filing-cabinet form; an approach as sterile and as dry-as-dust as any map without the vitalizing inspiration of geography, but an essential comparative documentation.

In brief, if social anthropology is the analysis of *how* a society acts and behaves, ethnology might well be retained for the study of the reasons *why* it shows the forms and modes that are apparent.

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Social Anthropology: The Approaches to Fieldwork. Cf. MAN, 1952, 130

261 SIR,—I am grateful to Mr. Goody for pointing out certain ambiguities in my book about the Mende, and I will certainly clarify these in any further edition of the work. I also appreciate Mr. Goody's criticism of my book's over-comprehensiveness, although I should have felt happier had he also mentioned that my aim, in addition to providing a general description of Mende culture, was to deal particularly with the changes

which are coming about in Mende institutions. This is stated explicitly in the opening lines of my foreword, and it is indicated by the book's sub-title, 'A West African People in Transition.' It explains, perhaps, my tendency, as Mr. Goody notes it, 'to concentrate on problems of "culture contact."'

Mr. Goody's use of the latter expression raises an important methodological question relevant both to the way in which I chose to write about the Mende and to contemporary problems of anthropological research in general. In the 'old days,' I suppose, the anthropologist could go out into the field to a primitive people with reasonable hope of being able to isolate his unit of study in terms of their still existing 'society,' or 'social system.' Nowadays, not only in Sierra Leone, but in many other areas of the hitherto 'primitive' world, it is becoming increasingly difficult to employ such methods of conceptualization. In many cases, the relevant field of sociological observation is clouded over by quite extensive social groupings of educated and semi-literate native people, European administrators, missionaries, settlers, and business men, and other 'non-indigenous' elements. Particularly in such matters as law and government, the changes in tribal organization are considerable. Institutions have been created which, although formally associated with the native system, are in fact quite novel, and the investigator wishing to describe them has to take into account a whole new network of social relationships.

In circumstances of this kind, there are, I think, broadly two alternative ways in which the anthropologist can go usefully to work. The way selected will depend on his theoretical aims and objectives. He can, for example, decide to confine himself almost wholly to the 'indigenous' structure, basing his conceptualization of it partly on what is still extant and directly observable and partly on the verbal accounts of his more elderly informants. In this case, he will probably feel it necessary to ignore most social phenomena not specifically earmarked as 'traditional' or 'indigenous,' or will place them in some special category labelled 'modern changes' or 'culture contact.' Alternatively, he can decide to deal more comprehensively with the existing reality of native life, and to describe it in all its present forms. In this case, he is faced with the task, as yet not fully solved, of devising a conceptual framework which will satisfactorily relate the 'old' to the 'new' and suitably incorporate both 'indigenous' and 'non-indigenous' social groups. He will also feel it necessary, in my view, to regard 'social change' not as a separate or special problem but as an integral part of the sociological situation studied.

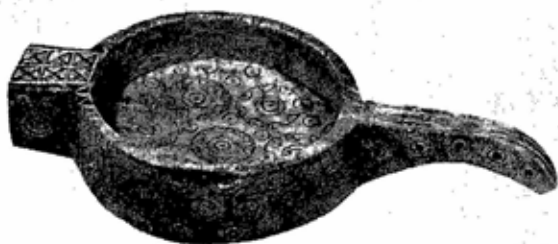
It was the latter approach that I essayed in writing about the Mende because, in the altering circumstances of anthropological study, I am, personally, convinced of the desirability of our paying increased attention to diachronic problems. In this respect, therefore, I am, perhaps, less pessimistic than Mr. Goody. It may be true that, at the present 'generalized level of discussion' of such matters, anthropologists have not succeeded in saying more than is already known to 'intelligent administrators.' However, the melancholy fact, which we have to remedy, is that the administrator has often spent much more time on these 'newer' problems than the anthropologist.

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(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)

CONCENTRIC CIRCLE ORNAMENT IN THE NEAR EAST

(a) Youruk mortar. (b) Youruk coffee-cooler. (c) Serbian pilgrim bottle. (d-g) Handles of folding spoons: (d, e) from Jayce; (f), with whistle, from Berat, Albania; (g) from Russia.

Photographs by courtesy of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

CONCENTRIC CIRCLE ORNAMENT ON VESSELS OF WOOD FROM THE TAURUS*

by

SIR JOHN MYRES, O.B.E., F.B.A.

262 In the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford are two wooden utensils acquired by J. Theodore Bent from Youruk peasants in the Taurus Mountains of Asia Minor, and presented by him in 1891. Their concentric-circle ornaments give them a peculiar interest, in view of the long history and wide distribution of this type of ornament, and of recent discovery of its primitive meaning. The two vessels are as follows:

1. A covered mortar¹ (Plate Ma) of discoloured wood (6½ inches high by 5½ inches diameter) with cylindrical body, deeply moulded with spreading foot (1½ inches) and rim (1 inch) separated from the convex body (3 inches) by half-round mouldings which are enhanced by incised zigzags (the upper one is also slightly notched). A handle extends from foot to rim, with three squared projections, between which are half-round members, the upper of which is perforated (¼ inch). On the convex body are three rows of concentric circles—two circumferences with central point, engraved with a compass (¼ inch diameter). There is a sewn leathern cover, of less diameter than the rim, slightly concave and plugged to fit the neck, with a leathern loop handle.

2. A coffee-cooler² (Plate Mb) of discoloured wood (lime?) having a circular bowl (4½ inches diameter) with flat bottom and vertical sides (1½ inches high; ¾ inch thick). On one side is a cubical socket (1½ inches high and wide) hollowed from square as if to hold a longer handle. Opposite is a solid spout (3½ inches long; 1 inch diameter at junction with bowl) curving slightly downward. The upper surface is engraved with converging lines to guide the flow of liquid. The rim has incised zigzags, and the handle a design of six squares with incised cross-diagonals. The outside of bowl, handle and spout has rows of engraved concentric circles (1½ inches), two with centre point in each group. On the spout the centre points have been enlarged. On the flat floor of the bowl is a design of seven concentric circles (three with centre point) enhanced with semicircles with centre points on the outer circles, like flower petals. Between these elements are single circles with centre point. On the underside is a design of concentric circles (1½ inches, three with centre point) surrounded by four circles with centre points on the outer ring. From the edge of the underside are struck nine semicircles of same diameter, with a space for the plain underside of the handle. The undersides of handle and spout are plain.

With these may be considered the following:

3. A pilgrim bottle³ (Plate Mc) of discoloured wood (probably lime) with lenticular body 5½ inches diameter turned hollow through a hole in one side within the inner band of concentric engraved grooves, which is closed with a plug. This type of flask was made till recently for the use of shepherds in Balkan lands. The body stands on two pairs of slightly splayed feet, about ¼ inch high, and the neck projects above from a shoulder (2½ inches long) along the circumference (½ inch high) slightly convex above. The neck, which seems to be inserted, is cup-shaped, with turned mouldings; it is closed by a globular stopper of turned wood, with a finial knob. This is attached by a cord through two transverse holes in the shoulder. Another cord passes through a transverse hole in one of the feet. The surface of the broad bands on the body is rough and scaly, and may have been painted.

4. Four modern folding spoons from Balkan lands and Russia bearing compass-drawn concentric circles on the

handles, to which Mr. W. C. Brice has drawn my attention, all in the Pitt Rivers Museum (Plate Md-g):

(d) From Jayce; collected by H. Balfour 1895.

(e) From Jayce; collected by H. Balfour 1916.

(f) With whistle for calling the attendant. From Berat, central Albania; collected by Miss M. E. Durham 1913, presented 1933.

(g) From Russia; presented by A. W. Fuller 1930.

In (d), (e) and (f) the ornament is applied round the hinge, where there is the greatest risk of damage; in (g), upon the open loop of the sturgeon (?) which swallows the tang of the spoon. In (d) and (e) the concentric circles are connected tangentially into a wavy line, whereas in (f) they stand apart in alternate lines, or are alternate with a row of lozenges. In (g) the compass, or punch, is applied obliquely and the circles overlap slightly; this is a secondary effect, suggesting scales.

The concentric-circle or 'target' ornament has a wide sporadic distribution, for it can emerge accidentally in the use of the carpenter's compass on wood, bone and other materials. It does not normally occur in working clay, and it only emerges in basketry as a large-scale refinement of the concentric lozenge or diamond ornament. It has obvious resemblance to the spiral, and occasionally replaces a spiral through carelessness, e.g. in Early Ægean pottery from Sura.⁴ Conversely, at the end of the Ægean Bronze Age, the running spiral is frequently replaced by concentric circles connected by a tangent line.

It is in this Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age context that the concentric-circle ornament has its most conspicuous vogue, and widest distribution, from (a) the Villanova period in Italy and its equivalent in the Danube basin, both on bronze vessels and on pottery, probably imitated from them, to (b) the Ægean (as above) on bronze, pottery and bone, and (c) Cyprus, on Early Iron Age pottery, alongside a rectilinear style with panels and zones. This Cypriot style recurs in Phœnicia, north Syria, Lycia and sporadically in Asia Minor, always within the Early Iron Age. The significance of the concentric circles on the two wooden vessels from Taurus is that they occur in a very backward and reclusive community, of almost wholly pastoral Youruks, in the highland core of this region, where there is every likelihood that they are a real survival.⁵

The relation between the Cypriot or Levantine province and the Ægean is obscure, for reasons which will appear as the argument proceeds. Within the Ægean, V. Desborough (*Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford, 1952) has recently demonstrated stratigraphically that the concentric circle appears, fully formed, first in Attica about 1000 B.C. (see fig. 1), and spreads thence from about 950 B.C. onwards (a) round the Saronic Gulf into Argolis, (b) up the east coast of Greece into Boeotia and Thessaly, with outliers of less certain date in Macedonia; then (c) into the Cyclades and Sporades as far as Cos and Rhodes, and (d) into Crete; with (e) rare exports into Lycia, Cyprus, north Syria, and Palestine. These last are genuine Attic workmanship of a few very

*With Plate M and a text figure

uniform shapes; but in Cyprus at least they were imitated in local clay and paint. This is the ground for believing that the whole Cypriot-Levantine province borrowed its characteristic and copious use of concentric-circle ornament from the Aegean, and specifically from Attica.



FIG. 1. ATTIC PROTOGEOMETRIC VASE
After Desborough

In the Attic fabric the concentric circles and semicircles—a simple device for accommodating more numerous and larger circles on a limited surface—are at first almost the sole ornament between painted bands applied to the vessel on the wheel; the carpenter's compass being taken over by the pot-painter and fitted with a battery of little brushes which were dipped simultaneously into a saucer of paint. The punctured centre point on the clay and the simultaneous flooding of the circles where the overfull brushes came into play reveal the whole process. Before long, the centre is flooded with paint, or enhanced with black triangles or simple geometric schemes; or the concentric-circle ornament becomes the main motive of a geometric panel design.

Apart from a very few clumsy examples of concentric circles drawn freehand, without compass, which need not be earlier than the compass-drawn, the concentric-circle ornament emerges suddenly in this proto-geometric style in Athens. It is very seldom that an ornament can be traced so near to its origin. But the social circumstances of Attica were peculiar. As was appreciated already by Thucydides in the fifth century B.C., after Mycenaean prosperity and long decline, this promontory became, after the 'Dorian Invasion' about 1100-1050 B.C., a rallying ground for refugees from all sides, and the starting point for organized settlements in the Islands and along the middle (Ionic) section of the Anatolian coast opposite, where concentric-circle pottery of Attic fabric occurs in the lowest colonial layers at Old Smyrna, Samos and Miletus.

In Attica itself, the north-west suburb of the city of Athens became known as the 'Potters' Quarter' (*Kerameikos*), much older than the first city wall, which bisects it; and this industrial settlement began with the new style. Probably some group of immigrants settled here on a limited clay patch, and prospered. Deserting, or unfamiliar with, the designs of the Mycenaean forefathers whose principal vase forms they retained with little change, they made a fresh start: relying on sheer beauty of forms, perfection of paste, distinctive red colouring due to skilled firing, and a superior black glaze; they dispensed with other ornament; and retained these distinctions for some cen-

turies, supplementing the local clay with that of Cape Kolias and with ruddle and cinnabar from as far afield as the 'Sinopic earth' (*miltos*) from central Asia Minor.

There are actually a few pots which have the ornament incised in the wet clay. In these circumstances the concentric-circle ornament was at the same time the trademark of superior wares and the magical insurance of their quality. In later centuries in Greece the magical meaning of the device seems to have been forgotten, and the badge itself fell out of use. But in other Balkan lands it survives, with other simple symbols, as a deliberate safeguard for primitive fabrics of earthenware.⁶

This magical significance is confirmed by the frequent use of the ornament both in ancient and in modern times to protect the heads of rivets on knife handles of bone, and elsewhere. Its reputation as a 'life-giver' probably results from the optical illusion of spontaneous movement in a reverse direction when the ornament is accidentally rotated (as in the popular 'Pears' Soap' advertisement). The same illusion occurs with a spiral, and may explain its extraordinary vogue in Aegean art, and its confusion with the concentric circles in careless workmanship.

For the concentric circles of Attica in the Early Iron Age there is no obvious derivation, especially since Desborough's recognition of the Thessalian and Macedonian occurrences as derived from the Attic fabric. It should, however, be noted that the widespread occurrence of this ornament in Anatolia, in the centuries after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, might seem to connect it with other novelties due to the Thracian-Phrygian invasion from the north-west, in view of the further connexion of that movement with the spread of Lausitz and Hallstatt cultures from the Danube basin into Italy. In *Who were the Greeks?* (Berkeley, 1929, pp. 475-83) I took this alternative view. And even if the concentric circles of Cyprus and the Levant are derived from the Attic fabric, there is still that fabric itself to be explained.

Notes

- ¹ Pitt Rivers Museum No. 104, G. 24.
- ² Pitt Rivers Museum: 'Youruk, Taurus Mountains, Asia Minor. J. T. Bent, 1891.'
- ³ Pitt Rivers Museum: Old Ashmolean Collection, A.D. 1676. 'Resin wine bottle, Balkans, Servia.' 523? 526? Found in Old Clarendon Store and transferred to the University Museum, 1886. This bottle is quoted here because similar bottles are decorated on their broad body bands with concentric-circle ornaments incised.
- ⁴ See Tsountas, 'Kykladika' in *Ephemeris Archaologike*, Athens, 1899, Plate VIII, 1, p. 87, fig. 15.
- ⁵ Mr. William Fagg, Department of Ethnography, British Museum, adds the following note: 'The simple circle with centre point is a common decorative motive in some parts of the Belgian Congo, where some ethnologists, notably Professor Frans M. Olbrechts, Director of the Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren, consider that it is of Arab origin, having been introduced by the slavers in the nineteenth century; it is in fact found both on objects such as knives left behind by the Arabs and as a motive in the art of tribes of the eastern Congo such as the Warega (especially on ivories), with whom the Arabs had much contact. It is, however, also widespread in the western Congo, among the Bapende and other tribes of the Kwilu and Kwango rivers, far from Arab influence, and it is supposed that the idea was carried thither by the Bajokwe, a tribe of hunters and raiders of the Lunda group, who

stretch from the southern end of Lake Tanganyika to the Angola coast and are great agents of diffusion. An explanation by convergence may, however, be admissible in certain cases, at least as a contributory factor: imported upholsterer's nails, with hollow, dome-like brass heads, became very popular during the nineteenth century as enhancement for works of art, stools and other furniture, and, if these are well hammered home and later fall out or are removed, the circle-point 'ornament' is left behind as a consolation

to the owner; the use of these nails is especially common among the Basonge, Batetela, Bajokwe and Bayaka tribes. The spread of the circle-point ornament might at least have been encouraged by these fortuitous exemplars, both in Africa and, perhaps, in Europe.
—ED.

⁶ See M. Philipovič, 'Primitive Ceramics made by women among the Balkan peoples,' *Serb. Acad. Sci. Monograph CLXXXI, Ethn. Inst., No. 2* (1951), pp. 24, 159.

THE ENGRAVED ROCKS OF KILIMANJARO: PART II*

by

H. A. FOSBROOKE, M.A. and CHIEF PETRO I. MAREALLE, B.E.M.

EXPLANATION

by P. I. Marealle, translated by H. A. Fosbrooke

263 The author describes a ceremony called *ngasi*, a seclusion camp which is a final stage of initiation held in the bush before the assumption by the initiates of full manhood. The rites described are typical of many such held in Bantu Africa, consisting of a camp in the bush, life without shelter and without clothes, and the teaching of tribal lore and the duties of the age set. Finally—a feature not recorded elsewhere—there is the ceremony of the engravings, described as under by P. I. Marealle.—H. A. F.

Another matter of great importance in the teachings of the *ngasi* is the teaching of the meaning of the engravings on the rocks, and how to engrave them.

From the body of the youths of the age set are chosen 12 who are the children of people of importance in the country, who go to be taught the secret of the rock engravings. After being taught these matters, these youths are taken to the chief to swear that they will never, never reveal the secrets which concern the chief or the whole country. They will in the future be the trusted counsellors and confidants of the chief and of the country. Should the chiefdom be invaded and the chief forced to flee his country, some of these youths must follow him wherever he goes, whilst others must stay in the country, being entrusted with the job of hiding the chief's property, without revealing its whereabouts to any man, till such time as the chief can return to his own country. They indeed are the first to be informed if the chief intends to wage war on his neighbours; and also they are the beloved of the chief, sent by him on any secret mission.

The stone itself is engraved thus. The elder who is the instructor goes with the 12 youths to the stone. He wears a ring of hide, and he says to them 'You see this stone and its engravings: look, this is your whole country. The youths of old who made these marks were led by an elder who like myself knew much wisdom. This is a mark which reveals that which is the particular concern of the chief, of the age set which preceded and of the whole country. You have now learnt great wisdom, that of the *mreghe* stick¹ and such like. Retain it!'

Then the elder gives one of the 12 a little axe and shows him how to cut a line on the stone. The youth cuts a small mark from two to six inches long. The elder continues: 'Look ye, my children, these teachings are a great secret; you will be the secret-bearers of the chief and of the whole country. Know ye then how to look after your chief in the days of rejoicing and of hardship; obey his orders without hesitation. Let me put you on your oath, that whosoever reveals whatsoever secret in any way whatsoever, whether this secret is of the chief or of the whole country, may he die an evil death!'

* With a text figure. Part I was published, with Plates K and L, in the November issue (MAN, 1952, 244), where a list of references to books quoted in both parts will be found.

Then the elder—instructor of the *ngasi*—sings this song of hidden meaning:

'Ee, ye who come out from the teachings,
I have taught you weighty matters carefully,
Thus teach ye your successors in the future,
That they in turn may teach their children.
Ee ye my children, Ee my children!
I tell you, teach the age sets.
From generation to generation, let them have understanding.'

When the song is over a mark is made on the stone, and to the youths are expounded the mysteries of ancient wisdom and of the stick called *mreghe*.²

Finally they are led off to the chief. On the way to the chief they are prohibited from looking back. When they reach the chief, the teacher says: 'Chief! I have taught these 12 youths how to retain your secrets and those of the country, and they have placed a mark on the stone.'

The chief then orders an ox for slaughter. When it is slaughtered he takes a portion of the skin and cuts it into 12 little bits, which he pierces and places on the middle finger of the right hand of each of the youths, in the form of a ring. This is a mark to remind them of the importance of their oath to the chief and to the country, and of the teaching which they have received.

In the country of Marangu there are two stones which were engraved by different age sets, a sort of history of the chiefdom in the country, and of the age sets. Each set used to engrave a line, but only if an heir apparent of the chief was in their set. For if there was no heir, or no one who could become an heir, what point would there be in swearing to be a confidant of the chief? Thus, by learning the number of marks which are in the country engraved on stones, and if you also know the history of each clan of chiefs, you can find out how long ago this *ngasi* ceremony started by the number of age sets, and thus ascertain the age of the tribe.³

Explanation of the Stone of Longoro (Marangu)

What follows is a picture from two stones of Marangu.³ I do not know of any other place with engraved stones still extant anywhere on Kilimanjaro. There are also pictures which I obtained from Arusha of stones like these.⁴ . . .

Longoro is a place where the *ngasi* ceremonies have been performed for a very long time; thus there are three stones which are all engraved with marks.⁵ Each mark was drawn by a separate age set, so doubtless many age sets performed their ceremonies here, till three large stones were covered with their markings.

The largest stone and that which was more recently inscribed than the others is that of which a picture is here reproduced (fig. 1), and which we will explain.

The instructor of the *ngasi* sits at point (a). The elder whose duty it is to circumcise the youths sits at (b). At (c) sits the leader of the *ngasi* ceremony, who is indeed the most important of all the youths, and whose order cannot be disobeyed by any youth in his age set during the *ngasi* ceremony. This leader must come from a certain

celebrated clan, and if it happens that there is no youth from this clan in the *ngasi*, then he must be chosen from another prescribed clan; he sits at (d). Likewise he may sit at (e). The line which is marked XX is the boundary.

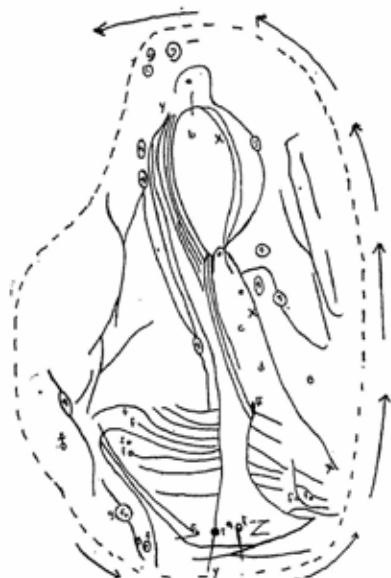


FIG. 1. THE STONE OF LONGORO (STONE A)

To be compared with Plate La, b in Part I

----- Outline of stone
→ Direction of dancers

To the east of the line those youths inscribe who are guests from the Chagga countries to the east (Mamba and Mwika), whose chiefs have begged permission from the chief of Marangu for them to join in the *ngasi* ceremony. West of this line to the line YY is the space for the youths who come from Marangu South, to engrave lines according to their age sets. West of Marangu, the area called Molyo-Monjo.

At (f) are little holes in the stone called *tongoto*. The youths who complete the *ngasi* ceremony spit in the hole which is drilled in the rock on behalf of that particular age set, and thus they take oath not to reveal the secrets which they have been taught. At (g) is a portion which is chipped flat at the top of the stone; it represents a market. Here the youths swear not to reveal to women the important secrets which they have seen, since women as they go to market converse with each other and let out secrets. This is the reason why these spots are called *sangara* (markets). From the clans of those who have the right to sit at points (a), (c), (d) and (e) is chosen an elder who is taught by the elder who preceded him how to lead an age set through the lessons of the *ngasi* and how to inscribe the rocks. This elder is sworn to secrecy. His work is called in Chagga language, *iipachia ngasi*. The youths when at the *ngasi* ceremony are brought their food by an adult male who already knows the secrets. This man is called *mwichi*. He only is permitted to approach the place where the ceremony is being held; but even he is not permitted to see the youths who are being taught, and even should he do so he would not be able to recognize them as they have smeared themselves with red earth. The number of men appointed to this task are of equal number to the youths attending the ceremony.

When the youths have completed their lessons, then indeed is the stone engraved. The youths come running, each with a leaf in his hand; they run round the stone where the three elders are standing on the three stones. The elder—instructor of the youths—has already bored the hole *tongoto* in the stone. Then each youth as he passes by at a run circles the stone in the direction of the arrow in the diagram,⁶ throws his leaf on to the stone, goes to the hole pointed out by the elder, spits into it, and passes on. When all have passed by, the instructor counts the leaves, and so knows the number of youths in the age set; he then inscribes a line on the stone

with a small axe, the length of the line which he cuts being proportionate to the size of the age set. If there is an heir apparent in the age set, then doubtless the age set will be a large one, and thus the line will be long and deep.⁷ Thus indeed are those 12 youths chosen and are able to be present when the elder inscribes the stone.

While the youths are running round the stone and spitting the spittle of the oath into the hole, the elders who are present sing the song turn by turn which we have recorded above.

When the youths come out from the *ngasi* ceremony, they go to the chief and enjoy a meat feast, and dance for many days. Now indeed the youths can marry, but not until the chief of the age set first marries. If he does not marry quickly, the youths of the age set seize a girl by force and take her to the house of the chief of the age set, thus causing him to marry so that they themselves may get a chance to marry.

When the youths have passed out, they cannot then return to the place of the ceremony, unless it be that they are later chosen as servers to take food to some subsequent seclusion camp.

NOTES AND CONCLUSIONS

by H. A. Fosbrooke

Throughout the above translation I have interpreted the Swahili habitual tense, which the author uses consistently, by the English present tense, thereby, I hope, retaining some of the vividness of the description. These ceremonies are, however, now no longer practised. The last time they were performed is said to have been about 1900, whilst the one planned to take place about 1910-11 broke down, as Mlangi, father of Thomas Marealle and uncle of the author, was influenced by the Church not to attend (see also Dundas (1924), pp. 214f.).

Notes

¹ The *nreghe* stick is a short withy, from which some of the bark is removed in significant patterns, which act as a mnemonic in the teaching of the story of procreation and other physiological facts as understood by the Chagga. Examples are illustrated and explained by P. I. Marealle (1951, p. 28), and O. F. Raum (1940, p. 328).

² The author is in my opinion rather optimistic in thinking that the age of the tribe can be ascertained by taking the number of marks and multiplying these by the average number of years between one age set and the next. In the first place he himself describes the line made by one age set as between 2 inches and 6 inches long. Thus, when confronted with a line 2 feet long, should one take this as representing four age sets or 12? Again Marealle admits that circumcision, and with it doubtless the age-set system, was adopted from the Masai. From other sources it is known that the Masai have probably been less than 200 years in the area (Fosbrooke, 1948). If we follow Dundas's chronology (1932, chart facing p. 160), it is apparent that the Chagga preceded the Masai in this part of the world, so that there must be a considerable period of Chagga history unrecorded in the engravings.

³ Although the text indicates that the marks on two stones are here interpreted, in fact only one stone is illustrated by diagram. The author was unable to get an illustration or interpretation of the second stone for publication, which is in this article referred to as stone D.

⁴ The reference to the existence of similar engraved stones in Arusha District is of interest. The diagrams given to P. I. Marealle by an informant are extremely crude and were not published in the book. I have not yet contacted this informant, and enquiries made so far have failed to reveal the whereabouts of these stones.

⁵ The three stones here referred to are A, B and C, described in Part I.

⁶ There are no arrows in the diagram as originally published. I have inserted them after discussion with the author.

⁷ There is an apparent inconsistency here, for the author said

earlier that no age set could be formed unless an heir to a chief were available as its head. Further enquiry reveals the fact that age sets could be formed without a chief's heir, but of a less important type, known as *mangusha*. The basic teaching would be the same, but there would be no ceremony of swearing secrecy and loyalty to the chief, and a less imposing line would be carved on the stone.

Conclusion

It would be impossible to reconstruct the meaning of these engravings and the uses to which they were put

without the very adequate description which P. I. Marealle has recorded. It is to be hoped that similar information still available elsewhere in the minds of the generation quickly passing will not be lost for want of someone sufficiently interested to write it down. The more that can be recorded concerning engravings, paintings and designs, the meaning of which is still remembered, the greater the chance of interpreting the puzzling symbolism of earlier generations.

OBITUARY

Franz Baermann Steiner: 1908-1952

264 Dr. Steiner's sudden and early death, on 27 November, is a great loss to the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford and to social anthropology in general. He was an excellent teacher and a scholar of monumental learning. He had, however, published little except a number of poems in various German periodicals, and it adds to the tragedy of his death that he was writing three books—on Aristotle, on the Sociology of Labour, and on Taboo—any one of which would have established his reputation as an anthropologist.

Dr. Steiner took a Ph.D. in Semitic Languages and Ethnology at Prague, and a D.Phil. in Anthropology at Oxford. He was appointed to a University Lectureship in Social Anthropology

at Oxford in 1950. He had earlier done field research in Ruthenian villages of the Carpathian Ukraine, but the results were never published.

Dr. Steiner suffered much during his short life. He was in constant ill health. His entire family and all his close kin were murdered by the Nazis in Czechoslovakia. His completed doctoral thesis at Oxford was lost on a journey, and had to be rewritten. Even his volumes of poetry were never published, for the publisher went bankrupt after they were printed. These disappointments and disasters, which might have soured another man, only made Franz Steiner more tolerant, more gentle and more serene. He was greatly loved and respected by all his colleagues and students at Oxford. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

SHORTER NOTES

Some Anthropological Notes on Darwin and on Members of his Family. By Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S.

265 The only anthropological records I can find of Charles Darwin relate to his stature, the circumference of his head and the colour of his hair. These are given by Francis Galton in his *English Men of Science* (1874), and are reproduced by Karl Pearson in his *Life of Galton* (Vol. II, p. 150). Darwin's stature is given as 6 feet (1.828 metres); his father was 2 inches taller (1.879 metres) and of enormous weight, viz. 24 stones (150 kilograms); in his prime Charles Darwin may have weighed half of this amount, but from his appearance during his life at Downe, I should think his weight must have been about 60 kilograms. The circumference of his head is given as 22.25 inches (0.564 metres), which was 6 millimetres less than the mean of that for the English men of science. His silk hat is preserved in Downe House, and the circumference of its inner band is 21.77 inches (0.553 metres). The internal diameters of the hat are: length 195 millimetres, width 160 millimetres, the head being 82 per cent. of its length, showing a degree of brachycephaly. The excess of circumference given by Galton (namely 11 millimetres) is probably due to the level of the head at which this measurement was made (at the level of the eye-brows), whereas the hat records a measurement above that level.

In stature, in form of head, and in shape of nose and face Darwin reproduced many features of the Bronze Age invaders of Britain. One of the most characteristic traits of these invaders (as I believe, from Northern Europe) was the flattened area at the back of the head, involving the hinder third of the parietals and upper part of the occipital. All photographs which give Darwin's head in full or partial profile show this occipito-parietal flattening. All his pictures taken before he grew a beard reveal a knob-like chin, not shelf-like, and the knob chin was also a common feature of the invaders. They had usually massive eye-brow ridges; Darwin's were prominent, overshadowing his orbits. He himself described

his complexion as sallow, but it was the ruddiness of his face that was noted by his family and friends. On his return from the *Beagle* at the close of 1836, his father declared that the 'shape of Charles's head had quite altered,' for during the voyage his son passed from his twenty-third to his twenty-eighth year, and probably his head during this period of his life would have matured. From the measurements just given one would judge that, as regards size of brain, Darwin fell into the medium-sized group; his brain was in size that of the average Englishman.

His hair was brown. A photograph taken at the age of 33, just before he settled at Downe, shows a frontal baldness extending to about the region of the bregma; that taken a few years later shows the baldness extending along the whole extent of the crown (see Galton's *Life*, Vol. I, Plate 41). Of the age at which he grew a beard I can find no exact record. It was certainly after the publication of the *Origin* and before the publication of the *Descent of Man*, probably about his sixtieth year.¹ It was grey from the first, but the hair of his head seems to have kept its brownish colour almost to the end. In the *Life of Galton*, Pearson (Vol. IIIa, Plate 25) gives two representations of Darwin in his early thirties: a portrait done by Richmond in 1839 gives him a small mouth and the alert air of a young man (he was then 31), and another, a photograph, taken with his eldest child in 1842, which shows a haggard man with mature features, going bald; they might well be pictures of unrelated men. It was during the interval covered by these two pictures that the strange illness which dogged Darwin all his days first took prolonged possession of him.

Seeing the dearth of anthropological data relating to Charles Darwin I thought, in 1935, to mend matters a little by obtaining data relating to some of his immediate descendants and with this aim in view appealed to Major Leonard Darwin (1850-1943), the fourth, and in 1935 the sole survivor, of the five sons of the

great Charles. He entered into my project with the utmost goodwill and promised not only to submit himself to measurement but to provide an opportunity of taking those of his two nephews, namely, Mr. Bernard Darwin, son of his older brother Sir Francis Darwin (1848-1925), and Sir Charles Galton Darwin, son of Sir George Darwin (1845-1912). Leonard Darwin's home was then at Cripps Corner on the western outskirts of Ashdown Forest, in Sussex. I was then living in Downe, Kent, near Darwin's old home and had with me young Dr. Theodore D. McCown (now Professor of Anthropology in the University of California). We were then (1935) engaged in examining and describing the fossil people from Mount Carmel.

On 8 October, 1935, Dr. McCown and I were invited to Cripps Corner; there we found Major Leonard Darwin and Sir Charles G. Darwin; later we met Mr. Bernard Darwin; the measurements we made are given in the adjoining table. At the time these were taken, Leonard Darwin was in his eighty-sixth year and had grown a beard which gave him a striking resemblance to the photographs taken of his father in his later years. But even before he grew a beard Leonard seemed to me to reproduce his father's physical traits more closely than any of his four brothers; he had also many of his father's most attractive mental qualities particularly that of self-abnegation; he breathed friendliness; he had his father's liberal outlook, honesty of word and purpose, and desire to help in every good cause. In his youth, he assured us that his hair was fair in colouring. His iris was light gray in colour. He fell short of his father's stature by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but made up for it in weight, which was 14 stones.

In 1935 Sir Charles G. Darwin was 48 years of age; his stature exceeded that of his grandfather by 1 inch, but in mass of frame, as may be seen from our table, he seems to have harked back to Dr. Robert W. Darwin, his great-grandfather. In his boyhood he was very fair-haired, almost white; his hair was now light brown. His iris is of a dark blue-gray. In length, his head is the same as that of his uncle and only 1 millimetre longer than that of his cousin Bernard; but in width it exceeds that of his uncle by 8 millimetres and that of his cousin by 9 millimetres and thus falls into the brachycephalic or round-headed group, the width being 83 per cent. of the length. In the two other Darwins the width is 78 per cent. of the length, in this sharing in the average head index for Englishmen of the professional class, namely 78. In not one of the three was there present the parieto-occipital flattening, which I have alluded to earlier in this article as a feature of the head of Charles Darwin. Anyone who has consulted the exhaustive pedigrees of Charles Darwin which Karl Pearson prepared and published in his *Life of Galton* and noted the high proportion of landed and professional people in the more recent ancestry of the Darwins and of the Wedgwoods will not be surprised to find that the cephalic index of Leonard and of Bernard Darwin approaches that of the educated class of modern Englishmen.

We have noted that the head of Sir Charles G. Darwin is remarkable for its width and its rounded form. There are also two unexpected features in the head form of Bernard Darwin: the great width of the forehead and of the upper face, and the lowness of crown as measured by the auricular height. Sir Charles may owe his width of head to his mother who came of Huguenot stock, and Bernard may have come by his width of forehead and lowness of crown from his mother's stock which was largely of Welsh origin. This is favoured by the colour of his hair which is of a dark-brown shade while his iris is of a dark hazel.

As to characters of face, the Wedgwoods and Darwins were characterized by wide rather than by long faces; our measurements show that uncle and nephews conformed to this pattern.

The most remarkable common feature of the small group measured seems to me to be their high stature and strength of body.

TABLE OF MEASUREMENTS

		Leonard Darwin (1850-1943)	L.D.	Sir Charles G. Darwin	C.G.D.	Bernard Darwin	B.D.
			L.D.	C.G.D.	B.D.		
Head:	Glabello-occipital length	millimetres	199	199	198		
	Fronto-occipital length	"	198.5	196.5	197		
	Maximum width	"	157	165	156		
	Cephalic index	"	78.8	83	78.8		
	Bimastoid width	"	142	143	145		
	Auricular height	"	134	138	127		
	Minimum frontal width	"	98	104	120		
Face:	Supra-orbital width	"	103	112	117		
	Bizygomatic width	"	135	145	149		
	Bigonial width	"	—	125	119		
	Naso-sub-mental length	"	121	124	122		
	Naso-subnasal length	"	56	54	61		
Body:	Stature	metres	1.790	1.853	1.815		
	Weight (with clothes)	kilograms	90	96.3	86		

Note

¹ Since writing the above article I have come across a letter sent by Mrs. Charles Darwin (Emma Darwin) to her aunt, Miss Fanny Allen, which gives the information of which I was in need. In this letter, written on 28 April, 1866 (Darwin being then in his 58th year), occurs the following passage:

The greatest event was that Ch. went last night to the Soirée at the Royal Soc., where assemble all the scientific men in London. He saw every one of his old friends and had such a cordial reception from them all as made it very pleasant. He was obliged to name himself to almost all of them, as his beard alters him so much. The President presented him to the Prince of Wales. There were only 3 presented and he was the first.

This passage is taken from *Emma Darwin, Wife of Charles Darwin: A Century of Family Letters*, by H. E. Litchfield (Gwen Raverat's 'Aunt Etty'), privately printed, London, 1904, Vol. II, p. 210.

Horniman Museum Lectures, January-March, 1953

Among lectures arranged for Saturday afternoons at 3.30 p.m. at the Horniman Museum in the first quarter of 1953 are the following which are of special interest to anthropologists: 'The Bolivian Andes and its People Today,' by Miss W. M. A. Brooke (31 January); 'The Toradja: Peoples of Central Celebes' (with film), by Dr. Hurustiati Subandrio (7 February); 'Cyrene: A Greek City in North Africa,' by Dr. R. D. Barnett (14 February); 'Some Aspects of the Coronation Ceremony,' by Mr. L. E. Tanner (28 February); 'The Journey of the Dead in Malekula, New Hebrides,' by Dr. J. Layard (7 March); and 'Art in the Life of a Melanesian People,' by Dr. J. V. Jansen (14 March).

Smithsonian Institution: Surplus Publications

The Smithsonian Institution has on hand a supply of Annual Reports and Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology for public distribution. Requests for these publications, which will be sent free as long as the supply lasts, should be addressed to Publications Division, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D.C.

The publications available, in varying amounts, are the following: *Annual Reports* 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35 (parts 1 and 2), 43, 48 (scientific papers may be had in separate form from the 44th, 45th, 46th, and 47th Annual Reports); *Bulletins* 25-27, 40 (part 2), 47, 54-57, 84, 87, 89-94, 97-108, 110, 112-114, 116-136, 138-142, 144-149.

Owing to the restriction placed on the use of the U.S. Government frank, it will be necessary for the recipient to bear the expense of shipping when a large sending is involved and it is made by express, truck or freight, collect.

International Congresses, 1952

268 Congresses successfully held during the summer included the XXX International Congress of Americanists, held by the invitation of the Royal Anthropological Institute at Cambridge, 18-23 August; the IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, held at Vienna, 1-8 September; and the II Pan-African Congress on Prehistory, held at Algiers, 30 September-4 October. The Hon. Editor hopes to be able to publish reports on all these Congresses in the next few issues of MAN.

REVIEWS

GENERAL

Economic Anthropology. By Melville J. Herskovits. New York (A. A. Knopf), 1952. Pp. 547. Price \$7.50

269 This elegantly produced book is an enlarged revision of the author's earlier *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*, published in 1940. Its purpose is 'to provide information concerning the economic life of non-literate peoples, to consider some of the questions in economic science that can be examined by the use of these data, and to suggest lines of attack which may be profitably defined for future use' (p. vii) and 'to understand the cross-cultural implications of the process of economizing' (p. 4).

There is first a long introduction which sets out the author's aims, describes the general characteristics of non-machine economies and points out common fallacies in considering them. Then follow sections on Production, Exchange and Distribution, Property, and the Economic Surplus; finally a conclusion dealing mainly with the fallacious problems of Economic Determinism and Individual versus 'Collectivistic' Activity in these economies. The author confines himself to describing purely ethnographic data, statements as to what non-literate people do in various economic situations being illustrated by examples drawn from a copious and up-to-date literature. In this respect it is a useful book for the student who wishes to collect ethnographic examples.

Professor Herskovits' method is exemplified by his statement, when discussing property, that he studies only the 'form of the institution' and leaves aside 'its ramifications in non-economic fields'; he gives 'limited attention' to 'the sociological implications of the institution of property, in so far as these impinge on the form of the family or clan' (pp. 329f.). He considers the 'functional' approach to economic data as exemplified by Malinowski's work to be unsuitable for 'interdisciplinary attack' on such problems, because of the over-extended discussion of interrelated cultural and sociological matters which 'stand in the way of seeing the economic implications of the data' (pp. 57ff.). Thus he compares processes and institutions from all parts of the world, which have the same forms and superficially appear to be comparable, but except in the most general terms they are divorced from their sociological context. He rightly warns against simplistic evolutionary theories, but does not himself devise any analytical scheme for the study of the vast number of non-machine economies, no two of which are exactly alike. To do so is surely necessary for any kind of comparative discussion. The result is that Professor Herskovits succeeds only in showing us the purely economic aspect of various processes and institutions; but we cannot fully understand them without knowing their relationship to other parts of the social systems to which they belong. Also this method can lead to comparisons made on so general a basis as to be misleading. For example, the reader would gather that all East African peoples live in similar environments, or that all East and South African tribes have similar economic and political systems, and would not realize the extremely diverse settings of the economic processes which when isolated appear to be so alike (pp. 83, 174, 344, 364).

Anthropological literature discussing non-machine economies is rare, and comparative sociological analysis of them is needed. Pro-

fessor Herskovits has provided a good deal of interesting material in this book, but it must be said that it gives pointers to the way in which this analysis must be made rather than giving the analysis itself.

JOHN MIDDLETON

Mind and Life: An Essay in Simplification. By Sir Arthur Tansley. London (Allen & Unwin), 1952. Pp. xii, 172. Price 15s.

270 When an eminent man of science expatiates beyond his spiritual home, he commonly comes 'trailing clouds of glory' from that one of the 'many mansions.' Eddington, astronomer and physicist, looks on our world as a wandering star or an indeterminate equation. To Sherrington, *Man on his Nature* is a physiologist intent on *Life's Unfolding*. Sir Arthur Keith, from his portfolios and museum shelves, brings the breath of life into the Valley of Bones, and like his distinguished predecessor Richard Owen reconstructs us from remote and fragmentary origins, *ex pede Herculem*. Sir Arthur Tansley, an eminent botanist, shows us man as a vagrom parasite infesting *England's Green Mantle*, while himself indebted to *Our Heritage of Wild Nature*. His account of the development of higher faculties, and an eventual freedom of will, along the lines of *The New Psychology*, suggests the life history of a new plant from seed to tissues and inflorescence. From a standpoint where the majestic *Sequoia* and the graceful and fragrant rose achieve their amazing perfections without aid, so far as we know, from consciousness, it is natural to recur to McDougall, and still more often to Freud, for a method and a vocabulary for the study of Human Nature. The treatment of the Family in the Community (p. 117) and still more of the Individual in the Community (p. 130) is in line with the contributions to plant ecology by which the author is most widely known professionally. And the eventual discussion of Psychological Reality and Spiritual Values is in the same language as the 'Flower in the Crannied Wall' and the 'Primrose by the River's Brim.'

This fresh approach, and the lucid 'simplification' with which it is operated, should give *Mind and Life* a wide appeal, and its deliberate avoidance of side issues and controversial matters will bring help to thoughtful readers at all stages.

JOHN L. MYRES

Des Menschengenistes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren. By R. Thurnwald. Berlin (Duncker und Humblot), 1951. Pp. 448. Price DM. 28 in paper cover, DM. 31 bound

271 This is the distillation of lifelong study of the growth of men's ideas. It is in some ways reminiscent of *The Golden Bough* with its many collections of references to peoples of Africa, Australia, the Pacific and America, as well as occasional mention of Europe and Asia, but Thurnwald has been a notable fieldworker among pre-literate peoples in several regions. The author's central interest is in religion and, like most anthropologists, he rejects the Schmidt school's ecclesiastically conditioned notion of a general primary monotheism. Early man felt his kinship with other animals and Thurnwald thinks of a stage of 'therionism' as a preliminary to totemism, both stages deeply coloured by early man's feeling that

he and his group are the centre of the universe and can influence weather and other natural phenomena, as we Europeans would call them. Thurnwald is concerned to keep the term *Entwicklung* (development) for cases in which the new really does grow out of the old and to avoid using it for cases of alteration due to intrusion of new thoughts from outside. He often quotes Malinowski and Evans-Pritchard with appreciation, but thinks the former mistaken in inferring that the Trobrianders and others did not understand paternity. Pre-literate peoples differ from Europeans less in their mental processes than in their knowledge; they work on fragmentary analogies such as that ochre and blood are similar in colour, or that a leafy spray dipped in water and then shaken distributes rain. Sometimes little bits of better knowledge insert themselves and some rain-makers are in fact, like Noah of old, shrewd observers of the weather, but for the most part early practitioners find it pays, in prestige, to rely on magic. War and enslavement lead to splintering of social groups and force forward thought which reveals the inadequacy of magic (*Zaubererei*); and so we get to the next stage, that of sheer speculation, most often quite fanciful. This is discussed as Gnosis and such value as it develops is due to occasional inferences from fairly correct observation. Thurnwald gives a good deal of attention to plural societies in which cultivators become overlorded by warrior herdsmen who intermarry with subject women and lose their warlike tendencies and are in turn overlorded by a new incursion. A question which Thurnwald persistently avoids is that between migrations of culture and parallel evolution. There are several references to the idea of an *Erlöser* (redeemer) and of his linkage at times with the creative power. Cases are also cited of his being killed. The book is an outcome of long and patient thought. It has been written during the stormy years since 1939 but nevertheless bears everywhere the stamp of careful self-control, even at times almost repression.

H. J. FLEURE

A Hundred Years of Anthropology. By T. K. Penniman. 2nd edn. London (Duckworth), 1952. Pp. 372. Price £1 10s.

272 A few years after publication in 1935, most of the stock of the first edition of this book was destroyed by enemy action. It was so good a book that the publisher has rightly reproduced it photographically (pp. 1-334)—not even correcting a few tiresome misprints. But anthropology has not stood still; and in place of the old epilogue, on 'the future', another 120 pages have been added on Anthropology since 1935, with sections on Physical Anthropology by Dr. J. S. Weiner, and on Americanist Studies by Miss Beatrice Blackwood. There is a Supplementary Bibliography of 21 pages—as long as the original list—replacing the 'Chronological List' and 'Principal Congresses, Museums, Societies and Periodicals', which is a pity. The Index has grown from seven to 12 pages.

In addition to sympathetic chronicle of anthropological development, the new edition records the growth, and in important matters the change, of Penniman's own outlook, and his position in recent controversies, stimulated, in this country, by the teaching of Durkheim (p. 444) and exemplified in the work of Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, and Evans-Pritchard. Having worked, as he says, 'both in natural science and in the humanities' Penniman 'has considerable sympathy with all the methods of social anthropology' (p. 450): 'people do not live in their own peculiar way in order to annoy us, but because they have very good reason to do so.' Anthropology, he still believes, 'is a science of methods,' as the first part of his book shows (p. 455), but in the second part he 'has taken the view that the aim of all the anthropological disciplines is ethnology, now and in the past—ethnology which helps us to understand peoples as they are, and as they have been.'

JOHN L. MYRES

Mensch und Volk der Grossstadt. By W. Hellpach. 2nd edn. Stuttgart (Enke), 1952. Pp. xii, 153. Price DM.12

273 A psychologist here tries to promote research into the mentality of the inhabitant of the large city. While he does suggest lines of work he is also often led off into jeremiads about 'Enge und Menge' (narrow spaces and crowds), haste, noise and *denaturierung*. He is right in urging that research should be from the points of view of several sciences. Microclimatology of the city

needs much study but I do not think that Hellpach is quite right in his suggestion about impoverishment of all solar radiation by dust and moisture in the air, almost without selection. The impoverishment of solar radiation in our industrial north is indeed serious, but affects the rays at the blue and violet end of the spectrum far more than the red ones. The electrical phenomena connected with the great city atmosphere and their effects on man are, as Hellpach says, little understood as yet.

An English essayist decried the suburbs, but Hellpach rightly emphasizes the social as well as the hygienic value of a little garden. He quotes Aneurin Bevan's scorching denunciation of suburban rabbit hutches for humble families, as well as of 'Mietskasernen' (barrack-like flats in blocks) in the city.

One has to remember that we are feeling the effects of exaggeration of quite recent inventions. Motor cars and telephones have not yet reached their century, but let us not blink the fact that a century is three generations at least. Here and there Hellpach's German background is a little too obvious; he is gravely troubled by the fall of the birth rate and he evidently thinks still that the ablest people would have the ablest children. In some physical types that does happen, but there are numerous cases in which the best reproductive stock is the generality of the people. A teacher's lifelong experience tells of the emergence of ability from simple rural families. Hellpach seems to think that fair hair, blue eyes and tall stature must go together, and that the spread of darker colouring in cities is to be regretted, but this feeling of his can be ascribed to vestigial Nordic idolatry, and one is glad to note that it is vestigial!

The book is interesting but could be made much more so.

H. J. FLEURE

Rural Social Systems: A Textbook in Rural Sociology and Anthropology. By Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle. N.Y. (Prentice Hall), 1950. Pp. 873, 208 figs. Price \$6.75

This book is a summary of a mass of American research in rural social organization. Its seven parts deal with Family and Informal Groups, Locality Groups, Social Strata, Religious Groups, Educational Groups, Political and Occupational Groups, and Rural Service Agencies, as social systems. These are 'concrete' social systems, consisting of 'social interactions and the cultural factors which structure [them],' and not of Linton's 'mutually adjusted ideal patterns.' Throughout the book the differences in the value orientations of the different types of social systems are represented diagrammatically on a ten-point scale ranging between two ideal concepts of 'Familistic Gemeinschaft' and 'Contractual Gesellschaft.' 'Stated in oversimplified terms, the former embraces those relationships and associations arising from an emotionally based desire or inclination to associate; the latter grows out of rational and calculated consideration of ends to be served by the associations.' With the spread of urban, industrial, bureaucratic standards the old familistic values are everywhere being undermined by elements of the Contractual Gesellschaft.

The book is not well written. The style is disjointed and over-weighted with jargon, and marred by the exasperating habit of quoting authorities to support obvious, commonplace and even pointless statements. Thus: 'Kolb and Brunner, rural sociologists, and Chapple and Coon, cultural anthropologists, agree that the religious leader is a focal centre of great importance in religion' (p. 418); 'If we accept the narrow (Chapple and Coon) definition of religious agencies as being sets or groups made up of religious leaders and their followers, the importance of the minister becomes obvious' (p. 419); 'The researchers [source given] further state that management's denunciation of restriction of output by various formal and informal types of organization is a reflection of the philosophy of two American groups, the businessman and the farmer' (p. 49). At their worst some of these statements are a mere play upon words: e.g. 'the greater part religion plays in such [family] ceremonies, the more sacred and traditional they are' (p. 72).

As in so many works of this kind, a sense of history seems to be completely lacking: e.g. 'In modern society the church may take over other functions such as that of education, but in so doing, it is taking over activities for which other social agencies are established' (p. 415,

my italics). The origin of customs, it appears, can be explained quite simply without history; it is deduced from what is construed to be their social function. Thus the incest taboo was developed by the family system to safeguard the father's authority. If children intermarried they would undermine this authority by creating 'wheels within wheels.' Similarly, mother-in-law avoidance develops 'when the interaction and authority patterns lead to strains between persons in given roles.'

The book is heavily documented and profusely illustrated with excellent maps and diagrams, and the British student will find it a useful guide to the methods and findings of American investigators in this field. But as an attempt to convert a welter of data into a body of organized science (p. iii) the result is disappointing. Conclusions laboriously arrived at, and the bits of advice offered to social workers, are often disconcertingly trite, while the superficiality of the treatment of such subjects as *The Function and Character of Rural Religion* bears eloquent testimony to the limitations of the methods pursued. Beneath the paraphernalia of scholarship there lurks a poverty of ideas.

ALWYN D. REES

The Life-Giving Myth. By A. M. Hocart, edited with an introduction by Lord Raglan. London (Methuen), 1952. Pp. 252. Price 15s.

275 It is useful at the present time to be reminded of the important advances made in the study of ritual by the late A. M. Hocart whose death, indeed untimely, robbed anthropology at once of the fruits of a matured intellect and of a group of workers trained to continue the exploration of a field whose possibilities have only been indicated as yet. The present volume of essays, most of them previously published in widely scattered journals and assembled and edited by Lord Raglan, touches upon most of the problems upon which the author was engaged and, apart from the intrinsic interest of many of the arguments, can serve conveniently as an introduction to the three major works, a substitute for a work we might have expected of him had he lived to complete it. Hocart was endowed with a truly original mind, and it is not always easy to follow his detailed arguments on a major ritual theme, especially where he used specially developed techniques of presentation, without some such previous experience of the trend of his ideas.

The contents of this volume remind us how wide was the scope which he allotted to his field: in his view the study of ritual is not to be confined to the observation of specific ceremonies and analyses of ritual texts, since explanation does not lie upon surfaces, but must be sought in an integrated observation of the whole organization. The essays in this book incidentally show his qualifications not only as a Sanskrit scholar, but as a careful, even meticulous fieldworker—who was, however, always more ready to give a new interpretation to the combinations of facts which he observed, if this threw light upon his theme, than simply to record them in a given form—and with a singular gift of understanding and presenting a native point of view which can only be the result of a genuine attention to this point of view.

Hocart's subsidiary preoccupation, the psychological, was no accident or coincidence. He was in process of working out the structure of the human mind in its widest relationships, that is the relationships which man envisages between himself as a unit in a community and all created things else. This is being done by psychological specialists in many schools independently of anthropology. But just as religion and its rituals are bound inextricably with the social organization, so both religion and the social organization are documents of human psychology, documents which as yet we have barely begun to read because we have lacked techniques for exploring them from the outside. In no small measure Hocart gave us a technique to this purpose. That he attempted too soon in his investigations to lay down generalized laws of social processes was unfortunate only in the circumstances of his early death. His published views on ritual origins are not yet susceptible of direct proof and the case from circumstantial evidence cannot be regarded as incontrovertible. In later years he would either have produced convincing evidence or have modified his propositions. The importance of his real achievements should not be obscured by this controversy.

MARY DANIELLI

Biologie des Races Humaines. By Jacques Millot. Paris (Armand Colin), 1952. Pp. 234, 6 figs. Price 260 francs

276 The author of this small book attempts to show that racial differences are better expressed in terms of physiology and pathology than of morphology. The result is a miscellaneous catalogue of facts ranging from blood groups to the alleged inability of the Negress to withstand Caesarean section. Much of the evidence offered is extremely fragmentary and often its source is not given. It is abundantly clear that the races of mankind differ in their functional reactions, both normal and abnormal, but it is extremely difficult to assess the effect of environment. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the author has not attempted to evaluate the results and offer any new form of racial classification.

H. BUTLER

Geld und Gesellschaft. By Wilhelm Gerloff. Frankfurt (Klostermann), 1952. Pp. 288. Price DM.25

277 Professor Gerloff's book contains a wealth of material on primitive money and its economic and social background. The author's object is to describe and analyse the non-economic social factors responsible for the origin and development of money and the effect of money on all kinds of non-economic human activities and relationships. One of his chief aims is to drive home the essentially non-commercial character of money at its origin and early stages of development.

Exaggeration may at times be necessary to draw attention to certain neglected aspects of some subjects. For this reason Professor Gerloff may be excused for having presented, as a reaction to the one-sided classical theory according to which money necessarily originated from barter, an equally one-sided theory. According to him money owes its existence to the fundamental social urge of achieving prominence in relation to other members of the community. He believes that money necessarily originated through the desire of primitive man to acquire, possess, display, distribute and even destroy certain objects the possession of which confers prestige on him. Beyond doubt this factor must have played an important part in the origin of money in many communities. There is no justification, however, for presenting it as practically the only fundamental factor. There were others which were probably at least as important. The author shows himself fully aware of them. He mentions the functions of the monetary objects as the means for paying bride money, blood money, tribute, etc. He does not appear to be aware, however, that the desire to accumulate certain objects for any one of those purposes may have been in many communities (and among many individuals in all communities) much more important than the desire to gain prominence.

It is of course difficult to draw the borderline between the various motives. Conceivably in many instances the desire to outshine fellow members of the community by the size of sacrifices made to the gods played an important part. There is no justification, however, for assuming that this was always necessarily so. In many instances—possibly the majority—the urge to achieve prestige played a very subordinate part, if indeed any part at all. Primitive man may have made sacrifices to his deity according to his means simply because he was afraid of the supernatural power of the deity and was anxious to conciliate him and to secure his goodwill.

The author is unduly inclined to be dogmatic also about his claim that the monetary use of ornaments always preceded that of objects of necessity (p. 68). Surely livestock is one of the earliest forms of currency. The origin and development of money must have varied from community to community and it is always dangerous to generalize. Professor Gerloff's book is full of categorical statements unaccompanied by reservations that a cautious scholar should find advisable when he is in the realm of conjectures. This is all the more remarkable as Professor Gerloff has surely long passed the stage at which a conscientious scholar is bound to realize how little he can possibly know for certain.

The author goes so far in his advocacy of the claim of the ornamental origin of money as even to state that coins were originally in the first place tokens of honour and dignity and not means of profane barter (p. 92). There is much historical evidence that conflicts with this contention. There is nothing that suggests prestige value in the Assyrian stamped ingots which were predecessors of

coins. Nor is there any reason for supposing that the very primitive electrum dumps of Lydia which are the earliest known coins could possibly have conferred any prestige on their owners beyond the prestige conferred on them by the possession of precious metals.

There are many other similar points which challenge criticism. To mention only one more, the author imagines that money always originated for the exclusive use of the higher classes and that 'class money' was everywhere the general rule.

In spite of these points of criticism ethnologists are strongly advised to read the book, which is in many ways a remarkable work. If they allow for the author's dogmatism they stand to benefit by it greatly. It is well worth their while to put up with Professor Gerloff's exasperatingly repetitive method of argument for the sake of the intrinsic merit of many of the conclusions.

PAUL EINZIG

Poison-Damsels and other Essays in Folklore and Anthropology. By N. M. Penzer. London (privately printed for Chas. J. Sawyer), 1952. Pp. 319. Price £2 2s.

278 *Poison Damsels* is the umbrella title given to a work consisting of four separate essays, dealing with what the publishers rightly describe as the 'curious, the bizarre and the mysterious.' The essays are based on the appendices originally published in the author's edition of C. H. Tawney's *Katha-Sarit-Sagara*, which he called *The Ocean Story*.

In the eponymous essay, Dr. Penzer gives us an exhaustive study of a fascinating subject. He expresses the view that the motif of the poison damsel originated in India at a very early period before the Christian Era. He points out that the Poison Damsel herself had no existence in actual fact, but was merely the creation of the storyteller who derived the idea from what he saw around him. The story-teller could not help being fully aware of the fatal results of snake bite; and the reverence and fear of the snake throughout India was everywhere evident. Poetic and psychological fancies transformed the serpent into the beautiful, irresistible damsel whose embrace was death. Dr. Penzer traces with many graphic instances the westward journey of the poison-damsel legend, right down to its becoming attached to the pseudo-Aristotelian myths of mediæval Europe, and its inclusion in the famous *Gesta Romanorum*.

'The Tale of the Two Thieves,' which comprises the second essay, traces a story made familiar in Europe by Herodotus throughout its long history of over 2,000 years. The essay contains a lengthy quota-

tion from one of the many Middle English versions, as well as interesting parallel passages from the Egyptian and Arabian. The author's treatment of the tale embraces the social customs of the Ancient Egyptians, with details of their secret chambers hidden in the temples. Here Dr. Penzer is on ground where he is thoroughly at home since the facts he supplies are the direct result of his personal researches in the Nile Valley.

The third essay, 'Sacred Prostitution,' covers a great deal of territory by way of illustrating this peculiar custom, instances of the cult being noted not only in India but also in the Far East and West Africa. The temple harlot, Dr. Penzer says, was in fact a *deva-dasi*, or 'handmaid of the god.' He traces her through a bewildering variety of manifestations.

The final essay deals with the custom of Betel-Chewing and its effects upon its addicts.

Somewhere in the book Dr. Penzer says that he has not attempted to offer solutions to the many problems his work raises. He has rather contented himself with stating facts and giving references. His bibliography is formidable and there is an excellent index.

W. D. BOWE

Understanding Heredity: An Introduction to Genetics. By Richard B. Goldschmidt. London (Chapman & Hall), 1952. Pp. ix, 228. Price £1 10s.

279 An understanding of genetics is essential for all physical anthropologists and for any anthropologist interested in the study of race or human ancestry. Although many books have been written on genetics, there is still a need for a clear account of its basic facts, undistorted by oversimplification and modern in its approach. Dr. Goldschmidt has set out, in this book, to deal only with these fundamentals. After a rather laboured introductory chapter he gets into his stride and describes, with remarkable lucidity and excellent diagrams, Mendel's laws, chromosomes, linkage, mutation, determination of sex, interaction of genes and multiple alleles. In the final chapter, he gives a glimpse of modern genetical research. Dr. Goldschmidt gets his facts over without being dogmatic, by stressing the experimental basis of genetics. His treatment is virtually non-mathematical.

The book, being an introduction to genetics designed for the general reader, does not deal with many topics of interest to anthropologists. Nevertheless, it can be well recommended to them to read before going on to more specialized books. M. LUBRAN

AMERICA

The Structure of American Life. By W. Lloyd Warner. Edinburgh (Univ. Press), 1952. Pp. xiv, 250. Price 18s.

280 This book describes, analyses and interprets some of the aspects of social structure and social life of America and of the efforts of a great people to solve the problems of integrating and solidifying a vast population and diverse enterprises. At a time when much that is being said and done on the far side of the Atlantic is being criticized, misunderstood or condemned by some persons in Great Britain this all too short volume which 'attempts to explain the meaning and reason in what Americans say and do' is most opportune. But for another reason the book is welcome. As one of the aspects of the social structure the author has studied with care the shoe industry in Yankee City, for he urges that the American social system has been drastically changed by the development of industrial institutions. He points out that whilst much is known of the factory as a productive and economic unit little is known about its influence on the community and of the community on the factory. The secrets of industrial strife in Yankee City and elsewhere lie beyond the words and deeds of the strike. They can be found only in the whole life of the community in which the workers and owners are but a part.

Conditions, relationships and symbols in industrial institutions in Great Britain exercise a profound influence upon the community for here too there are many 'Yankee Cities' where, within living memory, such change has been wrought and with such speed that men are still bewildered, and ill adapted to the new way of life.

The book therefore has a bearing upon this situation for the author states with truth:

When age-long structure that organized the male aborigines of Melanesia and North America . . . was broken under the impact of white civilization . . . the frustrations suffered by those who had once known self-respect crystallized into aggressive movements.

If instead of Melanesia we read Dagenham, Corby, Clydeside or Cardiff and consider the impact of the machine age upon a simpler social structure one is forced to agree with the author that:

The fundamental core of life of each is very much the same. Being a human being demands the same minimal social and personal equipment in black Australia as in contemporary civilization. When he studies his own people the social anthropologist who has had experience with primitive people soon loses his sense of strangeness, for he learns that they (and he) are very much like their primitive kinsmen. Perhaps at this present juncture in world affairs this is the most important thing he and all of us can learn about ourselves.

This is so true that it is greatly to be hoped that some of our younger anthropologists may be persuaded and inspired by what Professor Lloyd Warner has written to study their own contemporary society in spite of the difficulties outlined by the author; an important and rewarding task awaits them.

ROBERT R. HYDE

The Devil in Massachusetts. By Marion L. Starkey. London (Hale), 1952. Pp. 269

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The most influential persons in the state of Massachusetts in 1692 were two girls in the home of the Rev. Samuel Parris, minister of Salem. These girls were his daughter Betty aged nine and his niece Abigail who was two years older. In the same household, besides a shadowy wife of whom little is told, was a slave Tituba, a Negress from Barbados, who had retained many of the Voodoo beliefs of her native land, beliefs which were strangely inappropriate in the dour and puritanical Massachusetts society.

For the simple reason that Tituba represented an exciting and illicit relief from the strict decorum and hell-fire gospel preached by Mr. Parris, she became very popular with the girls, and her kitchen became a rallying point for Betty and Abigail and later for their friends as well. But in January the girls fell sick. They became subject to sudden fits of weeping, would sit motionless for hours and when reproved would make inhuman noises or fall into convulsions. These attacks were all the more sinister since they worsened when the children were at prayers and it is not to be wondered at that the local doctor, failing to effect a cure, pronounced that 'the evil hand is on them.' A modern diagnosis would certainly have been couched in terms of hysteria and would have emphasized the conflict between the illicit delights of Tituba's revelations and the terrible sense of sin and guilt which the children, soon to be joined in possession by many of their friends, must have felt. But the rest of the story shows that the doctor was not far wrong, for the witch-hunt was on and history can record few cases of so much suffering caused at the malicious and irresponsible whim of a pack of schoolgirls.

Once the investigations started, it was no longer a simple matter of discovering who had laid a spell on any particular girl. The circus of hysterical children filling the courthouse were not prepared to relinquish their new-found power and notoriety so easily. Whenever proceedings showed signs of flagging, there would be fresh convulsions, another name would be shrieked out, more fantastic diabolism revealed. Very soon nobody was safe. To express doubt in the girls' integrity was fatal. To have offended any of them at any time was equally dangerous, and no evidence of character shook the belief of the magistrates in the girls' witness. If a man or woman was a known reprobate, then he was clearly a servant of Satan; if he was of good reputation, so much the worse, the devil's chief advocates were always well disguised. For those who did not believe in the revelations, it must have been a period of terror, but for those who did it was perhaps worse, for the supply of demons possessing the state seemed almost endless and the sign of some terrible abandonment of God.

The contagion spread briefly and violently to the village of Andover, but it was mainly confined to Salem and its neighbourhood. Within seven months 20 persons, including a minister and a sceptical judge, had been executed and the prisons were bursting with prisoners awaiting trial. But then the tide turned. By degrees the prisoners were released and by degrees also, the girls who had been the agents of the terror made public confession of their blame, asking pardon in church of God and of the relatives of their victims.

Miss Starkey set out to write this book with a strongly psychological slant, but in the end she refrained and has contented herself with a brilliant piece of objective historical reconstruction. The tragic story is unfolded very largely through the actual words of the participants as they were transcribed *verbatim* by contemporary chroniclers, and this lends an amazing vividness to the whole tale. Despite the obvious opportunity for long-range psychological interpretation and for comparison with twentieth-century witch-hunts, the author's restraint is admirable. Neither she nor we, the readers, can ever really know at this distance of time just why or how these events occurred in a strict psychological or sociological sense; it is hard enough even with all the techniques of modern psychodiagnostics to grasp the motives of a single delinquent child. But she has given us a lucid and accurate record of a contagious and corroding fear, and the lesson to be drawn is very clear. Although the circumstances and the personalities may never be repeated sufficiently closely for real comparison, the unseating of reason by prejudice and terror have always horrible results. It is good that we should be

reminded of this fact when the stress of our difficulties may blind us to the nature of our own responses.

ADAM CURLE

'Twixt the Cup and the Lip: Psychological and Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Food Habits. By Margaret Cussler and Mary L. de Givie, New York (Twayne), 1952. Pp. 262, map, illus. Price \$3.95

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So far as food is concerned nutrition experts solve the problem of the interconnexion of items in a social matrix by assuming that a physiologically optimum diet, measured in terms of calories, proteins, vitamins and trace elements, is an ideal and that actual diets can be transformed into these 'scientific' categories and expressed as a percentage of this optimum. The psychological and social reaction to foods is a more complex field than that, and here this aspect of food habits of the rural south of the United States is investigated.

Three intensive local studies and a couple of government-sponsored consumer studies, with which the authors were associated as advisers, provide first-hand evidence of facts of social behaviour. Understanding these facts, since as J. S. Mill observed 'very few facts are able to tell their own story,' leads to a presentation of the general cultural background of the southern states of the U.S.A. This essential background information is, however, not allowed to disguise the main purpose of the book. Quotations from interviews, observations, and the views of expert witnesses are interwoven around the theme of food, its preparation, its enjoyment, the adequacy of the diet, the reasons for the selection of certain foods, or certain ways of cooking or serving, and the rejection of others.

This socio-cultural response to food—'It's all one to an infant: he will attempt to eat pencils, insects, dirt, or raw potatoes, while an adult choosing food will abide by example and tutelage'—is described and the distinctions between adults' and children's food, between men's and women's food, between rural and urban food emerge clearly. The effect of the position of the individual in the social structure of the region on his choice and enjoyment of certain foodstuffs is also analysed: the rural south has a complex stratified social system within which 'knowing one's place' involves an awareness of blood ties, education, money, personal abilities, occupation, degree of colour if Negro, tenancy status as owner, share-cropper, wage labourer, long or short-term tenant and so on. 'White trash' are, in part, those who do not know their place in this system. The interplay of all these factors is reflected in the food-consumption pattern. The ideal and the actual are separated for each component. The transition from home-produced to purchased foods, the use of food as a status symbol at social gatherings, the qualities appraised by science and pseudo-science in certain foodstuffs, show that food is not merely an essential for survival but one item in a wider social context. The implications of this for the American government agencies which are trying to persuade the rural south to adopt a pellagra-free dietary are considerable.

The authors have written a stimulating and interesting monograph. In the field studies, a 'free' interview technique was employed which involved the informant, an interviewer and a stenographer who sat in the background. The presence of this third person does not seem to have affected spontaneity, a tribute to the skill of the interviewer. The statements made, the emphasis with which they are made and the position of prompting or questioning within the general framework of each interview have all been used as pointers towards the quality, and as tools for the interpretation, of the interview material. The result is a skilful and focused piece of research.

J. M. MOGEY

The Negro Freedman: Life Conditions of the American Negro in the Early Years after Emancipation. By Henderson H. Donald. New York (Schuman), 1952. Pp. 270. Price \$4

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Dr. Donald has written a very readable and unopinionated book gathering together a great deal of material about the life of the American Negroes in the three decades following emancipation. I am not familiar with the sources he uses but they appear to be of varying degrees of reliability and in places he uses them in an uncritical, anecdotal fashion, failing to devote very much attention to

local and regional variations. This is a drawback of his method of arranging the material in chapters on aspects of their life—work, housing, family, education, religion, etc.—but it is difficult to see what other method could have been used when the data varies so greatly and consists primarily of local reporting. Each of the chapters concludes with a section of commentary which might have been used by the author to evaluate and discuss his material instead of to summarize it with what is sometimes tantalizing brevity. Reference to the notes at the end of the book would be easier if they were listed under the title instead of the number of the chapter.

So far so good, but Dr. Donald is a sociologist and his work is notable for his failure to relate it to any body of social theory or to explain the events he describes in any framework but that of a naïve individualism. Most of the freedmen, he says 'chose agriculture as a means of getting their living.' When they were slaves 'they selected Christianity as their religion.' Again, 'with the Negroes, religion was merely praying, singing, and dancing in their church meetings. As a result of this point of view, they were deficient in honesty, truth, chastity, and industry.' Do material factors count for so little? The writer's acceptance of the economic and social norms of the white Americans results in his insistence upon the Negroes' task of 'learning the mores' which was 'indispensable to their adjustment to the free American society' (pp. 224f.). Dr. Donald says that the religion of the Negro at this time was a code of belief, not a code of morals, and he gives a fascinating account of it, but it is almost entirely in terms of factual statements about the activities of individuals and he does not try to show its function or to attempt any but the simplest modes of explanation. General principles can illuminate historical writing and historical data can be excellent material for the sociologist if it is used in a systematic way; in this particular field Professor Frazier has shown how it can be done.

MICHAEL BANTON

Plantation County. By Morton Rubin. Chapel Hill (U. of N. Carolina P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1951. Pp. xxiv, 235. Price £1 8s.

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Plantation County is the first of a series of field studies in the Modern Culture of the South, directed by John Gillin and sponsored by the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. This volume provides an anthropological account of a community in the American South today. The book begins with a series of sketches covering a variety of economic situations: the plantation, the small farm, the factory and the town. The remainder of the study is concerned with Negro-White relations, the class structure, the life cycle, the value system and cultural change. The new South is dramatically illustrated by portraits of individuals who differ in their economic position, status and attitudes towards Whites and Negroes.

Dr. Rubin's treatment is ethnographic: houses, diet, division of labour, leisure activities, education, religious beliefs and practices, and racial attitudes are nicely described. Neatly constructed charts indicate the criteria for class membership, 'basic adaptive patterns' and 'major orientations of plantation area culture.' Although we may be surprised to learn how greatly the modern South differs from the plantation stereotype, the ethnography is sometimes flat, especially when a characteristic not limited to the South is described, e.g. 'The child who becomes five or six years old finds his world expanding to include other institutions beside the home—the play group, the public school, the church, and later the part-time job.' Surely this kind of banality is dispensable?

Plantation County is well organized than it might be, and rather pedestrian. Dr. Rubin's sympathies are unmistakable, so that the anthropologist's 'objective' account is enlivened by the use of such pejorative terms as 'paternalism.' He dwells on the commonplace: 'The yard contains an open well on one side and a newly built pine privy some fifty feet away,' and is often pretentious: 'The plantation is a total socio-cultural system located in ecological space.' (Where?)

The author does attempt to focus our attention upon cultural change. In an appendix, he states his five major interests: the distinctive way of life of the plantation area, the 'plantation area personality,' the 'dynamic forces,' the 'changing social structure,' and 'the influence of mass culture.' However, the plantation area is

described as distinctive mainly as regards racial attitudes, and in this it does not differ from the rest of the South. The basic personality is not clearly or fully discussed. According to the author's description, 'plantation area personality' varies with social class and race, and is not greatly different from the basic personality of Americans outside of the South. If Dr. Rubin hopes to distinguish the last three items ('dynamic forces,' 'changing social structure' and 'the influence of mass culture'), he has not done so in the descriptive portion of his book. Furthermore, the treatment of cultural change is peculiarly static: a stereotyped 'old pattern' is pitted against 'changing components of the situation' (largely American 'mass culture'), resulting in a 'new pattern.' Plantation culture is described as a set of stable values and behaviour patterns which has existed for several hundred years. A number of external factors: 'American mass culture,' 'democratic ideals,' 'federal aid to farmers,' etc., impinge upon this 'old pattern.' A 'new pattern' results, including such elements as 'introduction of industry,' 'increased health among women,' and the lack on inhibitions among lower-class Negroes.

It would be most unfair to criticize Dr. Rubin for failing to describe successfully the process of cultural change, for this is one of the most difficult of anthropological problems. We may, however, hope that Dr. Gillin's series on the South will continue to experiment with methods of presentation, will compare various Southern sub-cultures with one another and with the rest of the United States, and will eventually find a way to justify the use of the term 'dynamic' in the overworked phrase 'dynamic forces.'

PAULA BROWN

Freshwater Fish and Fishing in Native North America. By E. Rostlund. Berkeley and Los Angeles (U. of California P.), 1952. Pp. x, 313.

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The scale of this review of freshwater fish in the life of aboriginal North America can be gauged from the fact that it covers over 300 large pages and is illustrated with 47 maps.

As food, fish roes are found to contain five times as much iodine as the flesh in the same species, and it has long been known that many fish livers, especially in the cod family, are rich in vitamins A and D, though cod flesh is low in calorie value. Generally, fish of high calorie value are found in regions rich in fish and in these regions men have specialized on fishing for food. This is verified by an interesting table estimating abundance of fish populations in various inland waters. Several white fish spawn in autumn and are at their best, for food, just about when it becomes possible, in the north, to preserve the flesh by freezing, but drying of fish is very widespread too, as also is preservation by smoking, though this process is on the whole less used.

Weirs and traps are probably older methods for catching fish than nets and they may well have originated separately several times in different regions of the world. Net types are more often distributed as a result of cultural diffusion, and some types may have come in relatively recently, perhaps from the Pacific. Information about forms of nets is unfortunately much more scrappy than are data about their functioning. Types of harpoons and leisters seem to have spread into North America via Alaska and southward along the coast to California, with many extensions along inland waters. Hook-and-line fishing was probably rare in aboriginal life in the southern United States. Torchlight fishing seems to have been associated with harpoons and leisters rather than with spears. Much attention is given to a discussion of probabilities of diffusion and parallel invention in different cases. It is a special luxury that a long appendix repeats the multifarious data under regional headings.

H. J. FLEURE

Haiti: Poètes noirs. *Présence Africaine*, No. 12. Paris (Editions du Seuil), 1951. Pp. 262.

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In spite of editorial warning by M. Alioune Diop that No. 12 of *Présence Africaine* should not be taken as a Special Haiti Number, there is much in it of sociological and ethnological interest concerning *la jeune République noire*, especially in the spiritual realm, to warrant the title of a special 'Vodou' number.

Haiti's African heritage is usually identified with that complex phenomenon which passes under the name of *Vodou*, and, in one of

the articles, Dr. Métraux does well to remind us of the strong evidence of a common bond of religious, social, moral and aesthetic traditions which originally existed between the Mediterranean civilizations and those which flowered along the Gulf of Guinea. It was this spiritual affinity which facilitated assimilation by a process of 'acculturation' when Black met White in the New World. Thus *Vodou* was born of a syncretism between different African cults and a certain number of Catholic beliefs and practices adopted by Africans in their enforced emigration to the New World.

It is in the religious and folkloric activities that the African survival is most marked, and the contribution is determined not only by the particular region from which the individual slave was deported, but by his social stratum. It is interesting to note that in many cases the rituals exist in a purer form in the adopted country than in the country of origin.

Western rationalism, with its analytical approach, has so far failed to give a satisfactory explanation of this strange phenomenon, but it would appear that the vogue of dismissing it as mere hysteria or mass hypnotism is passing away. Orthodoxy and social prejudice, on the other hand, have done much to arouse official antagonism by investing the cult with a nightmarish atmosphere, whilst tourism constitutes at present its most serious menace. The truth, as Dr. Métraux points out, is that *Vodou* will disappear only when government and religious institutions can provide a substitute equally spiritually satisfying to the thousands of people who rely on it for spiritual solace; people who, to quote M. Diop, have never heard of Aristotle, St. Thomas or Descartes but are none the less *des êtres*.

The impression which emerges from reading the poetry is the strong element of social realism, and awareness of 'negritude,' contained therein. Though the form varies considerably, the West Indian poetry with its sophistication lacking the direct simplicity of the African, there is a curious underlying unanimity of content. Langston Hughes, the American Negro poet, supplies the modern equivalent of folk-story-telling centring in an individual, in his series on 'Simple, an American Negro.' 'Souffles,' by Birago Diop, is a beautiful expression of the atavistic and animistic quality of African philosophy.

ADISA O. WILLIAMS

Indians of the Andes. By Harold Osborne. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1952. Pp. xiii, 266. Price £1 5s.

287 One-fifth of this book is devoted to a general account of the modern Indians of Bolivia and southern Peru, and four-fifths to their historical and archaeological background. The author has clearly lived in Bolivia and has some acquaintance with the southern part of the Peruvian Andes. He seems to know and understand the general life and outlook of the Aymaras and Quechuas of those regions, but the reader must not expect the sort of detailed study which would be produced by a trained anthropologist, from a social, a material or a physical point of view. When dealing with Peru, he makes the fundamental mistake of treating the country as a whole as if conditions on the coast were the same as those in the Andes, on the ground (p. 53) of 'bulk colonization of the coastal region under [sic] Inca times,' a statement based on a misinterpretation of the anthropometric evidence cited. Elsewhere (p. 206) he speaks of enormous quantities of Quechua remains discovered south of Lima, which is plain rubbish. To say in this connexion that 'the Quechua element now dominates, and the costume and language are mainly Quechua' is ridiculous, the truth being that the aboriginal element in the coastal population belongs mainly to pre-Inca coastal types, its dress is European and its language Spanish; the coast Indian is not a race apart like his mountain counterpart and there is no clear distinction between Indians and those of mixed blood.

A predominantly historical and archaeological approach would be reasonable if it were accurately carried out. Unfortunately the author's archaeology is out of date and unsound, and his history leaves much to be desired. The historical aspect and various other matters, such as the use of obscure language and carelessness in the spelling of Spanish words, have been dealt with in a review in *The Times Literary Supplement* for 9 May, 1952, and it would be tedious to repeat the same strictures here, but the book deserves plenty more. Suspicion of the archaeology is aroused at the outset

by the citation of Perry's *Children of the Sun* in the introduction, and when the author speaks of the evolution of divine kingship combined with the worship of the sun, and couples it with the emergence of a settled food-producing community, it is apparent that he is associating the Incas, whose history is estimated to begin about A.D. 1200, with the beginnings of agriculture, which began on the Peruvian coast well over 3,000 years before. He quotes the *Handbook of South American Indians* when it suits his purpose, but ignores discoveries made since its publication, particularly Bird's preceramic agricultural stage, so that what he calls 'Darkest Origins' are made to appear a good deal darker than they really are. His greatest error arises from an exaggeration of the importance of Tiahuanaco in the over-all history of the Andean region. He calls it Tihuanacu, an irritating mannerism copied from Posnansky, and devotes much space to the reconstruction of an entirely fictitious 'Megalithic Empire of Tihuanacu.' 'At one time,' he says, 'it must have controlled the whole Andean region of what is now Bolivia and Peru, with the exception of the coastal belt. . . . The review already quoted reproaches the author, unjustly in my opinion, for not being imaginative enough in his analysis of the present-day Indian, but he has used his imagination a good deal too much here. The truth is that remains of strictly Tiahuanaco type are very restricted in distribution in the Andes, whereas artifacts of a related type, called in the *Handbook* 'Coast Tiahuanaco A' are very widespread in the coast at a comparatively late stage in its history. Recent discoveries render it probable that the centre of distribution of this style was not Tiahuanaco, which begins to appear something of a political backwater, though doubtless a most important religious centre.

Passing on to Inca times, if the author expects us to accept his view that most of the megalithic building is pre-fifteenth century, he must produce some better archaeological evidence than that at present available. His unsupported opinion is not enough. He quotes a number of Quechua terms, some of them wrong. The *llauto* (not *lauta*) was not a badge of royalty, but it supported a fringe called *mascapaycha* which was. Among the Chosen Women, the *mamacunas* were not those given as wives to nobles but were those reserved for religion or the Inca, and *ñustas* were not Chosen Women but unmarried princesses. The Inca colonies were called *mitma-kona* not *mitmac*, and the hispanicized equivalent is *mitimaes* not *mitmacs*. Elsewhere, particularly on p. 93, a number of native words are given, but, since some are Aymara and some Quechua and there is nothing to say which is which, they do not serve any useful purpose. There are no grounds for the statement that the Inca roads were superior to the Roman roads for their purpose, and the remark that the Incas had no motorized traffic is so obvious as to be silly (p. 102). Lima was founded by Pizarro, so messages between Cuzco and Lima cannot have taken three days in Inca times (p. 103). The Chibchas lived in the highlands of Colombia, not on the Peruvian coast (p. 103), but this may be a misprint for Chinchas. I cannot discover who the Chimnes, who are coupled with them, may be.

Passing to later times, there is no warrant in my experience for the statement (p. 176) that the *cholos* are excluded from the higher offices of government; in fact it is contradicted (p. 235) by the remark that 'It is certain that many of the outstanding Republican leaders have been *cholos*'; there is nothing to prevent any citizen of ability from becoming a President or Minister of State. The Inca nobility did not disappear within a century of the Conquest, neither were the survivors obliged to remain in concealment. Rowe has published the portraits of several of them, with details of their lives which show that they held positions of some importance in the first half of the eighteenth century (*Procs. XXIX Internat. Cong. Americanists*, Vol. I, p. 258). Bolívar is stated (p. 196) to have established independent republics in Venezuela, Columbia (sic) and Ecuador, an event which is implied to have occurred before 1822. It is, of course, well known that Venezuela seceded from his republic of Gran Colombia in 1829-30 and that Ecuador did so in 1830.

A paragraph on the physiological effects of altitude contains some very odd remarks. If *soroche* or mountain sickness (which is barely recognizable under the guise of '*sorojchi*') does not manifest itself much below the level at which perpetual snows begin, another name will have to be found for the very disagreeable complaint which

affects some people at 10,000 feet or lower. The effect of latitude on atmospheric pressure is barely appreciable, and the author's idea that it is an important factor leads to the statement that 'physiologically La Paz at an altitude of 12,000 feet is equivalent to an altitude of about 5,500 feet in the Alps,' which was described by an eminent physiologist to whom I showed it as a major bloomer.

This does not exhaust the dismal tale, but I trust that enough has been said to show that this book is no contribution to human knowledge. I must leave it to the promoters of the series to which it belongs to judge whether it will forward either sociology or social reconstruction.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela. By Lisandro Alvarado. Caracas (Biblioteca Venezolana de Cultura), 1945. Pp. xx, 412, portrait.

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Lisandro Alvarado (1858-1929) was a professional physician whose writings ranged widely over medicine and psychology, literature, the classics and political history. On his death the MS. of the present book passed to the archives of the National Academy of History, to be published 16 years later by presidential decree in connexion with the fourth centenary of his birthplace, the city of El Tocuyo. The work, then, is not that of a field anthropologist; nor was it seen through the press by its author. The publishers' preface claims for it a higher degree of recognition among scientists than perhaps the author would have aspired to—certainly rather higher than it merits. *De mortuis*... the present review is concerned not to point the limitations of Dr. Alvarado's undoubted scholarship but to assess the intrinsic value of his book to readers of this journal.

The 'Data' are drawn principally from the early chroniclers (Oviedo, 1547; Gómara, 1554) and the missionaries: in particular Ruiz Blanco (c. 1680), Gumilla (c. 1731), Caulín (1779), Gilii (1780-4) and Bueno (c. 1800). (The dates here shown are not immediately obvious from the text.) Among secular travellers Humboldt, the Schomburgks, Ernst, Koch-Grünberg and Matos Arvelo are laid under heaviest tribute. Dividing his subject under 76 chapter headings, Alvarado has ransacked the literature for relevant paragraphs, most of which he quotes *verbatim*. Material culture occupies rather less than one-third of the text, the remainder being devoted mainly to customs, beliefs and attitudes. It is inevitable that the preoccupations of the original observers should be reflected in the uneven value of the details presented. In general, however, it may be said that the compiler has at the expense of much industry brought together a mass of information not otherwise easy of access. A competent analytical index, prepared by Sr. Walter Dupouy, facilitates cross-reference to tribes, traits and sources.

And it is as a work of reference on particular points that the book is most likely to be of use to the professional anthropologist. Alvarado's own commentary is based on the confident generalizations and dubious analogies of the mid-nineteenth-century schools and he is led into some surprising assertions. Widely read in English as well as other languages, he seems none the less to have remained out of touch with the advances in American Indian studies made well within his lifetime, both in factual detail and in method. Humboldt's allusion to 'the Toltec ruins of Moqui' is reprinted without qualification; and—though this is perhaps more excusable—surely the 'Chippeways' visited by Mackenzie were in fact the Chipewyan? The extremely summary treatment of tribal distribution and linguistic classification, together with the absence of a map, make it difficult to formulate, from this book alone, an ordered synthesis of aboriginal Venezuela. It becomes apparent that the Guajiro occupy a somewhat distinct cultural position, but the only direct indication of areal or sub-areal groupings is given in a brief paragraph from Humboldt stating a general division into nomadic and sedentary peoples, which Alvarado assumes to be roughly coterminous with the 'Maipuran' (=Arawak) and Carib languages respectively. The final chapter, on 'Present Status,' says baldly that some tribes are extinct, some deculturated and some relatively undisturbed, but without mentioning which tribes fall into which category. In sum, the book is reminiscent of an old-fashioned museum showcase, richly stocked and inadequately arranged.

GEOFFREY TURNER

Heritage of Conquest: The Ethnology of Middle America.

By Sol Tax and Members of the Viking Fund Seminar on Middle American Ethnology. Glencoe, Ill. (Free Press), 1952. Pp. 312, map. Price \$5.

Within the last two decades a great deal of anthropological field-work has been carried out in that fascinating area, stretching roughly from the north of Mexico to the eastern border of Panama, known to ethnologists as Middle America.

Comparative studies by Kirchhoff and others seem to reveal broad similarities of the aboriginal pattern, differing from patterns of culture to north and south. But the pre-Columbian pattern has, as elsewhere in the Americas, been modified in greater or lesser degree everywhere in this area by Spanish influence over a period of centuries, and the study of Middle American ethnology is to a large extent the study of acculturation.

The city states encountered by the Spanish were quite early conquered or peacefully subjugated, and the acculturation process, energetically undertaken as an apostolic task, sometimes resisted, and imposed with violence, sometimes docilely accepted, has continued in well defined phases to the present day. Now, with increased intercommunication and interdependence of modern states, and with a consciously envisaged policy of 'amelioration' of marginal groups, the process of change is being vastly accelerated, and will tend to the absorption of sub-cultures which had hitherto remained relatively intact.

It seems then important to study the present status of these vanishing sub-cultures, their reactions to change in the past and present, its impact on society and personality, and other problems of interest to the social scientist, while there is yet time.

The Spanish, in colonizing this region, were themselves profoundly modified, alike in ethnic composition, custom and ideology, and the emergent Latin-American civilization has its own uniqueness. What has arisen is a two-caste society, in which two main types of community may be encountered: an urban-centred, predominantly Latin-American (Ladino, Mestizo) one, with its centrifugal, power- and money-oriented ethos; and a rural, land-centred, centripetal, more or less Indian one; both types with a deep inner hostility to each other, with varying degrees of economic dependence on each other, and each, on a sliding scale, incorporating beliefs, attitudes and customs taken over from both original cultures.

The Latin-Americans have inherited from the Spanish the leadership of the larger community, and their way of life and *Weltanschauung* have become the dominant ones. The Indian is, except to the *indigenista*, the despised, the beast of burden, the *burro*. The Ladino, with his restless, aggressive, conquering attitude towards his environment, cannot understand the passive dignity and acceptance of the Indian, his implicit view of the life task as adjustment to his universe. Lamentably, with increasing education, the Indian comes to despise himself, and the overwhelming pressure is all in the direction of increasing Ladinoization.

The present book is the outcome of a week-long seminar of fruitful and creative discussion of Middle American cultures by a group of specialists—among them Sol Tax, Robert Redfield, John Gillin, Charles Wagley—who met in New York in September, 1949, under the auspices of the Viking Fund (Wenner-Gren Foundation), to assess the work already done, and to indicate future lines of research. Papers presented revealed the high standard of work which has been done in the fields of economy and technology, ethnic relations, social organization, religion, life cycle and personality studies and salient the need for interdisciplinary approaches—sociological, psychological, medical, historical, as well as ethnological—to the study of a changing Latin America.

IRIS MYERS

L'Expédition Orénoque Amazone, 1948-50. By A. Gheerbrant. Paris (Gallimard), 1952. Pp. 390. Price 825 francs.

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For two years, across jungle as little inviting as any in South America, the members of this small and courageous expedition explored their way. They started from Colombia, accompanied by the usual heavy warnings of Indian treachery and the impossible thickness of the jungle. Across Venezuela and into Brazil they wound their way, from river to river, from highland to lowland jungle, and from Indian tribe to Indian tribe. Most of the

calamities which wait for the traveller in South America awaited them: hunger, exhaustion, illness, attacks by *piranha* and mosquitoes, downpours of rain, the upsetting of canoes, and the loss of equipment, trade goods, films, records of Indian songs, and all the cultural material so carefully collected from tribes whose existence had been known, and sometimes feared, but never studied until then. All the chance glories and defeats of an expedition are in this steady narrative.

Among the glories are the drawings of the painted stones of Guyabero, the account of the initiations feast of the Piaroa Indians, a dramatic first meeting with the much feared Guaharibos, a description of the Maquiraites and their Guaharibo 'slaves,' the discovery of a rude kind of violin, and the Indians' recollection of Koch-Grünberg who passed that way in 1911. The purpose of the book is not an anthropological one, but is to show Indians and Europeans entangled in each others' fears and desires, and their differing reactions to the unknown, to the rumouredly hostile and to the casual happenings of the jungle. It is a personal story which, as it goes, touches the personal lives of Indians. FRANCIS HUXLEY

Beyond the Windy Place. By Maud Oakes. London (Gollancz), 1951. Pp. 334. Price 18s. 6d.

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This is an interesting and somewhat poetical account of Indian life and customs in a remote village of Guatemala. The authoress, Miss Maud Oakes, was sent to Guatemala by an American research foundation to study ethnology. Her first task was to discover a community where Indians still carried out the religious practices of their ancestors, untouched and uninfluenced by the Roman Catholic church. The Mam village of Todos Santos beyond the Windy Place Pass in the Guatemalan Highlands seemed to satisfy these conditions. Following the old Maya road on horseback, she reached it on the day of its great Festival.

The *Fiesta* starts with a competition between two teams of horsemen. Live roosters are hung head downwards from a rope across the square, and each horseman gallops by and with his hand snatches off the head of a rooster. The team that acquires most heads wins. The men are drunk, the women with children on their backs are also drunk; blood and dust stain the traditional costumes; the noise and confusion are bewildering. Such is her first contact with the people whose life she is going to share.

Miss Oakes gives us a fascinating and detailed account of her life in this village. She buys a house, chooses an Indian maid—who even shares her bedroom—makes friends with her Indian neighbours, and hears how they are exploited by the Ladinos. The greatest difficulty is the language, for most of the Indians speak nothing but Mam. It is surprising that she should have undertaken this expedition to Central America with little knowledge of Spanish herself; but perhaps it is just as well, for she finds a Ladino in the village to teach her Spanish, and he—Don Pancho—supplies her with much confidential information which she otherwise might have never discovered. In spite of the language difficulty, the Indians come to her, she helps them, pays their debts, and cares for the sick; they love her and trust her, so that she is even permitted to take part in esoteric ceremonies that no white person had witnessed before.

She describes many of the old customs and superstitions of the people. As one might expect, there is a jealous *Chiman* (medicine priest) who spreads the news that she is a witch, responsible for the death of the children during an epidemic. It is said that she is the *Duena de Cerro* (Mistress of the mountain-tops) who carries the souls of children to the mouth of the volcano. However, as the epidemic comes to an end, there are no dramatic developments, and eventually she departs to the United States with regret, leaving behind her many friends.

Presumably the results of her researches will be presented some day in a scientific publication, which will satisfy the curiosity and interest aroused by her book, and it would probably be unfair to criticize the book for its evident superficiality and inadequacy in treating a large theme. Some readers may feel that confidences have been abused and that the authoress rather callously proposes to make public traditional beliefs trusted to her under secrecy. This is surely one of the risks of exploration. Nevertheless, Miss Oakes has written

a pleasant and eminently readable book of considerable colour and drama. She conveys more than a little of the magic and contrasts of one of the most beautiful, interesting and certainly unspoiled countries in the world. MARIE-LOUISE HEMPHILL

Populations Primitives du Maroni (Guyane Française). By André Sausse. Paris (Inst. Géog. Nat.), 1951. Pp. viii, 135

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This is a somewhat unusual book. Its author, a medical member of a geographical mission to French Guiana in 1948 and 1949, visited some native villages in the Maroni basin and investigated the health of the population in relation to their environment and culture. For comparison, he first treats French Guiana as a whole, from geographical, historical and demographical points of view. From the records and publications of l'Institut Pasteur de la Guyane, he describes the common diseases of the coastal region, of which malaria, leprosy and venereal diseases have the highest incidence. Yaws, once common, is now rare, perhaps through modern therapy. Dysenteries, intestinal parasitism, filariasis, yellow fever and tetanus are common, but tuberculosis, which often occurs in a florid form in tropical countries, is neither common nor severe.

The major part of the book deals with the primitive population of the interior; a Negro group, the Bonis, and several Indian tribes, ethnically Caribs. The Bonis, about 600 in number, who live along the upper Maroni, are descendants of African slaves who revolted and freed themselves in the eighteenth century. To a large degree, they have retained their African culture despite contact with other ethnic groups. Unlike the coastal tribes, the Bonis have a good resistance to malaria. Yaws is widespread and serious, as is venereal disease, but leprosy and tuberculosis are uncommon. Skin affections are very common but, although widespread, do not endanger life. Filariasis is rare, intestinal parasitism and dysenteries common. The Bonis practise the primitive agriculture common to all French Guiana, fish and, rarely, kill game. Their diet is adequate in calories but seems deficient in mineral salts. The poor state of their teeth, unusual among Negroes, may be related to this.

The author has investigated only one tribe of Indians, the Roucouyennes, living in four villages along the upper Maroni and virtually isolated from outside contacts. Their agriculture, similar to that of the Bonis, is not so productive, and although they hunt and fish, they are nevertheless frequently short of food and are chronically undernourished. Malaria is a serious disease with them, even in adults, its ravages being partly responsible for their low standard of living, chronic ill-health diminishing their efficiency. In contrast to the Bonis, the Indians do not suffer from skin diseases, and yaws and venereal diseases are exceptional owing, no doubt, to the isolation of the tribe. Tuberculosis is rare but outbreaks of respiratory diseases are frequent and cause many deaths particularly among infants. Intestinal parasitism is universal, but dysenteries seem to be confined to adults.

In addition to medical details, the author describes briefly the culture of the Bonis and Roucouyenne Indians, and gives a well documented account of their history. These records show that the Indians of the interior are rapidly diminishing in number, while the coastal Indians, although many fewer than a century ago, have reached a stationary level. Geographical conditions are similar for the two groups, and the coastal Indians have the advantage of a regular supply of food from the sea. Their better nutrition enables them to withstand malaria and other diseases more successfully, while the malnutrition of the Indians of the Maroni basin is leading to their extinction by these diseases. The author suggests that urgent medical aid, directed against malaria, as well as economic aid is essential to prevent the complete disappearance of these Indians. Their attitude to medicine and social customs, however, would make it difficult to apply any remedial measures.

Dr. Sausse has written a most interesting book and collected much valuable data, although of necessity he presents only a general survey of the problem, as the period of investigation was so short. The book is well illustrated with many excellent maps and photographs.

M. LUBRAN

CORRESPONDENCE

Prehistoric Beads from Tibet. Cf. MAN, 1952, 183

293 Although Dr. Nebesky-Wojtkowitz describes them as 'a type of glassy bead with various designs in black and white,' it is to be presumed that, since they fetch a high price, while 'porcelain imitations are manufactured in India or China,' the beads with which he is concerned are etched agate beads as described by the late Horace C. Beck in the *Antiquaries Journal* for October, 1933, in a paper entitled 'Etched Carnelian Beads.' In it he came to the conclusion that designs of the type of gZi beads described and illustrated in MAN, 1952, 183, date from before 2000 B.C., although he could find nothing about the origin of the etched beads from Tibet. These beads have also been the subject of a note by K. de B. Codrington in MAN, 1932, 156.

Etched carnelian beads were found at Harappa and Chanhudaro, and the late Ernest Mackay thought they were made there (see his 'Bead-Making in Ancient Sind,' *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, Vol. LVII, pp. 13f.); and they appear to be connected with beads of similar date from Sumer. It would probably be possible to tell from the stone, if the gZi beads in question are of agate, whether it is the well-known Jeypore agate. If they are, the etching may have been done in India, for the tradition of it still survived in Sind till recently (see Ernest Mackay's paper 'Decorated Carnelian Beads' in MAN, 1933, 150).

But the tradition that they were brought by the legendary King Kesar from Iran is noteworthy. For I obtained in Cairo in 1935 and 1936 from a Cambay bead merchant called Ghulam Ahmed Hindi a few carnelian beads which he informed me were made at Cambay, but etched in Persia. He produced a Persian merchant from Ispahan who confirmed that they were etched in Persia, acid being used (*moyat el nār*). It certainly seems as if Persia is one of the last places where stone beads are still being etched, or were etched until recently.

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Primitive Watercraft in Northern Australia. Cf. MAN, 1952, 1

294 SIR,—Dr. Donald Thomson makes the minimum of reference to other anthropologists who have worked in the areas considered in his paper 'Notes on Some Primitive Watercraft in Northern Australia' (MAN, 1952, 1). He states that '... no comprehensive account of the life of an Australian seafaring group has yet been published.' One would have thought that Professor W. Lloyd Warner's *A Black Civilization* (New York and London, 1937), dealing with the central coastal Arnhem-Landers, would surely fall within this category. Dr. Thomson seems loth to refer to this excellent standard work both in the article cited, and in his recent book *Economic Structure and the Ceremonial Exchange Cycle in Arnhem Land* (Melbourne, 1949) when Lloyd Warner's name was mentioned but sparingly (e.g. on pp. 84-6, 90) and once disparagingly (p. 11f.). Professor Warner has also mentioned Arnhem Land Watercraft.¹ There are other works, too, on the Arnhem Land coast, as well as various articles dealing with Aborigines who are primarily fisherfolk. Professor Warner (*op. cit.*, e.g. pp. 458) mentioned the introduction by 'Indonesians' of dug-out canoes along the Arnhem Land coast.² Dr. Thomson mentions that dug-out canoes 'are used for long and daring voyages in the open sea,' and that he has known 'at least one journey of about 350 miles to be carried out in recent years along the coast from Cape Stewart ... to Darwin.' This is quite true, and I personally know of other journeys of even greater length undertaken by dug-out canoes—distances of 450 to 500 miles or even more from Yirrkalla, Blue Mud Bay, Caledon Bay and Groote Eylandt to Darwin. But in these journeys, although they are undertaken in comparatively heavy sea, sometimes rough and with a considerable swell, the canoe ordinarily hugs the coast line and does not actually venture into the 'open sea.' Cases are known of canoes going out into open sea north of Milingimbi, above or

cast or west of the Wessels, or north of Yirrkalla: but these are not usual.

Dr. Thomson (on p. 4) mentions that the *tjutu* bark raft was first used by two ancestral women, the Wagillak (Wawilak of Warner; Wauwalak of Berndt), who arrived in far eastern Arnhem Land from the Gulf of Carpentaria. The Wauwalak Sisters, according to traditional mythology, did not reach Arnhem Land by sea from the Gulf of Carpentaria; they came overland into northern Arnhem Land, on foot.³ Dr. Thomson is confused in his mythology: the Djanggawul Creative Sisters and Brother came out of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and eventually reached eastern Arnhem Land not by bark raft but by bark canoe (the common bark canoe mentioned by Dr. Thomson).⁴

One might take the opportunity too of expressing the hope that Dr. Thomson will use in future some uniform system of phonetics in the recording of native terms; lack of uniformity must inevitably lead to confusion, as Professor Raymond Firth pointed out in his review of *Art in Arnhem Land* (MAN, 1951, 76).

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Notes

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 38, 63, 70, 73, 76, 92, 143; and tools for making them, pp. 490-3; bark canoes, pp. 459-62, 491; dug-out canoes, pp. 459-62, 491f.; raft, pp. 38, 336, 348; he mentions, too, sails, masts, paddles, anchors, etc.

² The problem of 'Indonesian' contact on the north coast of the Northern Territory has been briefly mentioned by R. and C. Berndt, 'Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land,' *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXVII (1949, published 1951), pp. 133-8; 'Secular Figures of North-Eastern Arnhem Land,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LI, No. 2 (1949), pp. 213-22; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, Melbourne and Chicago, 1950, pp. 48-60; (as well as in R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People*, to be published shortly).

³ Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-9, and R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Melbourne and New York, 1951.

⁴ Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-40; this writer mentions, however, that the Djanggawul (Djungkao) came on a raft. In his next paragraph he notes that it was a canoe (p. 336). Also see R. Berndt, *Djanggawul*, London and Melbourne, 1952.

The Cultural Process in India. Cf. MAN, 1951, 232

295 SIR,—In her paper 'The Cultural Process in India,' Dr. Karve says that the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian Nāga people were cultivators of jungle clearings, but does not mention the highly developed Indus civilization of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro! Were not the invading Aryan tribes the destroyers of an ancient and fine Indus civilization, playing the same role as did the Germanic tribes to the Roman empire?

As regards the word Nāga this is met with in many of the old Thai myths where Thai princes marry the bewitching Nāga girls, daughters of the Serpent King, Phraya Nāk. To us students of the history of the Thai people this means that the Thai princes married daughters of the autochthons whose countries (Shanland, Siam and Laos) the invading Thai conquered during their march southwards from their original homesteads in China. Furthermore, in connexion with the interchangeability of the words Nāga (serpent) and Hastin (elephant), it may be recalled that in several Thai myths Nāgas are changed into elephants and thereafter resume their former shape. The origin of these myths may most probably be sought for in ancient India or in the countries to the east influenced by Indian culture (Further India and Indonnesia), which modern Indians with a reasonable pride call Greater India.

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